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HISTORY OF JAINA MONACHISM

FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE

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S. B. DEO

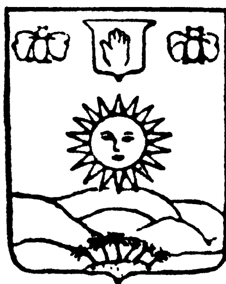
DECCAN COLLEGE
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HISTORY OF JAINA MONACHISM
FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE

BY

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—अपुणरावत्तिणीए मे जणणीए अप्पिय

FOREWORD

In 1946 the Institute published *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*. While doing so, the object in undertaking such studies was clearly laid down. It was "the preparation of regional archaeological studies in conjunction with studies of literary sources like the Purāṇas, the Jaina Āgamas and the Epics." In pursuance of this aim, Dr. DEO was advised to take up the study of the evolution of Jaina Monachism. For, though its sister faith, Buddhism, had received adequate attention from scholars — Indian and foreign—, no attempt was hitherto made to look at Jainism from the point of its development, particularly its monastic aspect. This was possibly due to several reasons: first the non-recognition (earlier) of the independent existence of Jainism as different from Buddhism; secondly, the general view that Jainism was, throughout its history, static; and thirdly, the absence of critical editions of a large number of texts which form the source material.

No one now holds that Jainism is a branch of Buddhism. But the second impression still remains, while the third obstacle will not be removed for years to come. So a critical study of the existing material could not wait indefinitely. Care is, however, taken to check the literary data against the more reliable epigraphical material, whereas to provide for the omission or addition of the data rendered necessary by the publication of future critical editions, information under each head from a group of works assigned to a certain period on literary grounds is repeated. This is partly responsible for increasing the bulk of the book. However, this very treatment will not only help to see the picture of the Jaina Church in its entirety, as it stood at a particular point in its development, but also help in the preparation of critical texts, whenever these are undertaken. As for the development of the Jaina Monachism, let the reader decide for himself or herself how far Dr. DEO's attempt is successful in establishing its non-static character.

H. D. SANKALIA

INTRODUCTION

The History of Jaina Monachism can best be based on literary sources having a fixed chronology. It should, however, be noted that the Jaina Canonical texts lack this very factor to a very great extent. Though scholars have tried to give a rough chronology to the various groups of texts, there is as yet no unanimity among them.

More definite results in this respect can be had only when critical editions of these texts are made available. It is feared that such a prospect might take some concrete shape only after a number of years. Without waiting for this, therefore, an attempt has been made in this thesis to reconstruct the history of Jaina Monachism based on the generally accepted chronology of Jaina texts. It is hoped that such a study would help not only to fix the chronological limits more precisely but also to prepare critical editions of these texts. Whereas, while the latter are being prepared, studies like the present one will no doubt need a revision. But, even then, the method followed here is such that not all but some material presented here will perhaps require re-adjustment. As each supposed group of texts is treated separately, only the portions relating to a particular group will be affected, if at all.

With this nature of the material available, the following pages are devoted to a study of the development of Jaina monachism from a historical point of view, taking into consideration at the same time the traditions of the Jainas about their own history.

This development is treated in eleven chapters which are grouped into six parts.

Part first is introductory and has three chapters. The first chapter deals with the nature and the types of Indian monachism and the place of the Jaina monachism in it. The sources for its history are critically reviewed in the next chapter, while the last one gives the theories of the origin of Samaṇism as advocated by different scholars.

For tracing the growth of Jaina monastic ideas and practices, a study of the history of Jainism is essential. This is done in the second part of the thesis.

The actual working and the basic theories of Jaina monachism are studied in the third part. First the monachism of the Aṅgas and the Mūlasutras is reviewed. The texts of the rest of the canon are studied in the

next chapter, and all exegetical and non-exegetical literature of the post-canonical period is used in the third chapter.

The working of the order of nuns is treated in the fourth chapter as it was found to be useful for comparison with monk's routine.

Digambara texts representative of these periods are included in the respective chapters, and their account is given separately for comparison in each chapter.

The epigraphical corroboration for literary evidence as also other details regarding Jaina monachism are embodied in the fourth part.

No monachism may be said to develop in a vacuum. It has its contact with the society at large. The mutual reactions between Jaina monachism and the society is, therefore, dealt with in the fifth part.

The conclusions are given in the sixth part.

The method of studying this subject has already been referred to. It has entailed certain repetition of the material. But that has been done advisedly: first, to present the picture of monachism from stage to stage; and secondly, to provide for any revision that may be necessary when critical texts are available.

Attention of the reader is drawn to the method of transliteration adopted, especially in the case of Prākrit expressions. Resort to tréma (¨) has been made generally over all the distinctly pronounced vowels following contiguously to the first. Nasals have been generally shown assimilated with the respective class-consonants that follow them. It was not possible to give diacritical marks on small capital letters from p. 520 onwards on account of absence of such a type. It is hoped that this will not cause much inconvenience to the readers.

I am deeply indebted to my Guru Dr. H. D. SANKALIA for guiding and giving me encouragement and help at every stage of the work. To Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Director of the Deccan College, I am thankful for the readiness and interest in undertaking the publication of this work. I am deeply indebted to Dr. M. A. MEHENDALE for seeing this work through the press with speed and care. My special thanks are also due to Dr. L. ALSDORF and Dr. A. M. GHATGE for valuable suggestions through correspondence and personal meetings. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE was kind enough to go through the entire work including the Appendices and was helpful at every stage. He has indeed put me under heavy obligations.

To Shri D. S. MARATHE, I owe my thanks for the translation of relevant chapters from SCHUBRING's *"Die Lehre der Jainas."*

My friend and colleague Shri S. D. LADDU has put me under a debt of gratitude by offering several corrections and suggestions and by going through the printed matter meticulously. But for his help, the work would have been delayed as I had to go out on extensive tours for archaeological explorations and excavations.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the willing help given to me on all occasions by the Jaina monks, nuns, laymen and institutions of all sects. Special mention must be made of the help given by Shri Popatlal Shah, Shri Kothadia and Shri Babalal Shah.

Finally, I feel very happy to thank the authorities of the G. S. Press, Madras, for neatness and promptness in printing this work.

Deccan College,
Poona.

S. B. DEO

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THE HISTORY OF JAINA MONACHISM FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE *

PART I

CHAPTER I

INDIAN MONACHISM

Introduction :

India may aptly be called the homeland of monachism and ascetic practices. Nowhere else, probably, as in India, the impulse of seclusion from the rest of the society, mortification of the body and flight from the world, in pursuit of a higher spiritual ideal, is revealed in a more bewildering variety so as to appear as an inherent element of human life.

What is monachism ?

The result of this sort of tendency is generally that mode of life in which monks and nuns live away from society in perfect solitude. The words monachism and monasticism have a common source of origin. "The word monasticism is derived from the Greek word μόνος, 'alone', 'solitary', from which a whole family of words has been formed : monks, monastic, nun, monasticism and monachism."[1] Hence monachism may be said to denote that "form of religious life led by those who having separated themselves entirely from the world live in solitude."[2] The words equivalent to monachism in Sanskrit may be said to imply the same sense.[3] Life in a monastery or in a forest on account of disgust for the world or for noble purpose of self-realisation may, therefore, be said to be at the root of this mode of life.

Motives behind monastic life :

Innumerable instances of the rich and the poor, of the young and the old of either sex, could be cited who, under the influence of noble ideals of preaching the misery-stricken world the way of salvation and eternal happiness, embraced the life of renunciation by giving up everything that was dear to them. Gotama the Buddha and Mahāvīra, as also a number of their predecessors and contemporaries, were the best examples of this missionary zeal.

* *Thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Bombay, 1952.*

1. *ERE*, Vol. 2, p. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, 8, p. 781.

3. They are: *maṭhavāsa*, *maṭhādhyāsana*, *vanavāsa*, *vānaprasthatā*, *araṇyavāsa*, *vaikhānasavṛtti*, *saṃsāratyāga* and *udāsīnatā*—Monier WILLIAMS, *Dict. of Engl. and Sanskrit* (1851), p. 512.

Besides them, the cases of Jayantī,[4] aunt of the king Udāyana of Kosambī, and prince Atimuktaka[5] may be said to illustrate how spiritual problems and considerations induced queens and youths to enter monastic life.

On the other hand, there were others who, influenced by the misery of worldly life and the note of impermanence in it, decided to take to monk or nunlife. Khemā, consort of Bimbisāra, for instance, was made to see the vision of fading youth which made her give up all her pride for beauty and become a nun.[6] Paumāvaī, queen of king Dahivāhaṇa of Campā, entered the ascetic order due to separation from her husband.[7] The sight of a man being led for execution,[8] the piteous cry of animals to be slaughtered for a marriage feast,[9] the transformation of a young bull into an old one,[10] the fall of flag[11] and the losing of the blossom by the mango tree[12]—all these have been sufficient reasons for various persons to realise the vanity and the transitoriness of human life.

Indian approach to life :

This emptiness of worldly existence has been the predominant note of Indian ascetic literature, and we often come across views which depict human life as "a dew drop dangling on the top of the blade of kuśa grass."[13] Everything was looked upon as impermanent and full of misery and the people yearned to escape from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

The purpose of monastic life :

Western scholars seem to put in bold relief only this pessimistic note in Indian monachism when they say that, "By the Indian life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, and relief from the burden and sorrow of existence as the chief and final aim."[14]

It should be noted, however, that monastic life in India was not based or advocated merely on the sad note of disgust of life. It was, on the other hand, the outward appearance of a form of life which struggled hard for

4. *I.A.* Vol. 19, p. 64.
5. *Antagaḍa;* UPADHYE, *Bṛhtkathākośa,* Intr. p. 22.
6. *I.A.* Vol. 57, p. 50.
7. *Uttar. ṭīkā,* 9, p. 132a.
8. *Uttar. SBE,* XLV, pp. 108-09.
9. *Ibid,* p. 114.
10. *Uttar.-N.* 264-67.
11. *Ibid.,* 264-67.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Uttar.* 10, 1-4.
14. *ERE,* Vol. 8, p. 803.

the knowledge of reality, the realisation that this life was not the only life, that it was only a passing phase and that there could be an end of saṁsāra —a series of births—by knowing who we are and becoming one with the Universal Self.

The nature of Liberation :

Thus, it may be said, that the aim of monastic life was not merely an escape but an effort to achieve the highest purpose of human life which was looked upon as a rare opportunity to have in the endless cycle of births and rebirths.

Irrespective of the fact that the nature of this 'realisation' or 'liberation' varied with the main types of Indian monachism, the fundamental basis of all the three may be said to be consisting of the positive joy or consciousness or self-knowledge, as the following discussion would show.

Buddhist Nirvāṇa :

The idea of liberation was expressed by the Buddhists with the term 'nibbāṇa.' Etymologically it signifies 'going out,' 'extinction', which is perhaps wrongly interpreted by some to be simple annihilation—a negative phenomenon.

The Buddhist texts, however, picture it as a "subjective awareness of the freed state."[15] According to the words of Sāriputta, nibbāṇa was the complete destruction of greed (rāgakkhayo), hatred (dosa) and infatuation (moha). In short it signified the end of cravings (taṇhā). The struggle with Māra and his three daughters—Craving (taṇhā), Discontent (arati) and Lust (rāga) — which Buddha had to undergo, depicts a psychological effort to put an end to 'vāsanā. No wonder, therefore, if Buddha exclaimed : "It is in order to attain to this seat that I have undergone successive births for so long a time", for a sense of fulfilment pervaded him : 'āsavehiṁ cittaṁ vimucci, khīṇā jāti, vusitaṁ brahmacariyaṁ, kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ, nāparaṁ itthāttāya.'[16]

The knowledge of the four cardinal truths (āryasatyas)—dukkha (suffering), samudaya (cause), nirodha (suppression), and pratipad or mārga (path or way)—was a stage in the realisation of the theory of dependent causation (pratītyasamutpāda) which revealed the origin and cause of rebirth. Once it was understood and suppressed through the destruction of taṇhā, it led one nearer the attainment of nibbāṇa.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 772: See, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 371.
16. *Mahāvagga*, Ed. BHAGWAT. p. 22.

Besides the destruction of craving, nibbāṇa signified release from rebirth, sorrow and fear. It was a state of enlightenment (bodhi), contentment and peace (santi) which was qualified by epithets like visuddha (pure), sthira (stable) and śiva (holy) and was a source of unparalleled happiness (natthi santiparaṁ sukhaṁ).[17]

Jaina Siddhatva :

The conception of liberation among the Jainas depicts the attainment of its original pure nature by the soul (attā). They say that the soul coming under the influence of the kaṣāyas or passions—krodha, māna, māyā and lobha—gets attached to karmic particles (pudgala) and loses its pure nature. The soul thus becoming heavy due to this influx (āśrava) of the karmic atoms, becomes heavy and goes to hell.

The attainment of mokṣa consists, therefore, in the stoppage (saṁvara) of the influx and the dissipation or destruction (nirjarā) of karman. This frees the soul from the burden and helps it in attaining its original pure nature.[18]

This realising of the inherent purity by the soul is not something foreign to it. As a matter of fact, it is simply the knowledge of that aspect which is not revealed to one due to ignorance and passions.[19] The illustration of a dry gourd covered with mud shooting up gradually to the surface of water due to the loosening of mud-coating (signifying the karmic bondage), implies the same idea.[20]

The attainment of the purity of the soul is to be achieved by right faith (samyakdarśana), right knowledge (s°-jnāna) and right conduct (s°-cāritra).[21] The Jaina texts go eloquent in describing the outcome of the triad and mokṣa is described as ajara (without decay), amara (without death), akṣaya (permanent), anupama saukhya (incomparable happiness),[22] śivaṁ (holy), acala (stable), ananta (eternal), avyābādha (devoid of misery), apunarāvartika (from which there is no return).[23] The phenomenon of attaining this state of self-knowledge is described in fitting terms like 'sijjhihii,

17. *Dhammapada*, XV, 6, 7.
18. Kṛtsnakarmakṣayo mokṣaḥ—*Tattvārtha*. 10, 2-3; *Mūl.* 7, 6; *Āvassaya*—N. 953.
19. While commenting on the phrase 'siddhattaṁ uvajāyai', *Malayagirī* remarks: upajāyate ityapi tattvatastadātmanaḥ svābhāvikameva sad anādikarmmāvṛtaṁ tādāvaraṇavigamenāvirbhavati'—*Vṛtti to Āvassaya—N.* p. 534b.
20. *Nāyā.* 6.
21. *Tattvārtha.* p. 2; *Samayasāra* XI, 432.
22. *Mūl.* 12, 145.
23. *Aup.* p. 46.

bujjhihii, muccihii, parinivvāhii, savvadukkhāṇaṁ antaṁ karehii' (will attain to, will be enlightened, will be freed and will put an end to all miseries.)[24]

It is, therefore, an aim "for which nudity, tonsure and celibacy are practised; for which no bath is taken, no umbrella is used and no shoes are put on; for which one sleeps on the ground or on a plank of wood; for which one begs food from house to house not minding abuse or praise, the condemnation, scandal, beatings, the twenty two troubles (parīsahā) and the pranks of the wicked."[25]

The Brāhmanical Mokṣa :

The Brāhmanical conception of mokṣa has a very long history of evolution and development.

In the Vedic period there is revealed a marked absence of the idea of mokṣa, though the word 'amṛta' may be said to be connected with that idea.

It is only in the Upaniṣadic period that we come across an exuberance of phraseology describing mokṣa as even the Brāmaṇas fail to do so. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*[26] *Upaniṣad* seems to express the idea as "beholding this self as the Lord of all that is and will be." When one gets this realisation of the identity of the individual soul with the Universal soul, then one need not be afraid of anything as he has known 'the soundless, the intangible....the eternal....the unchangeable."[27] Thus the Upanishads may be said to present the phenomenon of liberation as the consciousness of the knowledge of the identity of the individual soul with the Absolute.

The *Bhagawadgītā* reveals different aspects of liberation inasmuch as it presents the idea as freedom from evil action (aśubhāt karmāt), the destruction of desire and passion (kāmakrodhaviyukta), release from old age and death (jarāmaraṇa), and liberation from the pairs of opposite known as pleasure and pain (dvandvairvimuktāḥ sukhadukhasaṁdnyaiḥ).[28]

The conception of liberation, however, flowered into a variety of facets with different Brāhmanical schools. Cārvāka held it to be absolute freedom (swātantrya). The Sānkhyas held it to be the realisation of prakṛti and puruṣa (prakṛtipuruṣavivekaḥ muktiḥ), while the Advaitins explained it as the keeping aloof from avidyā (ignorance).[29]

24 *Vivāga*, p. 51; also *Vim*. 20, 5-6.
25. *Antagaḍa*. p. 29.
26. IV. IV. 13, 15 : quoted in *ERE*, Vol. 8, p. 771.
27. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* quoted in *ERE*, Vol. 8, p. 771.
28. 4, 16; 5, 26; 7, 29; 15, 5.
29. *Sarvadarśanakaumudī*, Triv. Skt. Series, No. CXXXV, (1938) pp. 137, 141.

A survey of the ideas about mokṣa as enunciated by the Buddhists, Jainas and different schools of Brāhmanism may be said to bring one fact to prominence. It is the positive aspect implied in liberation which consisted of the realisation of the freed state of the soul through the destruction of passions and desires.

The means to attain Liberation:

It was, therefore, to attain to this state of self-realisation which automatically freed one from the ever-dynamic cycle of birth and rebirth, that people took to the rigorous life of monkhood. Moreover, a sannyasta life was the proper mode to approach the ideal as it consisted of poverty, non-attachment and indifference to body so essential for the knowledge of the self. Hence Indian monachism insisted on monkhood or nunhood as the only way[30] leading towards liberation.

Essentials of Indian Monachism:

Monastic life being the pre-requisite of liberation, religion in India has played a very important part. "It has constantly attempted to evolve and propogate certain ethical standards for the good behaviour of man as a constituent of society."[31] With the basis of these ethical standards, it has evolved a planned system of life which when perfectly followed led one towards monkhood. These attempts of a carefully planned scheme may be said to be revealed in the theory of the four āśramas of Brāhmanism, and the uvāsaga paḍimās[32] of Jainism. The former as well as the latter prepared the way for the practice of life of rigour and of least dependence on society so characteristic of monkhood.

It may, at the same time, be noted that this scheme was elastic. The stages in it were not watertight compartments but the result of a gradual and a logical process of evolution. Householdership and monkhood were not diametrically opposite to each other but the ideal and the restrained practice of the former led one to the initial stages of monastic life.

30. 'Buddhānaṁ santike patthentassā'pi pabbajjalinge ṭhitasseva samijjhati no gihilinge ṭhitassa'—*Nidānakathā* (BHAGWAT), p. 20.

31. UPADHYE, Bṛhatkathākośa, Intr. p. 7.

32. Paḍimās are "the standards that a layman (upāsaka) is expected to observe. They are eleven in number and are completed in five years and a half. The object in practising these pratimās seems to be to gradually attain the state of a monk as the name of the last pratimā (samaṇabhūyapaḍimā) suggests".—For details, see *Uvāsagadasāo*, P. L. VAIDYA. notes, pp. 224-29; also *Daśaśrutaskandha*.

Even in the practice of monk-life Indian monachism was rather individualistic.[33] One was free to follow ascetic life either in company with co-monks or alone in a forest. The monk was free to adopt the way he thought proper for the attainment of liberation and carry it out in his full faith. This naturally gave rise to a number of sects and subsects which rose up and dwindled for want of co-ordination and centralised control.[34]

Essentials of Western Monachism:

Western monachism, on the other hand, does not seem to have afforded a planned scheme of life leading towards monkhood. One has to choose one course of life, either that of a monk or of a married man. The married person can be a monk only if his wife is dead or if his wife also has become a nun.[35]

Ideas regarding final liberation also differ from those laid down in Indian monachism. Christian monachism depicts mokṣa as the gift of the grace of God. Unless God is pleased, one cannot get His mercy, however one may try. Thus this monachism may be said to picture beatitude as something beyond the reach of mere human effort.

This grace of God, it may be noted, can be acquired without following the monastic life. The latter is taken to be an image of what life will be in heaven, and there is every likelihood of an ideal and pious householder getting the grace of God.

This grace of God, according to Christian monachism, can be attained only in human life as that is the best opportunity of getting it. There being no rebirth to assure any future hopes of acquiring Grace, one has to please God for it. Death is a punishment and not a step towards better or worse life. It is a point which takes one either to hell or heaven permanently.

33. "In the east the dominating principle of monachism was its strongly marked individualism—the protest of the individual against a collectivism which tended to lose sight of his value. Unfortunately the protest became a council of despair and flight, although the element of life which underlay it must not be overlooked. Individualism was self-surrender united in a yearning for ideals which took a form of a flight to the desert."--*ESS*, Vol. X, p. 585.

34. "The various orders have been for the most part loosely organised, and that from want not of organising power but of inclination and will."—*ERE*, Vol. 8, p. 803.

35. I am indebted to Father Delury for these Roman Catholic views; For details of Christian outlook see, *Christian Spirituality* by P. Pourrat. *English Monastic Life* by Cardinal Gasquet (6th Ed.) London, 1924. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 1, 2nd Ed. Cambridge, 1924, Chapters XVIII and XX. *Monasticism*: *ESS*, Vol. X, pp. 584-90. Monasticism: *ESS*, Vol. X, pp. 584-90. Monasticism: *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. 15, pp. 687-90.

The monk's role, therefore, consists in praying for the grace of God for himself as well as for others. This he can do only when he belongs to a particular monastery for nobody is recognised as a monk unless one takes to life in a monastery.[36]

Comparison with Indian monachism:

Some of the outstanding features of Christian monachism discussed above, bring in relief the points of contrast between it and Indian monachism as a whole which may be summarised as follows.

(i) There seems to be no scheme for preparing for monkhood in Christian monachism as we get in the āśrama theory of Brāhmanism or the paḍimās or even the rules of layman religion in Jainism.

(ii) Unlike Indian monachism, Christian monachism does not seem to take monklife as essential for acquiring liberation.

(iii) Liberation according to the Christians may be said to be beyond the reach of human effort and it is more a favour of God than the result of human endeavour. Indian monachism, on the other hand, gives ample scope for human effort in the achievement of liberation by leading a pure monk life.

(iv) There being no rebirth, Christian monachism may be said to offer no hopes of future redress. On the contrary, karma theory, which may be said to be the backbone of Indian philosophy, offers a solace to a person who aspires to get liberation at least in some future rebirth.

(v) The insistence on the monk's stay in a monastery may not be said to be a pre-requisite of monkhood in India as it is in Christian monachism. It should be noted that this factor led to a systematic development of monastic organisation in western countries, while the absence of it led to the growth of numerous independent sects in India.

(vi) One factor which may be said to be common to both these monachisms was bodily mortification. The Brāhmanical and Jaina monks have shown tremendous capacity for bodily suffering by standing facing the sun, lying down on hot sand, practising long term fasts, etc. But even these seem to fall to the background when compared with some of the excesses practised by Irish saints. "St. Finnchua is said to have spent seven years suspended by iron shackles under his armpits, so that he might get a place in heaven in lieu of one which he had given away......St. Findian is said to have worn

36. "In the West, monachism very soon ceased to be the monachism of a lonely monk"—*ESS*, Vol. X, pp. 585-86.

a girdle of iron that cut to the bone.... Of the Irish saint Kevin it is said that he remained for seven years in a standing posture without sleep, with his arms held up in the same position, and that a blackbird laid and hatched her eggs in his palm."[37]

Common Basis of Indian Monachisms:

It is not only when compared with western monachism that different types of Indian monachism present similarities but even otherwise when studied individually, the three principal systems—Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism—, reveal many common points between them.

The approach to life may be said to be identical to all the three, inasmuch as they looked upon life as a drudgery and sought refuge in the bliss of self-realisation.

The ethical foundation[38] of all these is the same for the principal vows of ahimsā, satya, asteya, aparigraha and brahmacarya are to be found in the three systems without any change.

Ideas regarding the karma theory, rebirth and liberation are more or less the same.

The identity of the above points was so fascinating as to lead some scholars to believe that Buddhism and Jainism were not independent systems but mere offshoots of Brāhmanism.

Brāhmanical Monachism :

Irrespective of this essential identity with Buddhist and Jaina monachisms, Brāhmanism has shown comparatively more elasticity inasmuch as it has given refuge to hundreds of sects and subsects of varied philosophies and practices under its wings.

The effect of this spiritual generosity, as we may put it, was the weakening of the Church and the loss of a central binding force. The Buddhist and the Jaina monachisms, however, were more organised and disciplined efforts of corporate life under the directions of a conscious church.[39]

It was unfortunate, however, that this spiritual generosity did not condescend to allow women and low-class people to enter nunhood or monk-

37. *ERE*, Vol. 2. p. 72.

38. WINTERNITZ calls it 'ascetic morality': *Hist. of Ind. Lit.* Vol. 2, p. 425.

39. 'While in Brāhmanism the monastic life has preserved its eremitic character, in Buddhism we find it, on the contrary, in the cenobitic form. The monks live together in monasteries, in the practice of poverty—as mendicants, in fact—and celibacy'—*ERE*, Vol. 8, p. 782.

hood. Hence, an order of nuns inspired with the zeal of attaining the bliss of mokṣa, is altogether absent in Brāhmanism, and it, in a way, denied its Church a class of followers which "are better and more faithful custodians of ancient traditions and culture than even literate men."[40]

More than that, this caste-bar gave rise to a wave of dissatisfaction which may be taken to be one of the factors that led to the popularity of sects like Buddhism and Jainism.

Buddhist Monachism :

Inspite of the fact that, "In proclaiming a religion purely spiritual and the incapability of ceremonies to secure salvation, Buddha had not brought forward a doctrine absolutely novel",[41] the removal of caste barriers regarding entry to the Church, 'did not fail to awaken and stimulate the powers, hitherto dormant and oppressed, of all, and especially of the lower classes'.[42] This principle of equality of birth and of status was followed even regarding the appointment of Church officers.

Besides acknowledging this equality of birth, Buddhist monachism "broke away from past traditions and revolted against the older Vedic system of sacrifice and self-mortification".[43] Buddha himself had undergone severe bodily mortification and had lost his faith in that course[44] and in between the two extremes of bodily mortification and sense gratifications, he advocated a balanced "middle path". Thus Buddhist monachism was completely devoid of mortificatory practices unlike Brāhmanism or Jainism.

Taking resort to sobre realism based on normal rules of ethical conduct, Buddhist monachism did its best not only to organise itself with elaborate rules of monastic jurisprudence but, in its earlier phases, did everything to win over lay supporters. All opportunities of accepting invitations for meals and obtaining elaborate saṅghārāmas for his monks were not avoided by the Buddha.

The Buddha seemed to have a kind of prejudice against women in the beginning and he was not willing to admit them into the order. But he, unwillingly, bowed to the insisting requests of Ānanda and Mahāpajāpati Gotamī and gave his consent to the creation of the order of nuns imposing

40. ALTEKAR, *Position of Women....*, pp. 28-29.
41. A. BARTH, *I.A.*, Vol. III, p. 330; *ERE*, Vol. 8, p. 797.
42. WEBER. *I.A.*, Vol. XXX, p. 279.
43. BARUA, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 242.
44. For his account of it to Sāriputta as given in *Majjhima-Nikāya*, see *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 17-18.

stricter rules of conduct on them.[45] Thus, it may be said that the injustice done to women by Brāhmanism regarding sannyāsa was redressed by Buddha, though much against his will.

Jaina Monachism :

Compared with the features of Buddhist monachism discussed above, Jaina monachism reveals some peculiarities so characteristic of it.

The standard of monastic behaviour was, perhaps, stricter inasmuch as Jaina monks practised severe mortificatory practices like fasting and putting up with all sorts of bodily trouble by complete indifference to it.[46]

The practice of Ahimsā was taken to the farthest limit possible, and the Jaina monk seemed to care more for other living beings than for himself.

The vow of non-possession in its severest form emerged in the vindication of nudity[47] so peculiar to the Digambara Jainas.

The purity of food gave rise to numerous rules of begging, and none can, perhaps, beat the Jainas in this case.[48]

Even though Jaina monachism shared the same attitude, as the Buddhist and the Brāhmanical monachisms did, regarding women, yet it gave them full scope in matters of spiritual aspirations by enlisting them into the order right from the beginning. Therefore, it may be said that what Brāhmanism never did and what Buddhism did only later, Jaina monachism did right at the beginning.

The practice of loya (uprooting the hair from the head and the beard), may be taken as the symbol of self-control so rigorously practised in Jaina monachism. Besides self-control, the practices of loya and nudity were characteristic of the attitude of least dependence on society which should be noted as the peculiarity of Indian monachism as a whole.

Inspite of this principle of least dependence on society leaders of Jaina Church were wise enough to keep constant touch with the laity which, it should be noted, is even now giving full allegiance to the Church, and has

45. *Cullavagga* X, 1.

46. For different modes of death implying patient bearing of bodily suffering, see *Santhārayapaiṇṇaya*, vs. 56-88.

47. In Brāhmanism, the Paramahaṁsa and the Turīyātīta remained naked: Har Dutta SHARMA, *Hist. of Brahmanical Asceticism, Poona Orientalist*, Vol. 3, No. 4, (1939), p. 76.

48. See *Dśv.* and *Piṇḍa-N.*

played an important role in the existence not only of Jainism but also of Jaina monachism in the best possible orthodox traditions. This conservative minded laity conscious of its role in the Church has also proved to be a check on the moral discipline of the monks,[49] and has been successful in keeping away their monachism from facing liquidation which Buddhist monachism had to do in India.

Distinctions of Buddhist and Jaina Monachisms:

The role of Jaina and Buddhist types of monachism was not, therefore, merely to have a system for system's sake. They implied breaking away from worn out grooves of thought and an idealisation of monastic life. They were, in short, "essentially pessimistic in worldly outlook, metaphysically dualistic if not pluralistic, animistic and ultra humane in its ethical tenets, temperamentally ascetic, undoubtedly accepting the dogma of transmigration and karma doctrine, owing no racial allegiance to Vedas and Vedic rites, subscribing to the belief of individual perfection, and refusing unhesitatingly to accept a creator".[50]

The aim of the thesis:

Such being the character of Jaina monachism, it has played an important part in the ideological revolutions pertaining to religious life in India.

The evaluation of the role of Jaina monachism, therefore, is attempted in the following pages firstly by a minute study of Jaina literature, secondly by noting the influence it had on other aspects of Indian life, and lastly by the observation of the actual practice of monastic life by the Jaina monks today.

49. For a few instances of this see GLASENAPP *Jainismus*, Guj. tran. pp. 339-40.
50. UPADHYE, *Prv.* pref. pp. 12-13; *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intr. p. 12.

CHAPTER II

THE SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF JAINA MONACHISM

There are still many gaps to be filled and problems to be solved in the history of India. Therefore, a fully documented and a chronological account of the political and cultural life in India is yet a desideratum.

Role of religious sects :

Inspite of this "temporary vagueness of (historical) outline, as of things half-seen and processes half-realised",[1] the role of different religious systems and monastic congregations was by no means a minor one. It may be said that they formed the very backbone of Indian life.

Evolutionary nature of Jaina Monachism :

Amongst these monastic institutions, Jaina monachism played a great role. And that too because it was never a static institution, though predominantly a conservative one. It did react to internal and external forces, and its history is mainly an account of this reaction and adjustment to or defiance towards changing environments. What Dr. DUTT says with regard to Buddhist monachism may aptly be remarked with reference to Jaina monachism as well. "Buddhist monasticism", he remarks, "has been, like all other historic institutions, the result of a gradual process, changing under pressure of its sociological environments and its own inner principle of evolution".[2]

The Role of Modern Research :

A time was when this evolution and reaction could not be noticed for want of sufficient research regarding Jainism. The element of mystery and an appearance of ideological inertia attributed to different monachisms in India are rapidly fading away before the light of modern research and we are now, perhaps, in a better position of attempting to pronounce a more clear judgment on some matters than some of the pioneers in the past could do.

1. DUTT, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*

Survey of Jaina Research :

Round[3] about the beginning of the nineteenth century, European scholars were attracted towards Jaina studies. It was in 1809 that Col. MACKENZIE wrote an "Account of the Jains".[4] FRANKLINS and DELAMAINE followed him. The former wrote about his "Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists" in 1827, and the latter gave a modest account of "The Śravacs or Jains".[5]

A very systematic and a compact account of the Jainas was given by BÜHLER in his "Indische Sekte der Jainas" in 1887.[6] A few years later JACOBI contributed a fine article on Jainism in the Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics.[7] An exhaustive account of Jaina religion and life—which, however, resulted in finding out 'an empty heart of Jainism'—was published by Mrs. Sinclair STEVENSON[8] in 1915. A couple of years later, NAHAR and GHOSH came out with a bulky volume under the title "*An Epitome of Jainism*".[9]

In the next fifteen years scholars like GANDHI,[10] GLASENAPP,[11] GUERINOT,[12] WARREN[13] and SCHUBRING[14] made contributions to several aspects of Jainism.

Work regarding Jaina texts :

This research regarding Jainism in general, attracted the attention of scholars, both Indian and European, to the need of editing Jaina texts. As early as 1847, BÖTHLINGKE rendered into German the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. The next year saw the publication of the translation of *Kalpasūtra* by STEVENSON. These initial attempts, however, were not perfect, and ten years later WEBER published (in 1866), his masterly "*Fragments of the Bhagavati*". This was followed by his survey of the sacred literature of the Jainas.[15]

3. The following account is mainly taken from SCHUBRING's *Die Lehre der Jainas*. Chapt. 1, pp. 1-17; WINTERNITZ's *Hist. of Ind. Lit., pt. II*: GLASENAPP's *Der Jainismus*, Guj. tran. pp. 1-10.
4. *Asiatic Researches*, Band IX, 1809, pp. 244 ff.
5. *Trans. of R.A.S.* 1827.
6. Engl. transl. by BURGESS in 1903.
7. *ERE*, Vol. 7, pp. 465-74.
8. *The Heart of Jainism*.
9. Published: 1917.
10. *Jaina Philosophy*, 1924.
11. *Der Jainismus*, 1925.
12. *La Religion Djaina*, 1926.
13. *Jainism in Western Garb*...etc., 1930.
14. *Die Lehre der Jainas*, 1935.
15. Engl. transl. in *I.A.* Vols.: XVII-XXI.

JACOBI,[16] LEUMANN,[17] HOERNLE,[18] and CHARPENTIER[19] contributed their intellectual mite in this effort. Indian scholars like VIJAYADHARMASURI, VIJAYANANDASURI, Muni JINAVIJAYA, Shri K. P. MODI, Drs. P. L. VAIDYA, A. N. UPADHYE, Babu Kamta Prasad JAIN, C. R. JAIN, Prof. KAPADIA, Dr. Hiralal JAIN, Pandit Nathu Ram PREMI and others have also contributed their due share in the advancement of Jaina research.

Along with these scholars, so many Digambara and Śvetāmbara institutions have come forward for the publication of the canonical and the non-canonical texts. The Jaina Bhāṇḍaras have also, of late, brought out their mss. wealth to some extent.

Mss., Epigraphy and Paṭṭāvalis :

In the field of manuscripts, paṭṭāvalis (lists of succession in Church hierarchy), and epigraphy also, voluminous material has come to light.

Reports and catalogues of manuscripts by BÜHLER,[20] KIELHORN,[21] PETERSON,[22] BHANDARKAR,[23] KEITH,[24] Rai Bahadur HIRALAL,[25] VELANKAR[26] and others have made a considerable addition to our knowledge.

Hundreds of Jaina inscriptions were brought to light by Journals like *The Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Carnatica, Indian Antiquary, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, South Indian Inscriptions, Jaina Antiquary* and annual *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*. These and others have been embodied in separate monographs by GUERINOT,[27] NAHAR,[28] Muni JINAVIJAYA,[29] and by scholars like RICE, HULTZCH, KIELHORN, FERGUSSON, BURGESS, FLEET and others.

Evaluation of Literary and Epigraphical Sources :

A proper evaluation and selection of material out of this mass of literary and epigraphical sources is needed to build up a somewhat connected

16. *Kalpasūtra* 1879; *Ācārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Kalpasūtra* and *Uttarādhyayana* in *SBE*, Vol.: XXII, XLV, 1884.
17. *Aupapātika* 1883.
18. *Uvasagadasāo* 1884.
19. *Uttarādhyayana* 1921.
20. *Rep. in search of Skt. Mss.*: 1869-82.
21. Do.—years: 1869-82.
22. Do.—years: 1886-92, London 1894.
23. Do.—years 1882-97.
24. Do.—year 1911.
25. Do.—Nagpur 1926.
26. Do. *BBRAS.*, 1930.
27. *Reportaire d'Epigraphie Jaina* 1908.
28. *Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, 3 Vols. 1918.
29. *Prācīna Jaina Lekha Sangraha*, Bhāvanagar.

history of Jaina monachism, as both of these types of sources may be said to have certain merits as well as demerits.

The data and the nature of a literary source is not easy to fix. It may have derived its material from tradition, or partly from tradition and partly from a historical event. The epigraphical data is generally historical, often contemporary with the event, though usually brief. Inscriptions may be said to serve as a kind of a check on the literary sources, and they sometimes supplement and vindicate the information in the texts, as in the case of the *Kalpasūtra* and the Mathurā Inscriptions.[30] Thus the information as given in the Jaina canonical texts checked by historical evidence may be said to form the basis of the historical approach to Jaina monachism.

The importance of Śvet. and Dig. works:

Considering the fact that little work, particularly on Jaina monachism has been done up till now, a study of the Śvetāmbara canon together with its exegetical literature as also that of the early and later Digambara texts presents an interesting field for research. Irrespective of the fact that the Jaina canonical books "are written in a dry-as-dust, matter of fact, didactic tone, and .... are seldom instinct with general human interest which so many Buddhist texts possess,"[31] they are of immense value for our purpose. The texts of the canon of a monachism well-known for its ethical and ascetic practices are bound to be so.

Limitations of the Śvet. Canon:

Before entering into a detailed study of the Śvetāmbara Canon, it should be made clear that the group of texts known as the 'Siddhānta' or 'Āgama' is acknowledged only by the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jaina Church and it is disowned and taken as unauthoritative by the Digambaras.

Moreover, among the different groups of texts that go to form the Śvetāmbara canon, no unanimity about the total number of the books of the Āgama can be had. Different scholars come to different conclusions.[32] The following list, however, based on the opinion of scholars like WINTERNITZ[33] and WEBER,[34] is generally accepted.

30. BÜHLER. *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp. 58-60.

31. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 426; also WEBER: '(Jaina) literature, remarkable not less for its immensity than for its monotony and intellectual poverty"—*I.A.* Vol. XVII, p. 290.

32. Prof. KAPADIA gives a list of 84 books of the Canon: *Canonical Lit. of the Jainas*, p. 58; See GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, tran. p. 100.; also *Ṭhān.* p. 49b; *Anugoya*, pp. 3-5; 201-02; *Nandī*. 114.

33. *op. cit.*, pp. 428-30.

34. *I.A.* Vols. XVII-XXI.

The Śvetāmbara Canon:

The Śvetāmbara Canon is divided into the following principal categories:

The Angas:

(1) *Āyāranga.*
(2) *Sūyagaḍanga.*
(3) *Ṭhāṇanga.*
(4) *Samavāyānga.*
(5) *Viyāhapaṇṇatti,* (also called *Bhagavati*).
(6) *Nāyādhammakahāo.*
(7) *Uvāsagadasāo.*
(8) *Antagaḍadasāo.*
(9) *Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo.*
(10) *Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṁ.*
(11) *Vivāgasuya.*
(12) *Diṭṭhivāya* (not extant).

The Upāngas:

(1) *Ovavāiya.*
(2) *Rāyapaseṇaijja.*
(3) *Jīvābhigama.*
(4) *Pannavaṇā.*
(5) *Sūriyapaṇṇatti.*
(6) *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti.*
(7) *Candapaṇṇatti.*
(8) *Niryāvalīo.*
(9) *Kappāvaḍaṁsiāo.*
(10) *Pupphiāo.*
(11) *Pupphacūliāo.*
(12) *Vaṇhidasāo.*

Ten Paiṇṇas:

(1) *Causaraṇa.*
(2) *Āurapaccakkhāṇa.*
(3) *Bhattapariṇṇā.*
(4) *Saṁthāra.*
(5) *Taṇḍulaveyāliya.*
(6) *Candāvijjhaya.*
(7) *Devindatthava.*
(8) *Gaṇivijjā.*
(9) *Mahāpaccakkhāṇa.*
(10) *Vīratthava.*

Six Cheyasuttas:

(1) *Nisīha.*
(2) *Mahānisīha.*
(3) *Vavahāra.*
(4) *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, (or *Āyāradasāo*).
(5) *Kappa*, (also *Bṛhatkalpa*).
(6) *Pañcakappa*, (some put *Jīyakappa*).

Four Mūlasuttas:

(1) *Uttarājjhayaṇa.*
(2) *Dasaveyāliya.*
(3) *Āvassaya.*
(4) *Piṇḍaṇijjutti*, (some put *Oha-n-°*).

Two Miscellaneous Texts:

(1) *Nandi.*
(2) *Aṇuyogadāra.*

Authorship of the Canon:

The Jaina tradition attributes the creation of the sacred lore to the Arhat,[35] and the systematic compilation of it in sūtra form to the gaṇadharas or the chief disciples of the Master. The essence of the doctrine was contained by the fourteen Puvvās which Mahāvīra was said to have exposed to his eleven gaṇadharas. Unfortunately the knowledge of these texts was gradually lost, and only a single gaṇadhara could hand it down to posterity.

The Council of Pāṭaliputra:

This episode of the loss of the canon and the Digambara non-recognition of it, is connected with the famous famine in Magadha during the reign of Candragupta Maurya. It is said that during his reign, starvation conditions led to the migration of a section of the Jaina Church under Bhadrabāhu to South India, while another group under Sthūlabhadra preferred to stay at home.

When the famine was over and normal conditions prevailed, a council was summoned by Sthūlabhadra at Pāṭaliputra early in the 3rd century B.C., to collect and co-ordinate the extant portions of the canon as the famine con-

35. Atthaṁ bhāsai arihā suttaṁ ganthanti gaṇaharā niuṇaṁ sāsaṇassa hiyaṭṭhāe tao suttam pavattai. So also we come across the set formula at the beginning of the texts or chapters in it: 'Jai ṇaṁ bhante samaṇeṇa bhagavayā Mahāvīreṇa' etc.

ditions had perhaps made it impossible for the monks to recollect and study their texts properly.

The Council found that the knowledge of the puvvas was lost and that nobody except Bhadrabāhu who was practising austerities somewhere in Nepal,[36] knew them. The council requested him to reveal his knowledge to others but he refused to do so. Then being threatened with excommunication, he agreed to teach the puvvas to a group of some five hundred monks sent to him for that purpose by the Sangha. Out of the five hundred, only Sthūlabhadra showed the tenacity of mastering all the puvvas. But he too was handicapped by his master's order prohibiting him to teach the last four puvvas, out of the fourteen, to anybody for some transgression done by him. The final effect of the whole incident resulted in the loss of the last four puvvas, and the Pāṭaliputra Council could, it seems, only collect the ten puvvas and the Angas.

The canon fixed by the Pāṭaliputra Council which was 'undoubtedly the first origin of the Siddhānta',[37] was not acknowledged by those who had returned to their home-lands from the south. Being dissatisfied with this attempt of the Council, they went to the length of disowning the canon and declared that the whole group of the Angas and the puvvas was lost forever. Thus the Digambaras came to hold the view that the canon as collected by the Pāṭaliputra congregation was not a genuine one.[38]

The Loss of puvvas:

On the loss of the puvva texts which were said to be incorporated in the twelfth Anga Diṭṭhivāya,[39] different scholars hold different views and attribute various reasons for it.

The Jainas themselves seem to put forward the famine conditions, which seriously affected the daily routine of Jaina monks, as the cause of the non-study and the forgetting of the puvvas.

36. *Āvaśyaka—C.* II, p. 187.

37. C. J. SHAH, *Jainism in North India*, p. 221.

38. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 432. It may be noted that the tradition mentions the loss of the canon in the career of the previous Tīrthankaras also. WEBER, *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 280 : "At the time of Usabha all the twelve Angas were extant; between Jinas 1-9 only the first eleven; between Jinas 9-16 all the twelve were lost; and under or between 16-24 they were all extant. The twelfth Anga was, however, lost again after Jina 24".

39. WEBER, *I. A.*, XX, p. 170.

WEBER, however, attributes it to a different reason. He remarks, "The loss of the entire Dṛṣṭivāda is doubtless principally due to the fact that it had direct reference to the doctrines of the schismatics."[40]

JACOBI opines, "We know that the Dṛṣṭivāda, which included the fourteen puvvas, dealt chiefly with the dṛṣṭis or philosophical opinions of the Jainas and other sects. It may thence be inferred that the puvvas related controversies held between Mahāvīra and his rival teachers....Now if the discourses of Mahāvīra, remembered and handed down by his disciples, were chiefly controversies, they must have lost their interest when the opponents of Mahāvīra had died and the sects headed by them had become extinct."[41]

LEUMANN strikes an altogether different note when he says that the Dṛṣṭivāda must have been full of details regarding magic, spells and such other matter, and hence was given up as a text of the Canon later on.[42]

Whatever be the exact reason for the loss of the Dṛṣṭivāda one thing seems certain, and that is the gradual loss of it. CHARPENTIER comes to the same conclusion when he remarks that "All these explanations (for the loss of the twelfth Anga of the Jainas) seem to me to have one fault in common—viz., that of suggesting that the Dṛṣṭivāda.....had been wilfully rejected by the Śvetāmbaras themselves......Besides, against all such suggestions stand the statements of the Jainas themselves; for they clearly tell us that the puvvas became obsolete only gradually, so that the loss was not complete until a thousand years after the death of Mahāvīra—i.e., just at the time of the final redaction of the canon."[43]

The Council of Mathurā:

This tale of disorder and further loss of the sacred lore was repeated a few centuries afterwards.

In the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, (i.e., 4th cent. A.D.) another great famine held the country in the grip of starvation which resulted in the death of many Jaina monks. At the end of the famine, however, another council was held at Mathurā under the presidentship of Ārya Skandila and whatever remnant of the knowledge of the canon was available was collected together.[44]

40. *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 286
41. *SBE*, XXII, p. XLV.
42. C. J. SHAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31.
43. CHARPENTIER, *Utt. Intr.*, pp. 22-3.
44. WEBER, *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 282.

Jain also refers to another tradition which advocates the view that 'no canon was lost during the period' but persons other than Ārya Skandila who were well-versed in the canon had met with death in the famine.[45]

The canon as compiled by this council goes under the name of Māthurī vācanā.

The Council of Valabhī:

On the strength of the evidence of the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Tīkā*, Jain refers to another council held at Valabhī under one Nāgārjunasūri who seems to have been a contemporary of Ārya Skandila, with a view of collecting the then extant portions of the canon. It seems, however, that these two leaders could not get an opportunity to come together for the final verification and fixing up of the authoritative readings, and the difference seems to have remained right upto the second council of Valabhī.

One point may be noted here regarding the first Valabhī council. We may accept the tradition which speaks of Nāgārjuna and the Valabhī council. But the date which is ascribed to it does not seem to be correct as it falls in the fourth century A.D., it being a contemporary council with that held at Mathurā under Skandila. However, the earliest reference to Valabhī hitherto known, is in 501 A.D.[46] It, therefore, does not seem to have existed much earlier, as it was founded possibly after the death of Skandagupta, i.e., about 470 A.D.

The Second Council of Valabhī:

The present form of the Śvetāṁbara Jaina canon owes its compilation and classification to another council at Valabhī held in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. (980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's death), under the presidentship of Devardhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa. The council made sincere efforts to collect all the available material, and it was then finally written down. In doing so, however, Devardhi took into consideration oral traditions, and old readings, and variants from the followers of Nāgārjuna and others were also recorded. It may be noted that this council could not get any trace of the twelfth Anga which was said to contain the Pūrvās.

The Date of the Canon:

Historically speaking, therefore, the period ascribed to the Śvetāṁbara canon does not seem to go beyond the sixth century A.D. But taking into consideration the role of Devardhi as that of a mere redactor, and the fact

45. *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 32-33.
46. *E. I.*, XVI, 17.

that the Jaina tradition ascribes the origin of the texts not only to the Pāṭaliputra Council but even further back to Mahāvīra and his chief disciples, we may subscribe to the view that "the canon which Devardhi compiled, and which has come down to us, is the final result of a literary activity that must have begun as soon as the organisation of the Order and the monastic life were firmly established. This was in all probability the case not long after the death of Mahāvīra. The earliest portions of the canon may, therefore, quite possibly belong to the period of the first disciples of Mahāvīra himself, or at the latest to the second century after Mahāvīra's death—the period of the Maurya Candragupta, in which tradition places the Council of Pāṭaliputra —whilst the latest portions probably be dated nearer the times of Devardhi."[47]

Authenticity of the Canon:

Irrespective of the fact that the canon is the outcome of a literary activity well over a thousand years, it may be noted that it has embodied older traditions somewhat intact and without a change, on the basis of which we may not question its authenticity, which the Digambaras seem to do.

Scholars like WINTERNITZ and JACOBI put forth the following points to support the authenticity of the Canon.

(i) The evidence of the Mathurā inscriptions support the existence of different gaṇas, śākhās and kulas at the beginning of the Christian era, as given in the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu. Thus the traditions embodied in this text go back to a period of roughly first century A.D. or even earlier.

(ii) In the Mathurā inscriptions,[48] there occurs a reference to one Āryyabaladina who is designated as 'vācaka'. This possibly proves the existence of the teachers of the sacred lore which was in existence as early as the beginning of the Christian era.

(iii) That there were no fundamental alterations in the canon may be proved by the fact that even the Śvetāmbara texts refer to the rule and practice of nudity. Therefore, the flawless handing down of the material of the scriptures was strictly resorted to by the redactors.

(iv) There is, according to JACOBI, a great resemblance between the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions.

(v) "An argument of more weight" as JACOBI puts it, is the total absence of Greek astronomical references in the Jaina canon. According to

47. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-35; UPADHYE, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intr., p. 17.
48. *E. I.*, Vol. 1, Inscr., Nos. III, IV and VII, pp. 382-86.

him, Greek astronomy was introduced into India "about the third or the fourth century A.D.", and hence "it follows that the sacred books of the Jainas were composed before that time."[49]

Antiquity of the different parts of the Canon:

Inspite of this authenticity and antiquity of the canon as a whole, it is very difficult to date each and every text or even a group of texts on a chronological basis, as we get references to later texts in books supposed to be earlier in compilation.[50]

Only a few texts are ascribed to datable authors, as for instance, the *Daśavaikālika* to Sejjambhava (the fourth head of the Church after Mahāvīra, a century after the latter's death),[51] *Pannavaṇā* to Ajja Sāma who is said to have lived in the fourth century after Mahāvīra's death,[52] *Anuyogadvāra* to Ajja Rakkhiya (1st cent. A.D.), *Nandi* to Devardhi, the president of the second Valabhī council, and some Chedasūtras to Bhadrabāhu (c. 4th cent B.C.).

The oldest parts of the Canon:

Due to the absence of any other datable or reliable evidence, we have got to resort to other peculiarities in deciding the probable sequence of antiquity ascribed to different groups of texts in the Śvetāmbara canon.

The Angas:

The Angas have been taken to be the oldest parts of the Canon by many scholars. The reasons put forward in this connection may be summarised as follows:-

(i) That this group of eleven texts was taken to be very important and essential for study, over and above the rest of the canon, may be proved from frequent references to it in other texts denoted by the words 'ikkārasa angāiṁ ahijjhai'.[53]

(ii) The Digambaras also 'hold the twelve Angas—the Dvādaśāngī—in as high an esteem as the Śvetāmbaras',[54] and consent to the view that the gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra knew the Angas as well as the Pūrvās.

49. *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, pp. xl-xlii; WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-34.

50. *Smv.* refs. to *Uttarādhyayana*, p. 64b; to *Nandi*, p. 93b; to *Nisīha*, p. 44a, etc.

51. Date of *Dśv.*: 'The year 98 after the death of Mahāvīra'—WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 433, f. n. 2; see '*Daśavaikālika*,—*A Study*, by Prof. PATWARDHAN.

52. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 433; KLATT, *I. A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 247-251.

53. *Aṇuttar.* (P. L. VAIDYA), p. 58, 69; *Antag.* (VAIDYA), p. 5; *Uvāsaga*, (HOERNLE), p. 67; *Niryā*, p. 36, etc., etc.

54. WEBER, *I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 29.

(iii) JACOBI puts forth the evidence of language and the metres which, according to him, are archaic. He remarks, "I am of the opinion that the first book of the *Ācārāngasūtra* and that of the *Sūtrakṛtānga* may be reckoned amongst the most ancient parts of the Siddhānta, the style of both works appears to me to prove the correctness of this assumption".[55]

For these reasons, we may take the Angas—even though 'parts of the Angas are decidedly quite young'[56], as the oldest portion of the canon, and until critical editions of each and every text of the Angas are available we may ascribe the same antiquity to the whole group rather than go on detecting different strata in every text, which, it should be made clear, would be a matter of years of critical research. We may, in the present state of our knowledge, at the most, take the *Ācārānga* and the *Sūtrakṛtānga* as the earlier texts of the Anga group, when thinking of the whole series of the Anga books.

The Mūlasūtras:

Next to the Angas, the group of three (*Uttarādhyayana, Āvaśyaka* and *Daśavaikālika*) out of the four Mūlasūtras—the fourth being the *Piṇḍa* or the *Oghaniryukti*—, may be taken as having a comparatively lesser antiquity than the Angas.

We have already noted that one of these texts, the *Daśavaikālika*, is attributed to one Sejjambhava who is said to have succeeded as the fourth head of the Church, and who wrote the book for his novice—son Māṇaka, in the year 98 after Mahāvīra's death.

Another text of the group, the *Uttarādhyayana*, seems to be of as much antiquity and appears as "the oldest nucleus consisting of valuable poems—series of gnomic aphorisms, parables and similes, dialogues and ballads—which belong to the ascetic poetry of ancient India, and also have their parallels in the Buddhist literature in part".[57]

Irrespective of the fact that its chapters are "a compilation of various texts, which belong to various periods",[58] the later antiquity of this work as compared with the *Sūtrakṛtānga*, is argued by JACOBI on the basis "of the fact that the *Uttarādhyayana* gives but passing references to various heretical faiths, while the former text gives details about them". In vindication of his opinion, the learned scholar remarks, "Apparently the dangers expect-

55. *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, Intr., p. xii; WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-41.
56. Prof. L. ALSDORF in a private letter to me.
57. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 466.
58. *Ibid.*

ed from that quarter grew less in the same measure as time advanced and the institutions of the sect were more firmly established. Of more interest to a young monk seems to have been an accurate knowledge of animate and inanimate things, as a rather long treatise on this subject has been added at the end of the book".[59]

The *Āvaśyakasūtra*, however, has not retained its pure form inasmuch as it has come down to us only in a mixed state along with the Niryukti. It may therefore be admitted that it is very difficult to fix any date or ascribe roughly the possibility of a particular period of compilation to this text. For want of any other evidence or due to the absence of a critical edition, the material in it has been incorporated, in the present thesis, along with the previously mentioned texts of this group even though there is a possibility of getting information of a later phase of Jaina monachism in the text of the *Āvaśyaka*.

The probable dating of the fourth Mūlasūtra—The *Piṇḍa* or sometimes the *Ogha niryukti*—, will be discussed at a later stage when we come to the Niryuktis as a whole.

From the available evidence on which the above discussion regarding the possible dating of the Angas and the Mūlasūtras has been done, it may be said that these two groups of texts seem to reveal the state of Jaina monachism from about the times of Mahāvīra to roughly the fourth century B.C.

The Chedasūtras :

The group of six texts going under the name of the Chedasūtras 'did not, perhaps, form a group in the Canon until a late period, as it is not always the same texts which are placed in the group'.[60]

Amongst these six texts, only the three—*Dasā*, *Kappa* and *Vavahāra*—are frequently referred to as a single unit, and the tradition says that Bhadrabāhu who "is said to have been the sixth Thera after Mahāvīra, and to have died 170 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa,[61] culled the material for these texts from the ninth Pūrvā.[62] As we have no knowledge of the contents of the Pūrvās as they are said to be extinct long back, we have to

59. JACOBI, *SBE*, Vol. XIV, Intr., p. xxxix.

60. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-62; 'The Piṇḍa-Nijjutti and Oha-Nijjutti ... are also occasionally classed among the Cheda-sūtras'; *Ibid.*, p. 465.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 462.

62. *Ṛshimaṇḍalastotra*. v. 166, in support of this quoted by SHAH, *op. cit.*, p. 233, f. n. 7.

accept the authorship of Bhadrabāhu for these texts, and ascribe them his date, till other decisive evidence is forthcoming.

One point regarding the *Dasā* (*Daśāśrutaskandha*) also called as the *Āyāradasāo*, may be noted. That is regarding the eighth section in it which goes under the name of *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu. In this connection WINTERNITZ opines that only the portion called 'sāmācārī' dealing with rules of rain-retreat may be ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, and the other portions like the biographies of Tīrthankaras and the list of gaṇas, śākhās, kulas and their heads, some of whom are persons posterior to Bhadrabāhu, may be later additions.[63]

Regarding the *Nisīhasutta* we fail to get any clue regarding its author or date. It may, however, be noted that the forms of punishment dealt with in it, viz. parihāra and the ārovaṇā are common with the Vavahāra in many a detail. More than that, WINTERNITZ remarks, on the basis of many similarities between *Nisīha* and the *Cūlās of Acārāṅga*, that 'probably both these works originated in one and the same earlier source'.[64] He, however, takes this work as a later one.[65]

The fifth Cheyasutta called as *Pañcakappa*, being not extant now, one cannot say what material it contained. Instead of this text, sometimes the *Jīyakappa* of Jinabhadra who was perhaps earlier than the sixth century A.D.,[66] is added to the list of the Chedasūtras. From the possible date ascribed to him, we may not attribute the same antiquity to this text as in the case of the *Dasā*, *Kappa* and the *Vavahāra*.

The sixth text termed as *Mahānisīha* 'which perhaps took the place of an earlier canonical Mahā-Nisīha that went astray',[67] has also been taken by WINTERNITZ to be a 'still later work than these two Nijjuttis (i.e. Piṇḍa and Ogha)'. He goes to the extent of arguing whether 'in reality (it) can.... be attributed to the Canon with correctness'.

The reasons put forward by him in support of the above statement are the nature of the language as well as the material in it. References to Tāntric matters and non-canonical literature suggest a later date to this text.[68]

63. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-64.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 464-65.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Dr. UPADHYE expresses this view in a private letter to me.
67. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

The above discussion may be said to bring to prominence the comparatively greater antiquity of the four out of the six texts of the Chedasūtras. We may not be wrong, therefore, in ascribing a period contemporary with that of Bhadrabāhu, to these four texts.

The Rest of the Canon:

In the case of the rest of the groups of texts going under the name of the Upāngas, the Prakīrṇakas and the two miscellaneous texts, no clue for their possible date or even a tradition to that effect, can be had.

The Upāngas:

The Upāngas consisting of a group of twelve texts, may be taken to be the result of an effort to have simply a parallel number of texts to those of the Angas. As a matter of fact, even though they are termed as Angas and Upāngas they fail to reveal any mutual relation between them, and "the connection is merely external".[69]

We have already seen that only one text amongst these Upāngas, has been approximately dated, viz. the *Paṇṇavaṇā* which is ascribed to Ajja Sāma, who is said to have flourished in the fourth century A.D. according to some Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis.[70]

Three other texts of the Upāngas—*The Jambuddīva-Paṇṇatti, Sūriya-P.* and *Canda-P.*—deal with astronomical views of the Jainas. We have already noted JACOBI opining that Greek astronomy was introduced in India round about the third or the fourth century A.D. It is rather difficult to ascertain whether Greek astronomy had some influence in the formation of these texts.

Failing, therefore, to get any other evidence that can provide a clue to the dating of these and other texts, we may not be wrong in ascribing the Upāngas a period later than the Chedasūtras, even though there may be some portions of some texts in them which may be of a greater antiquity.

The Prakīrṇakas:

As the very designation suggests, the group of ten texts called as Paiṇṇas, are 'stray' or 'scattered pieces'. They deal with topics like proper and improper forms of death, the essential duties of the monk (āvassaya), confession and renunciation of faults, the offering of respects to the Arhat, Siddha, Sādhu and Dharma, information about the embryo, details about gods, and rules of behaviour in a gaccha or a unit of monks.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 453; WEBER, *I. A.*, Vol. XX, p. 366.
70. See, KLATT, *I. A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 247, 251.

Only one among these texts, the *Causaraṇa*, has been ascribed to a particular author. One Vīrabhadda is said to have written it. But no details about him are available.

The *Gacchāyārapaiṇṇaya* deals with rules of monastic conduct pertaining to a group of monks, the relations with nuns and the mutual behaviour between the teacher and the disciple. WINTERNITZ remarks that this text "is an extract from the Mahānisīha and Vavahāra".[71]

The *Gaṇivijjāpaiṇṇaya* is full of details about omens, karaṇas, muhurtas, nakṣatras and such other matter, and our remarks in the case of the Paṇṇattis may be applied to this text as well.

Some more points regarding the Paiṇṇas may be noted :

From their contents, it does not appear that all these texts belong to one author.

Another thing is that the list of the Prakīrṇakas has never been constant, and sometimes a greater number of texts is included in this group.[72]

From the nature of these texts discussed above, we may say that they belong to a later period—whether later than the Upāngas or not, it is very difficult to say.

The Two Miscellaneous Texts :

Finally, there remains a pair of texts, called *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra*, which is not classified and hence not included in any other group of the canon.

Out of these two, the former is ascribed, by tradition, to Devardhi, the president of the Valabhī council. Scholars like CHARPENTIER[73] and WEBER,[74] however, are doubtful about this tradition inasmuch as the details given about the Canon in the *Nandi* differs from its present form. But WINTERNITZ seems to justify the claim of Devardhi when he remarks "But, then, do we possess the Canon in exactly the form in which Devardhi edited it?" [75]

Besides the details about the canon, these two texts give sundry information on various topics like popular sciences, wrong beliefs, poetry, gram-

71. *Op. cit.*, p. 461.
72. See f. n. 3, on page 461, in WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*
73. Intr. to Uttar,, p. 18.
74. *I.A.*, Vol. XXI, p. 294.
75. *Op. cit.*, p. 472, f. n. 3.

mar and the rasas etc. WINTERNITZ, therefore, puts them in the class of 'huge encyclopaedias'.

From their contents and the tradition about their author we may take the *Nandi* and the *Anuyogadvāra* to be later works.

Conclusions:

From the above discussion about the possible antiquity of the different parts of the Śvetāmbara Canon, we may arrange the groups in the order of descending antiquity in the following way:

The Angas, then the Mūlasūtras, then the Chedasūtras and lastly the Niryuktis, Upāngas and the rest of the Canon.

The Exegetical Literature:

Besides the Canon, the Jainas have an immense commentarial literature woven round the canonical texts. This literature embodies and refers to old traditions and variant readings. It also mentions certain texts which have become extinct by now.

Besides this, the exegetical literature is of importance from the point of view of social traditions, peculiar customs and practices mentioned in it, as also due to references to several religious sects, schisms and faiths. Thus they give us the social background to monastic practices and alterations in it, if any.

Over and above all these qualifications, the commentaries are essentially useful in properly understanding the texts of the Canon.

Dating of this Literature as a whole:

The exegetical literature has been the creation of a number of centuries, and except for such commentaries which have been ascribed to datable authors, it is not possible to trace the period of each and every book in this type of literature.

The fundamental difficulty in dating the earlier types of commentaries is the late compilation of the Canon itself. WINTERNITZ remarks, "As the Canon was written down at so late a period, it is not possible to fix a definite line of demarcation between the canonical and the non-canonical literature. At all events the non-canonical literature already begins before the completion of the Canon, and it has continued through all the centuries down to the present day".[76] In fact, we have already seen that some of the Niryuktis—viz. Piṇḍa and Ogha, are included as texts of the Canon itself.

76. *Op. cit.*, p. 475.

Types of Commentaries:

The vast exegetical literature consists of four principal types. They are the Nijjutti, the Bhāsa, the Cuṇṇi and the Ṭīkā. The characteristics of each type and their probable periods may be discussed as follows:

(*a*) *The Nijjutti*:

This group of commentaries may be said to form the earliest existing type of exegetical literature. From the fact that some of the Nijjuttis were included in the Canon itself as finally settled in the Valabhī Council, we may say that Jaina monks had already started to write such explanatory literature before the sixth century A.D.

Their Nature:

The Niryuktis, in many cases, are unintelligible without the help of commentaries (bhāṣya) for they contain references which are merely suggestive. Sometimes they briskly pass over from one topic to another by mentioning merely key-words. "The Niryukti is in its main parts only a sort of an index, a collection of versus memorials meant to give an abbreviation of an extensive commentary, where all these tales and legends are told at length."[77]

Their Importance:

Inspite of their summary style, the Niryuktis are important from many other considerations. They contain lot of material regarding various schools and sects,[78] schisms,[79] historical and legendary persons,[80] ecclesiastical history[81] and rules of monastic discipline.[82] All this matter is useful in the history of Jaina monachism.

Niryuktis Available:

Besides the *Piṇḍa* and the *Ogha Niryuktis*, we have Niryuktis available on ten texts of the Canon. They are the Niryuktis on:

(i) *Ācārānga.*
(ii) *Sūtrakṛtānga.*
(iii) *Uttarādhyayana.*

77. CHARPENTIER, *Uttar. Intr.*, pp. 50-51.
78. *Sutrakṛ-N.* vs. 33-35, 86-121.
79. *Āvaśyaka-N.* vs. 779-80.
80. *Sūtrakṛ-N.* ref. to Jamāli v. 125; Abhaya v. 57; Śreṇika v. 57; Govinda Vācaka in *Dśv.-N.* v. 81; Sthūlabhadra *Uttar-N.* 91-100; Vajraswāmi. *Āvaśyaka-N.* 764-773.
81. Same as Ref. 79 and 80 above.
82. *Daśaśruta-N.* vs. 60-86 regarding rain-retreat; Types of death in *Uttar-N.* 212-34.

(iv) *Āvaśyaka.*
(v) *Daśavaikālika.*
(vi) *Ṛṣibhāṣita.*
(vii) *Kalpa.*
(viii) *Vyavahāra.*
(ix) *Daśāśrutaskandha.*
and (x) *Śūryapradnyapti.*

Three Main Types :

Among these ten Niryuktis, Dr. GHATGE[83] finds out three principal types which are as follows:

(i) Those whose texts have been handed down to us without much later additions, as for instance, the Niryuktis on the *Ācārānga* and the *Sūtrakṛtānga,*

(ii) 'those where verses of the so-called Mūlabhāṣya are added to the original Niryukti either to explain it, or to supplement it, viz., the *Daśavaikālika-N.*, and the *Āvaśyaka-N.*',

and (iii) 'those which are now called by the names of Bhāṣyas and Bṛhadbhāṣyas where it is not possible to separate the original Niryukti and the later commentary on it', as for example the Niryuktis on the *Niśītha* and other texts.

It will, therefore, be seen that many of the Niryuktis as handed down to us to-day are not expected to be in their original form as we get their material mixed with the original texts as well as with the Bhāṣyas.

Dating the Niryuktis :

The Jaina tradition attributes the Niryuktis to Bhadrabāhu who is said to have died 170 years after the death of Mahāvīra.[84]

The tradition also says that the *Oghaniryukti* was compiled from the material in one of the fourteen Pūrvās.

Inspite of this support of the tradition, scholars like Dr. GHATGE[85] and Muni PUNYA VIJAYAJI[86] seriously doubt the authorship of Bhadrabāhu.

Dr. GHATGE points out that the *Ogha* and the *Piṇḍa-N.* seem to be an off-shoot of the Niryuktis on the *Daśavaikālika* and the *Āvaśyaka* respectively.

83. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. 12, p. 270.
84. BHANDARKAR, *Report*, 1883-4, pp. 131ff.
85. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 11, pp. 627-29; Vol. 12, pp. 273-74.
86. *Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Smāraka Grantha*, 1941, pp. 184-201.

Granting, however, a comparatively earlier date for the Niryuktis on the *Ācārānga* and the *Sūtrakṛtānga,* he comes to the conclusion that "the later limit for these works can be approximately settled with the help of a few considerations. We find that the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* is often quoted by the canonical works like the *Nandi-Sūtra,* the *Anuyogadvāra* and the *Samavāyānga* which attained to their present form as early as the fifth century A.D., if not earlier. That the arrangement of the canonical works as settled in the Council of Valabhī included two Niryuktis as books in the group called the Mūlasūtras, as also the fact that the ten Niryuktis have for their basis the older arrangement of the canon into works called Angas and Angabāhiras lead us to suppose that they must be considerably older than the second council. The latest reference to a Jaina patriarch is to be found in the *Daśavaikālika Niryukti* (v. 81), where it refers to Govinda Vācaka who lived in the 3rd century A.D. So we can put the collection of these Niryuktis between 300 and 500 A.D., a period which will explain all the references found in the various Niryuktis. But it is much more probable that the reference to Govinda is a later addition, in which cases we can put the collection a little earlier.[87]

Muni PUNYA VIJAYAJI, after carefully examining the tradition which ascribes the Chedasūtras as well as the Niryuktis to Bhadrabāhu comes to the conclusion that the Chedasūtrakāra Bhadrabāhu was different from the Niryuktikāra Bhadrabāhu.

Moreover, in some of the Niryuktis we come across references to post-Bhadrabāhu persons.[88]

For the above reasons we may not be wrong in ascribing the Niryuktis to a period later than the Chedasūtras.

(b) *The Bhāsas :*

The next category of commentorial literature consists of the Bhāṣyas which are written in Prākrit verses, and are very much intermingled with the text of the Niryuktis proper.

Eleven books of the Canon seem to have been equipped with the Bhāṣyas.[89] They are:

(1) *Āvaśyaka.*
(2) *Daśavaikālika.*

87. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. 12, pp. 273-74.

88. Ref. to Sthūlabhadra in *Uttar-N.* vs. 91-100; Vajraswāmin and Ārya Rakṣita in *Āvaśyaka-N.* vs. 764-773.

89. KAPADIA, H. R., *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas,* p. 187.

(3) *Uttarādhyayana.*
(4) *Vyavahāra.*
(5) *Niśītha.*
(6) *Bṛhatkalpa.*
(7) *Pañcakalpa.*
(8) *Jītakalpa.*
(9) *Pañcamangalaśrutaskandha.*
(10) *Ogha-Niryukti.*
and (11) *Piṇḍa-Niryukti.*

Their Authorship and Date :

Most of these Bhāṣyas are anonymous. Only one among the above eleven, viz. that on the *Bṛhatkalpa* is said to have been written by Sanghadāsangaṇi.

The date and the authorship of the rest is still not certain.

Their Importance :

We have already seen that the Niryuktis can be understood with the help of the Bhāṣyas. They not only explain but even supplement the information as given in the Niryuktis.

(c) *The Cuṇṇis :*

The Cuṇṇis form the third group of commentaries which are written in a language which is a peculiar mixture of Sanskrit and Prākrit.

KAPADIA gives a list of Cuṇṇis on as many as twenty texts of the Canon. Unfortunately very few of them have been published up till now, and a majority of them are still to be found deposited in various Jaina Bhandars in manuscript form.[90]

Their Date :

WINTERNITZ seems to ascribe the Bhāṣyas and the Cūrṇis to a later date, when he remarks: "At a later date, these Nijjuttis were extended to form exhaustive commentaries in Prākrit (Bhāṣyas and Cūrṇis)."[91]

On linguistic basis also we may ascribe the Cūrṇis to a period later than the Bhāṣyas because the former are not written in Prākrit alone like the latter, but are a blending of Prākrit and Sanskrit.

90. Hence all the references from Cuṇṇis are accepted in this thesis as are found in JAIN's '*Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons.*'

91. *Op. cit.,* p. 483.

(d) *The Ṭīkās:*

The ṭīkā type of exegetical literature is abundant. It is written in Sanskrit and even upto the present age there are numerous Jaina scholars who produce commentaries on canonical texts.

The names of Haribhadra (8th cent. A.D.), Śīlānka (C. 9th cent. A.D.), Śāntisūri (11th cent A.D.), Abhayadeva (11th cent. A.D.), Devendra (11th cent. A.D.), Maladhāri Hemacandra (C. 12th cent. A.D.), and Malayagiri stand foremost as commentators. Among them Abhayadeva and Malayagiri are prominent as the former wrote *ṭīkās* on nine texts (3 to 11) of the Angas, while the latter on six Upāngas besides those on *Vyavahārabhāṣya*, *Piṇḍanir-yukti*, *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* and *Āvaśyaka*.

Their Importance:

These ṭīkās are important not only from the point of view of the traditional way of explaining the texts of the Canon, but also from the stories they give to illustrate a particular point. They thus throw light on the social background which, in certain cases, reflects contemporary conditions as also change in monastic practices, if any. Inspite of the fact that many of such stories are of a legendary nature, they reveal a touch of the knowledge of human psychology at their basis.

It is, however, unfortunate that no critical edition of each and every ṭīkā is up till now available, and we have to depend on ordinary editions.

Extent of Śvetāmbara Literary Activity:

A survey of the Śvetāṁbara Canon together with its exegetical literature shows that the whole literature is the outcome of the literary activity extending over a period from the date of the Pāṭaliputra Council upto the seventeenth century A.D.

In this period of well over a couple of thousand years, the Śvetāṁbaras have produced not only the Canon but also an abundant exegetical literature of equal importance, the probable periods for which we have tried to indicate in the above discussion.

The Digambara Canon:

We have already seen that the Digambaras do not acknowledge the Canon as fixed by the Śvetāṁbaras.

They, nevertheless, hold in high esteem the tradition about the twelve Angas and the fourteen Pūrvās.[92]

92. Cf. *Mūl.* 9, 65: 'Angāṇi dasa ya doṇṇi ya coddasa ya dharanti puvvāi'.

(a) *The Angas :*

Irrespective of the fact that no exhaustive details about the list of the Angas as acknowledged by the Digambaras is available, yet it may be noted that there appear many similarities between the Angas of the Śvetāṁbaras and those of the Digambaras.

For instance, the name of the sixth Anga for both of these sects is identical—viz. *Nāyādhammakahāo.*[93] The three Prajnaptis, however, are included by them in the first section of the Dṛṣṭivāda.

Regarding the identity of the rest of the books of the Angas between the Śvetāṁbaras and the Digambaras, BÜHLER quotes an interesting incident. He says, "The list of the Angas which they (i.e. the Digambaras) gave me agreed very nearly with that of the Śvetāmbaras. But they asserted that their Angas though bearing the same names as the Śvetāmbara books, differed in substance. In order to test this assertion, I handed to the Pandits a copy of the Śvetāmbara Bhagavatī, and they at once conceded that it was the same text which they used every day."[94]

(b) *The Angabāhyas :*

The second category of the canon of the Digambaras is called as the Angabāhyas or those texts which fall outside the Anga group. This collection of texts is also termed as the Prakīrṇakas and contains works like the following:

(i) *Sāmāika*
(ii) *Caturvimśatistava*
(iii) *Vandana*
(iv) *Pratikramaṇa*
(v) *Daśavaikālika*
(vi) *Uttarādhyayana*
(vii) *Kalpa-Vyavahāra.*

From the names at least, it appears that the first four are similar to the four sections of the *Āvaśyakasūtra* which goes as one of the Mūlasūtras of the Śvetāmbaras, while the fifth and the sixth correspond to the Mūlasūtras of the latter. The seventh appears to be similar to the Chedasūtras of the same names of the Śvetāṁbara Canon.

93. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 473.

94. *I. A.*, Vol. VII, p. 29. The last part of Bühler's remark cannot be verified. The Digambaras do not possess any Bhagavatī. The Paṇḍita consulted by Bühler is perhaps misled by the opening salutation which is common to all Jainas.

(c) *The Anuyogas:*

Besides the above texts, the Digambaras have a classification of four texts going under the name of the Anuyogas. They also like to term them as "the four Vedas." WINTERNITZ, however, designates it by a better phrase when he calls it as 'a substitute Canon.'[95] Though this classification based on the subject matter is pretty old and adopted even in the Śvetāmbara tradition, the enumeration of texts under each heading is only modern.

These Anuyogas are divided into four groups:

(a) *Prathamānuyoga*—In this group, works of legendary nature are included. They consist of the *Padmapurāṇa, Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇap°, Mahāp°, Harivamśap°*, and *Uttarapurāṇa.*

(b) *Karaṇānuyoga*—Works regarding the nature of the universe, the planets etc., viz. *Sūryaprajnapti, Candrap°*, and *Jayadhavalā.*

(c) *Dravyānuyoga*—In this category all works of philosophical nature are included. They are by scholars like Kundakunda (beginning of the Christian era),[96] Umāsvāti,[97] and Samantabhadra (8th cent. A.D.).

(d) *Caraṇānuyoga*—This contains works on the rules of monastic conduct like *Mūlācāra* and *Trivarṇācāra* of Vaṭṭakera (c. beginning of the Christian era),[98] and *Ratnakaraṇḍa—Śrāvakācāra* of Samantabhadra. (8th cent. A.D.).

The Basis of Co-ordination:

A study of the list of the texts forming the canon and its supplement as given by the Digambaras, brings to prominence certain points which may well serve as the basis for finding out a common ground for both these sects.

The following items may be noted in this connection:

(1) We have seen that the tradition about the Angas and the fourteen Pūrvās is common to both these sects, and they hold the Angas in equal esteem and reverence.

(2) Over and above the Angas, we have marked the similarity of the names of some of the texts of the Angabāhiras of the Digambaras and the Mūlasūtras and the Chedasūtras of the Śvetāmbaras.

(3) In the case of the contents also, some of the texts of the Digambaras and the Śvetāṁbaras possibly agree. Instead of looking to all similari-

95. *op. cit.*, p. 474.

96. UPADHYE, *Pravacanasāra*, Intr. p. XXII.

97. For his date, see WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 578. He seems to be earlier than Siddhasena Diwākara.

98. WINTERNITZ, *op.cit.*, p. 477.

ties here—which we will have to do later on when we study monastic practices—a few similiarities may be noted here regarding *Mūlācāra* and some of the Śvetāṁbara texts.

(a) Some of the verses of *Mūlācāra* and *Daśavaikālika* are almost similar in wording.[99]

(b) The improper times for study are similar in *Mūlācāra* and the *Ṭhāṇāṅga*.[100]

(c) In the *Ācāravṛtti* on the text *Mūlācāra*, the commentator Vasunandin says that Vaṭṭakera the author of *Mūlācāra*, 'intended to give in his work a brief summary of the *Āyāranga* for his pupils.'[101]

(4) It may be noted that many authors are claimed to be their own by both the Digambaras as well as by the Śvetāmbaras, as for instance, Umāswāti (called by Digambaras as Umāswāmin), Siddhasena Divākara and others.

From these similarities, it may not be difficult to find out the earliest monastic practices common to both these sects which may reveal the fundamental similarity of these two branches of one system.

The 'Loss' of the Canon :

In the light of the above similarities and fundamental ethical identity, the Digambara tradition about the loss of the canon appears in a quite different facet. In the words of FARQUAHAR we may say that, "The truth seems to be rather this, that during the time when the differences between the two sects were becoming more sharply defined, the Digambaras took so little interest in the sacred books that the Śvetāṁbaras were able to manipulate them in their own interest. The canon bears clear traces of this process of redaction. If this be the truth, we can have no difficulty in understanding why the Digambaras 'lost' the Canon. The traditional date for the loss, 2nd cent. A.D., just gives the time for the process after the schism."[102] And the dates given for the written codification of the Digambara Canon by Puṣpadanta (A. V. 633-83) also stand in favour of the above view.[103]

99. Compare *Mūl.* 10, 121-122 to *Dśv.* 4, 7-8, etc.

100. As a matter of fact there are many other similarities which are discussed in Chapter 2, Part III.

101. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 577; The commentator's date is, however, between 10th and 13th centuries: *Ibid,* note 2.

102. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 121.

103. WEBER, *I. A.* Vol. XVII, p. 282; GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95.

Later Digambara Works :

Inspite of this vagueness about the Digambara Canon, there arose a number of scholars among them who enriched their literature from all points of view.

The names of writers like Kundakunda, Umāsvāti and Vaṭṭakera, we have already noted. Later scholars like Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Prabhācandra, Jinasena, Amitagati, Nemicandra, Āśādhara and others have also played their part in producing a literature upholding the Digambara views.

Non-Jaina Sources :

It may be observed here that the history of Jaina monachism cannot be based solely on Jaina sources, even though they are of fundamental help in this matter. Many points in them need corroboration from texts of other contemporary faiths like Buddhism and Brāhmanism.

Apart from corroboration, these latter sources also supplement the information in many cases pertaining to Jaina monachism.

One thing, however, may be noted while handling these resources. The accounts of rival faiths are generally twisted and exaggerated. A careful synchronisation, therefore, is necessary while dealing with the Jaina and non-Jaina sources.

A study of such synchronisation reveals a wonderful picture of action and reaction not only between the different sects, but also between the social environments. Each sect either kept fast to the traditions inspite of social pressure or bent before it.

The non-Jaina resources are mainly two and they are as under :

(a) The Buddhist Sources :

The importance of the Buddhist sources may be said to be more than that of Brāhmanical ones, inasmuch as, these two faiths reveal many identities between themselves.

Both these monachisms originated in the eastern parts of India, both were led by the Kṣatriya princes who were more or less contemporaries, and both were unhesitatingly against Brāhmanical ritualism and the supremacy of the priest class.

With this common basis and the added element of contemporaneity, Buddhist texts furnish us with many references regarding Jaina tenets and monastic practices. The *Dīgha Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Anguttara Nikāya* and *Mahāvagga* contain valuable information regarding the *Nāṭaputta* (Mahāvīra) which we shall study later on. The *Thera* and the *Therīgāthās*, reveal a

variety of reasons for renunciation which compares favourably with that found regarding Jaina monks.

Apart from this, the study of these texts and other details in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and especially the Pātimokkha, expose many similarities in Buddhist and Jaina monachisms concerning the vassāvāsa, uposatha, rules regarding residence and laws of monastic jurisprudence. These similarities and differences are valuable in deciding the magnitude of mutual borrowing between these two sects.

It should be noted, however, that inspite of the Buddhist references to Jaina tenets, the Jaina texts never condescended to take note of their rivals, and we nowhere find a direct reference to the Buddhists in the Jaina Canon. Later commentators, however, explain those terms or statements of criticism, as they thought them to be pertaining to the Buddhists.

(b) *Brāhmanical Sources* :

A number of religious systems growing up in one region cannot be said to be without mutual impacts. This is also the case in the history of Brāhmanism.

The growth of thought as seen from the Vedas to the Upaniṣads reveals a change in the conception of religion and liberation. The Upaniṣads reveal an intellectual revolt regarding the ideas based on tradition and it is very difficult to know the exact repercussions between the Jaina and the Buddhist philosophies on the one hand, and this Upaniṣadic renaissance on the other.

Apart from this element of revolt, Brāhmanical texts like the Purāṇas which are later than the Upaniṣads, refer to personages, which may possibly turn out to be Jaina. The *Vishṇu*[104] and the *Bhāgwata Purāṇas*[105] refer to Ṛṣabha who used to go about naked, who compelled Indra to send down rain and who died in a conflagration. This description compares favourably with the Jaina account of their first Tīrthankara of the same name.[106]

Besides the resemblance in the life-story of Ṛṣabha, there is yet another similarity in the Brāhmanical and Jaina accounts of Sumati. According to the Jainas, he is the fifth Tīrthankara. The Bhāgwat Purāṇa makes him the son of Bharata and adds that this Sumati will be "irreligiously worshipped by some infidels as a divinity."[107]

104. See WILSON's edition, p. 163.

105. 5, 3-6.

106. Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE*, Vol. XXII, pp. 281-85; *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, ed. Dr. P L. VAIDYA, Vol. 1, Sandhis 1-3.

107. WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 164 n.

Moreover, the twenty second Tīrthankara, Ariṣṭanemi, is connected with the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Thus, it may be said that Brāhmanical texts, though some of them are later in period, do mention some Jaina traditions.

The Brāhmanical sources, moreover, give reference to a number of schools, sects and their practices, which must have influenced other faiths also. The importance of these and their leaders is all the more important when we take into consideration the fact that Jainism suffered heavily at the hands of Brāhmanical leaders in South India.

Epigraphical Sources:

The following are some of the important dynasties, the epigraphs and the traditions concerning which are consulted.

(*a*) *North India and Gujarat*:

Dynasty	Period	Epigraphs or Traditions	Field of Influence
Śiśunāga		T	Anga, Magadha, Kosala.
Nandas	Fall: 4th cent. B.C.	T	Kalinga and Magadha.
Mauryas	4th-2nd cent. B.C.	E and T	North India and South upto Mysore.
(Khāravela)	C. 2nd cent. B.C.	E	Kalinga.
Kṣatrapas	C. 1st cent. B.C.	E	North Deccan, Kathiawad, Malwa.
Kuśāna	1st-4th cent. A.D.	E	North India as far as Pataliputra.
Guptas	4th cent.-6th cent. A.D.	E	Kathiawad, Mālwa, Punjab, U. P., Bihar, Bengal.
Cālukya (Vengi)	C. 7th-12th cent. A.D.	E	Eastern part of Hyderabad.
Gangas (Kalinga)	C. 7th-15th cent. A.D.	E	Kalinga and northern Sarkars of Madras.
Rāṣṭrakūṭas	C. 8th-10th cent. A.D.	E	Karnatak, Deccan, Gujrat.
Guhila	C. 6th-13th cent. A.D.	E	Punjab, Rajputana and Kathiawad
Pālas	C. 8th-12th cent. A.D.	E	Bihar and Bengal.
Pratihāras	C. 8th-10th cent. A.D.	E	Rajputana, U. P., C. I. and northern Gujrat.
Haihayas	C. 8th-12th cent. A.D.	E	U. P., C. P.

Dynasty	Period	Epigraphs or Traditions	Field of Influence
Cāhamānas	C. 8th-14th cent. A.D.	E	Punjab, Rajputana and Gujrat.
Candellas	C. 9th-16th cent. A.D.	E	Bundelkhand.
Paramāras	C. 9th-13th cent. A.D.	E	Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana.
Kacchapaghātas	C. 10th-12th cent. A.D.	E	Rajputana, C. I.
Solankis (Cālukyas)	C. 10th-14th cent. A.D.	E	Gujarat, C. I. and S. Rajputana.
Senas	C. 10th-13th cent. A.D.	E	Bihar and Bengal.
Gāhaḍvālas	C. 11th-12th cent. A.D.	E	U. P.
Mughals	C. 16th-18th cent. A.D.	E	North India and Deccan.

(b) *Deccan, Karnatak, Mysore and South India*:

Dynasty	Period	Epigraphs or Traditions	Field of Influence
Sātavāhana	C. 2nd cent. B.C.	E	Deccan, C. I.
Kadambas	C. 4th-13th cent. A.D.	E	Karnatak, Goa, and Mysore.
Pāṇḍya	C. 2nd-10th cent. A.D.	E	Around Madura.
Pallava	C. 3rd-9th cent. A.D.	E	Trichy and Tanjore.
Gangas (Western)	C. 5th-10th cent. A.D.	E	Karnatak and Mysore.
Cālukya (a) Badāmi	C. 6th-10th cent. A.D.	E	Deccan and Karnaṭaka.
(b) Kalyāṇi	C. 10th-12 cent. A.D.	E	"
Rāṣṭrakūṭas	C. 8th-10th cent. A.D	E	" "
Śīlāhāra	C. 10th-13th cent. A.D.	E	Konkan and Deccan.
Hoysala	C. 12th-14th cent. A.D.	E	Karnatak and Mysore.
Yādava	C. 12th-14th cent. A.D.	E	Deccan and C. I.
Vijayanagara	C. 14th-18th cent. A.D.	E	Mysore and Karnatak.

It would be clear from the above list that epigraphs are available right from the Mauryan upto the end of the Muslim period.

The details and the interpretation of these and those of other minor dynasties will be done in chapters dealing with the picture of Jaina monachism as revealed from epigraphs and the growth of Jaina Church in India.

Scope and limits of the thesis:

Having taken a survey of the material at hand and its drawbacks, the scope and limits of such a history of Jaina monachism may be indicated as follows : —

(a) Inspite of the facts regarding the late codification of the Śvetāmbara canon and the possibility of its original material having undergone some change, the thesis is based on the accepted opinion of the scholars regarding the antiquity of its different parts.

Not ignoring the opinion that each book contains older and younger portions, we have proceeded on the possible antiquity of a group as a whole, rather than dissect each and every part of an individual text. It may be made clear that unless critical editions of all the texts of the Canon are published, it is very difficult to carry out such a penetrating dissection. Till then, our task will be to present the picture of the development of Jaina monachism as revealed in the material at hand whose probable sequence has received the general approval of scholars. It is, at the same time, hoped that the probable periods assigned to these various texts may help the idea of having critical editions not only from the linguistic point of view but even from the point of view of other items like art and architecture, social habits and other details involved in them.

The scheme of the order of descending antiquity would be like this:

(i) The Angas and the Mūlasūtras may be said to depict the state of Jaina monachism from the sixth century B.C. to roughly the fourth century B.C. Making, however, a concession to the opinion that only some parts of the *Ācārānga* and the *Sūtrakṛtānga* are the oldest among the Angas, we may take these two books as representing the oldest phase of Jaina monachism. Then we may study the development or otherwise as revealed in the other texts of the Angas and lastly in those of the Mūlasūtras.

As the Digambara works are not available at such an early date, we may not study their practices in this phase. Moreover, we have already seen that the Digambaras also hold in esteem the tradition of the Angas and the Pūrvās, and that their canon also contains some of the names of the Śvetāmbara Mūlasūtras.

(ii) The second phase may be said to be revealed in the Chedasūtras, Niryuktis and the rest of the texts of the Canon. These texts possibly depict

the state of Jaina Church from C. the 4th cen. B.C. to the codification of the Canon at Valabhī.

In these various groups of the texts, however, the Chedasūtras may be said to represent the earliest portion (C. 4th cent B.C.) as compared with the rest of the books. The Niryuktis are attributed to C. 300 to 500 A.D. or even a little earlier. The Prakīrṇakas may be attributed to a period later than the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. on account of their astronomical details.

The earliest Digambara opinions may be said to be found in the works of Kundakunda (C. 1st cent. A.D.) and Vaṭṭakera (C. 1st cent. A.D.). We have, therefore, incorporated their material in this phase.

(iii) The third phase of Jaina monachism is based on all the post-canonical and commentarial works like the Bhāṣyas, Cūrṇis, Ṭīkās and those of post-Valabhī Jaina writers. This phase, therefore, may be said to extend from the sixth century A.D. onwards.

Digambara works of this period depict their own practices.

(b) The limit placed for the history of Jaina monachism is the close of the sixteenth century A.D. when the influence of the Muslim rule in various parts of the country can be ascertained.

Moreover, with the advent of the eighteenth century, it may be said that the country came in contact, more or less, with the English, which opened up a new era, the effects of which on Indian religious life cannot be fully realised unless a few more centuries essential for 'a look back', elapse.

(c) Taking into consideration the importance of epigraphical sources, all information obtained in them has been included in a separate chapter so as to reveal, as far as possible, the connected picture of the development of Jaina monachism, as against that based on traditions, the texts of the canon, and the works of later writers.

(d) In dealing with the different rules of a monastic system which has been most conservative, repetition of material is unavoidable. It is only when exhaustive details of each phase are described that there is a likelihood of detecting a change or otherwise.

(e) Even though monachism implies a life away from society, the different monachisms in India have played no minor role in the development of social traditions of different people. The impacts of Jainism on society and vice versa, therefore, are studied in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF SAMAṆISM

It was some fifty years ago that JACOBI remarked that "the origin and development of the Jaina sect is a subject on which some scholars think it safe to speak with a sceptical caution, though this seems little warranted by the present state of the whole question; for a large and ancient literature has been made accessible, and furnishes ample material for the history of the sect to all who are willing to collect it".[1]

Role of Modern Research :

Since JACOBI's remark a lot of valuable material regarding Jainism has seen the light of the day, the survey of which we have already taken. In the light of this material, we are perhaps in a better position to search the origin and the development of Jaina monachism.

The Oldest Stratum of Research Material :

As indicated previously, the Canon proves to be of basic importance in this matter.

In the Canon itself, as we have already noted, the Angas possibly form the oldest portion. It may very well claim to depict the conditions of society and religion contemporary with Mahāvīra, who is said to have lived in the sixth century B.C.

The Existence of Monastic Communities :

Anga texts reveal the existence of a number of wandering communities the members of which, out of noble or trifle purposes, entered monkhood and gave up all contact with society.

The *Sūtrakṛtānga*,[2] for instance, refers to as many as three hundred and sixty-three schools which were current at that time, while the *Ṭhāṇānga*[3] gives as many as five divisions of the Samaṇa class itself, viz., Nigganṭha, Sakka, Tāvasa, Geruya and Ājīva. The *Aupapātika*[4] which is perhaps a later text of the canon refers to a number of other monastic communities.

1. *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. i.
2. *SBE.*, XIV, pp. 315-19; *Ācār. Comm.* pp. 15-17; *Smv. Comm.* pp. 102-03.
3. p. 94a, 342b
4. pp. 170-77; See Amūlyacandra SEN: '*Schools and Sects in Jain Literature*'.

Buddhist Corroboration:

The existence of these communities is corroborated by the oldest Buddhist texts also. *The Anguttara-Nikāya*,[5] *Milindapañha*[6] and the *Samyutta-Nikāya*[7] refer to a number of wandering sects and faiths.

Other Support:

Besides these Jaina and Buddhist literary evidences, the accounts of Megasthenes[8] who visited India at the time of Candragupta Maurya, and the edicts of Aśoka[9] reveal a number of ascetic groups at their time.

The Basic Identity of these Communities:

Some of the features of monastic conduct were common to all these communities.

The members of such groups gave up worldly life, and severing all contact with the society, they wandered as homeless persons.[10]

Being least dependent on society, they maintained themselves by begging food.[11]

Having no home, they led a wandering life,[12] staying, however, at one place in the rainy season[13] in order to avoid injury to living beings.

Lastly, they seemed to acknowledge no caste barriers, and hence consisted of various elements of the society.

Prominence to the Samaṇa:

Among all these numerous communities, a place of prominence was always attributed to a class of wandering mendicants called as the Samaṇas.

An attempt on the part of "the Jainas who use the term prior to the Buddhists",[14] reveals their efforts to raise the position of the Samaṇa equal to that of the Brāhmaṇa, if not superior to him.

5 III, pp. 276-77.

6. *SBE*, XXXVI, Pt. ii, Intr. pp. xxiii ff.

7. III, pp. 238, 240; See N. DUTT, *Early Buddhist Monachism*, pp. 34 ff; LAW, *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 89 ff.

8. WILSON, *Works*, Vol. I, p. 324 quoted by RICE, *I.A.* Vol. III (1874), p. 158.

9 *Collection of Prakrta and Skt. Inscri.*, Bhavanagar Arch. Deptt.; Junāgadh, Edict. No. 3: Bambhaṇa samaṇānaṁ ......'; also *Corp. Insc. Ind.*, Vol. L, HULTZSCH, Edn. IV, Edicts of Girnar, Shahbazgarhi and Mansehrā.

10. 'Agārāo aṇagāriaṁ pavvayai' compares favourably with the Buddhist 'Agārasma anagāriyaṁ pabbajati.'

11. Goyarī, Bhikkhāyariyā.

12. 'Gāmāṇugāmaṁ viharai'.

13. Vassā: Common to the Buddhists and the Jains.

14. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India*, p. 143.

Not only in the ascetic community but in the field of intellectual activity also, the Samaṇas were deemed to be equal with the Brāhmaṇa. "According to WINTERNITZ, all intellectual activities in ancient India were not confined only to Brāhmaṇas: there was not only Brāhmanical literature, but there was also the Paribbājaka, Śramaṇa or ascetic literature. These two representatives of intellectual and spiritual life in ancient India are well recognised by the phrase 'Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas' in Buddhist sacred texts, by reference to 'Samaṇa bambhaṇa' in Aśokan inscriptions, and by Megasthenes' distinction between Brāhmanai and Samanai."[15]

Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa in Jaina Literature:

Some of the utterances in early Jaina texts also prove this effort of elevating the Samaṇa and the idealisation of the qualities of rather than the birth as a Brāhmaṇa.

This insistance on the learning of the Brāhmaṇa is clear from the same epithet applied to Mahāvīra.[16] Texts like the *Uttarādhyayana*[17] go eloquent in describing the qualities of an ideal Brāhmaṇa which were perhaps the same that were expected of a good Śramaṇa.

The equality of all those who had become monks is effectively borne out by expressions which say that even a low caste person who became a monk was honoured by the king.[18]

Thus the whole approach was against the caste superiority of the Brāhmaṇa and his ritualism, and a Samaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa, both leading a spotless life, were placed on the same level.

Mutual Reactions:

These communities which were numerous, but had a somewhat identical course of monastic life and a similar approach towards the then priestly class, could not possibly have remained in isolation from one another. There must have been mutual contact, and with that, an exchange of monastic ideas and practices between them.

The similarities between the Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical practices has already been proved by scholars like JACOBI[19] Debates between members of rival sects, members of one faith going to another for further

15. UPADHYE, *Bṛhatkathākosa*, Intr. p. 13.
16. *Uvāsaga.*, HOERNLE, pp. 108, 127; *Sūtrakṛ.*, *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 301.
17. Chapt. XXV.
18. *Ibid*, Chapt. XII: Story of the Cāṇḍāla Harikeśa.
19. *SBE*, XXII, Intr. pp. XXII-XXIX.

knowledge, and difference of opinion and of practice giving rise to the founding of new schisms and independent sects, are to be often met with, both in Jaina and the Buddhist texts. Thus mutual contact must have had some effect on the modification of practices of different sects.

Epigraphical Corroboration :

Out of these numerous communities, however, only three have received, up till now, the support of epigraphy. They are the Jaina, Buddhist and the Ājīvika.[20] Therefore it is very difficult to measure the extent of impact on these three systems by other numerous sects.

We may, therefore, restrict our investigation only to the two systems, viz., Jaina and the Buddhist, as the Ājīvika, as is well known, was an offshoot of Jainism.

Origin : a mystery :

The exact origin and the preparation of the background for the rise of Jaina and Buddhist types of monachisms still remain "wrapped in obscurity".[21] Several fantastic theories were advocated by early writers on the subject.[22] These pioneers went to the extent of denying even the independent existence of Jainism. The efforts of JACOBI, however, set at rest all these views as he most clearly proved that Jainism was older than Buddhism, as well as an independent monastic system.

Jainism and Jaina Monachism :

Before studying the various theories regarding the possible origin of Śramaṇism, it may be stated that the origin of Jainism and Jaina monachism was simultaneous as the former is purely an ethical system.[23] The monastic organisation with an elaborate Church hierarchy was the outcome, possibly, of a later phase in which Jainism was spread in different parts of India and had, therefore, to organise itself.

The Theories of Origin :

Without dealing with fanciful theories and the traditional Jaina view which advocates the existence of Jainism from times without beginning, we

20. *E.I.*, Vol. 2, p. 272.

21. DUTT, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

22. See BARODIA, *History and Literature of Jainism*; also, SHAH: *Jainism in North India*, pp. XVIII-XXI.

23. "Neither Jainism nor Buddhism are religions in the strict sense of the word. They are simply monastic organisations, orders of begging fraternities, somewhat similar to Dominicians and Fransciscans in medieval Europe."—Prof. KUMAR, *J.A.*, Vol. 13, No. 1, p. 35.

may consider here some of the more reasonable views regarding the origin of Śramaṇism.

1. *"Kshatriya Protest"* :

GARBE, JACOBI and others advocate the theory which seems to attribute the origin of Jaina and Buddhist monachisms to the result of a protest by the Kshatriyas against the class exclusiveness of the Brahmins.

GARBE remarks, "These two pessimistic religions are so extraordinarily alike that the Jains were for a long time regarded as a Buddhistic sect, until it was discovered that the founders of the two religions were contemporaries, who in turn are simply to be regarded as the most eminent of the numerous teachers who in the sixth century before Christ in North Central India opposed the ceremonial doctrines and the caste-system of the Brāhmaṇas."[24]

JACOBI seems to support the above view when he says that "the monastic order of the Jainas and Buddhists though copied from Brāhmaṇas were chiefly and originally intended for Kshatriyas."[25]

The theory seems to contain a part of the truth but not the whole of it inasmuch as the Jaina texts do give vent to the denunciation of the Brahmins as well as their elaborate ritualism.

But it should also be noted that the tone of the whole assault—as in the *Uttarādhyayana*,[26] is rather against the degeneration of the Brahmin priesthood as such, and not against the idealised Brahmin. As a matter of fact the Jainas liked to call their Tīrthankara as a 'māhaṇa' who, they seemed to imply, was a symbol of purity of conduct.

Secondly, it appears as a somewhat contradictory phenomenon, that these systems which are supposed to have originated as a protest against the supremacy of the Brahmins, should retain caste distinctions among themselves, as would be clear from the fact that some of the early communities like the Nāya, Śākyas and others which had connection with Mahāvīra and Gotama Buddha respectively were given some concessions regarding their entry to the order.[27]

24. R. GARBE, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 12.
25. *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, Intro. p. xxx.
26. Chapt. XXV.
27. FICK, [*Social Organisation in Buddha's Time*, p. 52], remarks that the Buddhists also "stood as great champions for the purity of blood by keeping the family pure....and not to allow it to degenerate through mixture with lower elements".

This attempt of making some castes superior to others, is further seen in the division of the society, found in some Jaina texts, into "high tribes (Jāti-Ārya) and low tribes (Jāti-Jungiya), high trade (Kumma-Jungiya), high crafts (Sippa-Ārya) and low crafts (Sippa-Jungiya)." JAIN,[28] therefore, remarks that, "Inspite of caste-denouncing preaching and sermons, the Jains could not do away with the time-honoured restrictions of caste."

It may also be noted that the Brahmins were also seeking new means of livelihood by that time. FICK is right when he says that the questions of caste and birth fall to the background "where the care for material existence drives out all spiritual interests."[29]

Thirdly, the tendencies to attack and even ridicule the ritualism of the Brahmins which are generally attributed to Jaina and Buddhist monachisms, may be said to have gathered momentum long before Gotama or Mahāvīra came to be. The same opinion seems to have been rightly pointed out by KUNTE when he says that "the tendencies to question the authority of the Vedas were shown long before Gautama Buddha succeeded in organising opposition to the Vedic polity, social and religious.'[30] As we shall see later on the Upaniṣads also reveal this note to some extent.

For these reasons, it may be said that the Jaina and the Buddhist types of monachisms—irrespective of the fact that the founders of both these systems were Kshatriyas, and that the texts of these sects denounced the degenerated Brahmin priesthood—may not possibly be taken to be the outcome of solely the Kshatriya dissatisfaction. At the most we may say that this revolt against Vedic philosophy and ritualism which was gathering strength for centuries together previously, found the best expression through Mahāvīra and Buddha, besides some others.

2. *"Organised Sophistic Wanderers" :*

Rhys DAVIDS seems to attribute the origin of the Śramaṇas to the influence of well organised sophistic wanderers.

He remarks, "In each of these widely separated centres of civilisation (i.e., not only in India but even outside), there is evidence, about the 6th century B.C., of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in

28. *Life in Ancient India*, p. 141; See, KUNTE, *Vicissitudes, etc.*, p. 502.

29. op. cit., p. 247.

30. *op. cit.*, pp. 407-08; BARTH in *I.A.* Vol. III, p. 330 does not subscribe to the view that Buddha was an antagonist of Brahmanism; MEHTA, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 329, f.n. 3 says that "such a revolt goes back to ancient times: it can be traced as far back as the celebrated hymn on Frogs". See AIYENGAR, 'Sramaṇas', *I.A.*, Vol. X, p. 145.

ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take place of the religion of custom and magic."[31]

Like the previous theory, this line of thought also cannot be accepted in toto for the following reasons:

(i) This theory first notes down the variety and the vast number of monastic communities all the world over in the sixth century B.C., and attributes their origin to an intellectual awakening. Then it seems to argue that this intellectual 'leap forward' is exhibited by the existence of numerous monastic sects. Thus the whole argument runs in a circle, and the cause and the effect are not clear.

(ii) Secondly, the period ascribed to this awakening, viz., the 6th century B.C., does not appear to be so exact. As a matter of fact, we have already seen that this revolt, whether sociological or religious, was not the result of a single century or the work of a single person.

The traces of awakening, as a matter of fact, may be seen even in the Brāhmanical Upanishads, some of the texts of which may well be earlier than the sixth century B.C. Regarding ritualism, sannyāsa and the nature of mokṣa, the Upanishads may be said to reveal far advanced and changed views than those found in the Vedic period.

(iii) Lastly, one cannot say to what extent, Indian monachism or even intellectual thought of the sixth century was influenced by contemporary awakening outside or vice versa. One may even doubt whether foreign thought had any repercussions on India of the sixth century.

For these reasons, the theory is not acceptable, though it may be said that it does mention one fact, viz., the existence of numerous monastic communities and their divergence from the main system in the sixth century B.C.

3. *"Brahmacārin, the model for Śramaṇism"* : .

Spence HARDY[32] and KERN[33] hold that the Brahmacārin might have been the model for the Śramaṇa system, on the ground that many of the qualities expected of these two were identical, to wit, celibacy, strict moral and physical discipline, and zeal for study.

Moreover, according to them, the institution of the Brahmacārin, seems to be older than the rest of the āśramas.[34]

31. *op. cit.*, p. 289.
32. *Eastern Monachism*, p. 74.
33. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 73.
34. *Ṛgveda*, V, 109-15.

Inspite of the antiquity of the Brahmacārin and his similarity with that of the Śramaṇa, the theory may be said to contain the following drawbacks.

Two dissimilarities may be detected between the Brahmacārin and the Śramana:

(i) Firstly, the brahmacārin was a young person who went in search of a good teacher for the sake of obtaining new knowledge. He had to do all sorts of service to his guru and had to stay with the latter till his studies were completed. In some cases, the students settled permanently in the house of the guru. This element was totally absent with the Śramaṇas.

(ii) Secondly, in many cases the Brahmacārin entered married life after completing his studies. The Śramaṇas, on the other hand, were expected to be celibate throughout their wandering life.

Thus, this theory does not seem to be plausible.

4. *"Brahmacārin + Brahmavādin = Śramaṇa"*:

The view which says that the Śramaṇa originated out of the blending of the qualities of the Brahmacārin and the Brahmavādin seems to be an extension of the previous theory.

In support of this theory, Durga BHAGVAT says that, "The truth probably lies midway. The Śramaṇa held the Brahmacārin as a model as far as practical life with all its moral aspects (such as aversion to luxury, observance of chastity) and the daily routine were concerned. For the intellectual pursuits and the means thereof, he was indebted to the Brahmavādin. The Śramaṇa, therefore, is a combination of the student and the wandering master of the Brahman knowledge. He behaves like the one and thinks like the other. Many of the rules of the Śramaṇas, therefore, can be traced back to the rules and habits of both the types of men."[35]

In reply to this view, it may be said that Brāhmanism, Jainism and Buddhism contain more or less common fundamental rules of ascetic morality, and it is very difficult to know the exact magnitude of mutual exchange or borrowing of rules that took place between these three monachisms.

As a matter of fact, Dr. DUTT pushes the idea still further when he remarks that "The Brahmanical sannyāsī, the Buddhist Bhikkhus and the Jaina Samaṇas all belonged to the same ancient society of wandering religious mendicants, and it is obvious that among all these sects there should subsist a certain community of ideas and practices."[36]

35. *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence*, p. 17.
36. *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

Thus an identity of a few monastic practices or philosophical thoughts need not necessarily imply an identical source.

5. *"Śramaṇism: A degeneration of the ideas in the Upanishads"*:

Some scholars like DEUSSEN, trace the monastic philosophies of Jainism and Buddhism to the degeneration of the ideas in the Upanishads.

In this connection, the above scholar remarks, "Even Sānkhyam and Vedānta are not to be considered as original creations of the philosophical mind, for the common basis of both and with them of Buddhism and Jainism is to be found in the Upanishads; and it is the ideas of the Upanishads which by a kind of degeneration have developed into Buddhism on one side and Śankhya system on the other."[37]

As against this view it may be noted that these two systems were anti-Brāhmanical to the degree of not allowing any philosophical idea or roughly even the fundamentals of Brāhmanical philosophy to be the fore-runner of their philosophical views.

And lastly as DUTT rightly remarks, "religious mendicancy in India cannot, in fact, be traced to the materialisation of any one philosophic idea."[38]

6. *"Copy of the Brāhmanical Rules of Sannyāsa"*:

Scholars like JACOBI, BÜHLER and CHARPENTIER, make a more ambitious effort when they opine that Jaina and Buddhist rules of monastic life appear to be the exact copy of the rules for the fourth āśrama, i.e., sannyāsa in Brahmanism.

JACOBI after comparing the rules of these three systems, remarks, "....We see thus that the germs of dissenting sects like those of the Buddhists and the Jainas were contained in the institute of the fourth āśrama, and that the latter was the model of the heretical sects; therefore, Buddhism and Jainism must be regarded as religions developed out from Brāhmanism not by a sudden reformation but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time."[39]

BÜHLER seems to strike the same note when he says that, "the five great vows, most of the special rules for the discipline of the Jaina ascetics are copies, often exact copies, of the Brāhmanical rules for the penitent."[40]

37. "Outlines of Indian Philosophy", *I.A.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 397.
38. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.
39. *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, Intr. p. xxxii.
40. *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 15.

CHARPENTIER also joins their rank when he opines that, "....it is strange characteristic of these sects (Jaina and Buddhist), so far as we know of them, that they adopted in their ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had already been fixed by their Brahmin antagonists."[41]

The real solution to this problem lies in the antiquity or otherwise of the Sannyāsa Āśrama of Brāhmanism.

According to N. N. LAW the traces of the āśrama theory can be detected even in the early Vedic works. He remarks that we do get evidence of the existence of "the student (brahmacārin), the householder (gṛihastha) and the person who renounced the world (muni or yati) .... in the earliest Vedic works."[42]

Inspite of this, however, one cannot take for granted that this theory of the four āśramas was rigorously worked out at that time. For, it is only in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad*[43] that one gets a reference to the *'atyāśramin'*. Moreover, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*[44] we find Yājnavalkya joining the fourth āśrama (i.e. sannyāsa), without undergoing the third. It would be clear from this instance that this theory of four āśramas was possibly still without a proper sequence in its different stages, even in the oldest of the Upanishads.

In this connection SHARMA says, "In the oldest Upanishads, there is evidence of only the first two or three āśramas, viz., that of a student, that of a householder, and that of a yati or muni. According to the *Chāndogya Upanishad,* a man reaches the summum bonum, even in the stage of a householder."[45] It seems from the above observation that the theory of the four āśramas was still incomplete in practice and perhaps no demarcation between the third and the fourth stage was possibly made as these last two stages necessarily implied the abstention from worldly activity.

Apart from the then incompleteness of the theory, some utterances in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[46] and the *Taittirīya Upanishad*[47] do not seem to be favourable even to the adoption by a person of sannyāsa.

41. *CHI.*, Vol., I, p. 150.
42. *Studies in Indian History and Culture,* p. 3.
43. VI, 21.
44. *Bṛh. Ār.* 4. 5.
45. Har Dutta SHARMA, History of Brahmanical Asceticism, *P.O.*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 15.
46. XIII. 4. 1. 1: Praise of householdership.
47. I. 11. 1: Progeny must not be broken.

Comparatively later works like the Dharmasūtras,[48] and Epics[49] and the *Arthaśāstra*[50] distinctly reveal views against sannyāsa.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the facts that the āśrama theory was perhaps still in the making in the period of the older Upanishads, that the stages in it were possibly not followed in a definite sequence, and that the sannyāsa āśrama was not looked at with favour in some of the Brāhmanical texts, we cannot say whether Jaina and Buddhist monachisms originated out of it, and CHARPENTIER even doubts whether "the theory was ever on a great scale adopted in real life in India."[51]

7. *"Magadhan Religion : Indigenous Stream of Thought"* :

A view somewhat opposite to the previous one is advocated by scholars like OLDENBERG, DUTT and UPADHYE. The gist of their theory is that Śramaṇism seems to have developed out of the non-Aryan east Indian indigenous element which did not see eye to eye with the Western Aryans who were not very favourable to monastic life.

UPADHYE says, "Before the advent of the Aryans in India, we can legitimately imagine that a highly cultivated society existed along the fertile banks of the Ganges and Jumna, and it had its religious teachers. Vedic texts have always looked with some antipathy at the Magadhan country where Jainism and Buddhism flourished; and these religions owe no allegiance to the Vedic authorities. The gap in the philosophical thought at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period has necessitated the postulation of an indigenous stream of thought which must have influenced the Āryan thought, at the same time being influenced by the latter......I have called this stream of thought by the name "Magadhan religion."...We should no more assess the Sāmkhya, Jaina, Buddhistic and Ājīvika tenets as mere perverted continuations of stray thoughts selected at random from the Upanishadic bed of Aryan thought current. The inherent similarities in these systems, as against the essential dissimilarities with Aryan (Vedic and Brahmanic) religion and the gaps that a dispassionate study might detect between the Vedic (including the Brāhmanas) and Upanishadic thought-currents, really point out to the existence of an indigenous stream of thought".[52]

48. *Āpastambha*: II, 9, 9.; *Baudhāyana*: II, 6, 29.

49. *MBh.*, Utterance of Bhīma in XII, 10. 20.

50. Punishment for those who renounce the world without providing for their wives and sons in *Arthaśāstra*, II, 1 (p. 48 of Shāma SHASTRI's ed. Mysore, 1909).

51. *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

52. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intr. p. 12; also *Pravacanasāra*, Pref. pp. 12-13.

DUTT, after making a survey of monastic tendencies right from the Vedic to the Upanishadic period comes to practically the same conclusion. He says, "the impact of Āryan thoughts, ideas, speculations of philosophy, on the imperfectly Aryanised communities, without the characteristic Āryan institutions, seems to me to have given birth to Buddhism itself (if an approximate chronology were needed) to a class of men answering to the Brāhmaṇas in Āryan society, who went about in a missionary spirit, dealing in philosophic speculations, teaching the uninstructed, and gaining honour and reputation wherever they went....This seems to me the true origin of the Śramaṇas....They occupy a more distinguished place in the literature that originated in the East—in the Buddhist Pītakas and Jain Angas. 'It is in the East', says an ancient Buddhist tradition, 'that the Buddhas are born' ".[53]

DUTT bases his argument on the following observations:

(a) It is very difficult to know the exact attributes of the "muni" who is described as one girdled with wind and wearing garments soiled with yellow hue, as given in the *Ṛig Veda* (X, 136).

(b) The "muni" of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VI, 33) is taken to be an insane man by his sons when the former is reciting some mantras.

On this point DUTT remarks, "If Aitasa is the type of the Ṛg Vedic Muni, he is surely not the homeless Sannyāsi, yati or paribbājaka". The 'muni' of the Upanishads "approaches more and more to the latter type till he is identified with the Paribbājaka".

(c) The Vrātya of *Atharvaveda* also does not resemble the paribbājaka.

On account of these reasons, he comes to the conclusion that "the Vedic hymns, therefore, which may be said to constitute the earliest and purest Āryan elements in Indian culture, do not mention clearly the condition of religious mendicancy".[54]

(d) Moreover, the theory of the four-fold āśramas also was not fully developed and rigorously executed in the period of the early Upanishads. Apart from this, the whole trend of Brāhmanical literature, with the exception of some of the later Upanishads, did not favour religious mendicancy.

53. *Op. cit.*, p. 67; See pp. 53 ff.
54. *Op. cit.*, p. 58; 'Asceticism was at a discount in the Vedic age'—ALTEKAR, *Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 414.

For these reasons, he concludes that "the institution of Śramaṇism *grew up among the imperfectly Āryanised communities of the East, spread, flourished and became highly popular, and with the remarkable elasticity which is characteristic of Brahmanism, was later affiliated to the Aryan system of life, becoming the fourth āśrama".

The gist of the problem is that those who regard the fourth stage of Brāhmanism to be late and coming from outside, naturally trace Jainism and Buddhism as due to Magadhan substratum, while those who believe that sannyāsa is older than these two, naturally derive Jainism from it.

From the survey of these different theories regarding the origin of śramaṇism, one fact comes to prominence; and that is that each of them stresses a particular factor. All these factors are as follows :

(1) Kshatriya protest,
(2) Organised Sophistic wanderers,
(3) The qualities of the Brahmacārin,
(4) The qualities of the Brahmacārin and the Brahmavādin,
(5) Copy of the Brāhmanical rules for Sannyāsa, and
(6) The existence of Magadhan religion in the eastern parts of India.

Conclusion :

It may be noted that each of these elements may be said to have—to some extent, if not solely—helped the formation of the great wandering community of the Śramaṇas. The Śramaṇas did reveal anti-Brāhmanical feelings as they were dissatisfied with the degenerated Brahmin priesthood. They resembled the sophistic wanderers only because they also led a wandering life with a missionary zeal. They presented similarities with the Brahmacārin as well as the Brahmavādin to the extent of having a few similar moral qualifications. Their life and that of a Brahmin Sannyāsi was perhaps identical due to the fact that both these modes of life were based on the principle of least dependence on society. And lastly, they were predominantly Magadhan inasmuch as they seem to have originated first in Magadha, adopted the local language, influenced the local people and then spread out to the other parts of India.

On the whole, it appears, therefore, that Śramaṇism was the outcome of the blending of all these elements—indigenous and borrowed.

PART II

Chapter 1 : The Historical Background to Jaina Monachism.

PART II

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO JAINA MONACHISM

Whatever be the verdict of research, the Jainas attribute a remote antiquity to their religion. According to their statements, Jainism has been revealed again and again by various Tīrthankaras whose chief mission in life was to propogate right knowledge (samyag jñāna), right faith (samyag darśana) and right conduct (samyag cāritra) to the people steeped in ignorance about the reality.

Ṛṣabha :

Risaha or Usabha was the first among the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. According to Jaina accounts he was born in Kosalā, and was the son of Kulakara Nābhi and queen Marudevī.

Getting all the education which a prince needed, Ṛṣabha lived as a prince for two millions of pūrvā years, and six millions three hundred thousand pūrvā years as a king.

As a king, he acted more as a founder of civilisation than as a despot not caring for the welfare of the subjects. King Ṛṣabha taught his people the seventy-two arts (bāvattariṁ kalāo), among which writing was the first, arithmetic the most important, and the science of omens the last. As against these seventy-two arts of men, he taught sixty-four arts to women as well. He introduced the arts of cooking, sculpture and pottery painting. He started the institution of marriage, and taught the people how to dispose of the dead.

At last, being disgusted with worldly life, he gave away his kingdom to his hundred sons, and renounced the world under an Aśoka tree after pulling out his hair (loya) in four handfuls.

After two thousand years which he spent in bodily mortification and meditation, he got the kevalajnāna (omniscience). After becoming a kevalin, he had several disciples who were divided into eighty-four Gaṇas, each of which was headed by a gaṇadhara.

He had a following as indicated below :

(1)	Monks	..	84000 —headed by Ṛṣabhasena.
(2)	Nuns	..	300000 — headed by Brāhmīsundarī.
(3)	Laymen	..	305000 — headed by Śreyāṁsa.
(4)	Laywomen	..	554000 — headed by Subhadrā.

(5)	Those knowing the 14 Pūrvās	.. 4750
(6)	Those possessing the avadhi knowledge	.. 9000
(7)	The Kevalins	.. 20000
(8)	Those who had the power to transform themselves	.. 20600
(9)	Those of vast intellect	.. 12650
(10)	Those who had reached perfection	
	(a) Males	.. 20000
	(b) Females	.. 40000
(11)	Those who were in their last birth	.. 20900

Fabulous as the total would appear, we have no other evidence to check this number of the followers of Ṛṣabha. After creating such a formidable following, Ṛṣabha ended his life on the mountain Aṣṭāpada after fasting for six and a half days without taking even water.[1]

Evaluation of his career :

From the work he did as a king, it appears that he acted as a reformer and an inventor of civilised modes of human life. His undergoing the various stages of life as a prince, as a married man, as a king and lastly as a monk, seems, at present, a model on which the āśrama theory was advocated later on, and expressed beautifully by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa.*

That he did not fail even as a religious preacher is amply borne out by the enormous number of his followers. Even though we have no historical evidence whatever in this connection, the figures at least imply one possibility, and that is regarding his success in winning a respectable number of disciples.

Non-Jaina Evidence :

Viṣṇu Purāṇa[2] and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* refer to a certain Ṛṣabha, whose life-account resembles more or less to that given in the Jaina texts. The details regarding his parents, his elder son Bharata and his wandering in a naked state may be said to be identical with the Jaina account.

It may, however, be noted that these references though of a supplementary nature, coming as they do from the non-Jaina sources, are of a very late phase as compared with the enormous antiquity given to Ṛṣabha by the Jainas. Moreover, the account of the Purāṇas has not always been corrobo-

1. The above account is based chiefly on *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 281-5; also *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, Ed. P. L. VAIDYA, Sandhis 1-3.
2. See p. 39 above.

rated by historical evidence.[3] Over and above these considerations, the gap that the Jainas put between Mahāvīra and Ṛṣabha is fabulously long.

The Successors of Ṛṣabha :

Twenty three Tīrthankaras are supposed to have followed Ṛṣabha. As no historical evidence whatever, has come forward to prove their historicity we may dismiss them, except the last two, as the products of tradition the antiquity of which, however, may be said to go back to a couple of centuries prior to the Christian era as attested by the Mathurā inscriptions.

It will, however, be not out of place here, to see what the non-Jaina and Jaina traditions have to say about a few among them.

The Jaina tradition makes all these Tīrthankaras as the product of pure Kshatriya race. Another point regarding them is the difference of opinion about the nineteenth Tīrthankara—Mallī[4]—who according to the Śvetāmbaras was a woman, to which the Digambaras do not agree.

We have already noted the Brāhmanical references regarding Ṛṣabha. Along with Ṛṣabha, some other Tīrthankaras are also referred to. For instance, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* mentions Sumati. About him it is said that he "will be irreligiously worshipped by some infidels as a divinity".[5] On this account, it may be that this Sumati was the fifth Tīrthankara who was the son of Bharata.

Another Tīrthankara called Ariṣṭanemi (the 22nd in the list), is connected with the Kṛshṇa legend.[6]

Inspite of such references and the traditional accounts about them, it is not possible to accept the historicity of these twenty-three Tīrthankaras, for the distances between them as well as their longevity is not only given

3. "But what value belongs to these myths of the Purāṇas about Ṛṣabha ... it is wholly impossible to decide"—JACOBI, *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 163; Citing the authority of the Mathurā Inscriptions, or of the antiquities found at Dhārāśiva (Hyd.), and Dhank (Kathiawāḍ), as Shree K. P. JAIN does in *J. A.* IV, No. 3, p. 90, also does not seem convincing about the historicity of Ṛṣabha.

4. *Nāyā*, Chapt. 8.

5. WILSON, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, p. 164n.

6. Shree K. P. JAIN makes out a case in favour of the historicity of Ariṣṭanemi on two grounds: (i) As the historicity of Kṛshṇa is admitted, the same 'privilege' cannot be denied to Ariṣṭanemi. (ii) On the basis of a certain grant found in Kāthiāwad, published in the *Times of India* of 19th March 1935, p. 9, and deciphered by Dr. Prān NATH, he says that this grant belonging to king Nebachandnezaar I (c. 1140 B.C.) or II (c. 600 B.C.) of Babylon mentioning Nemi, goes to prove his antiquity. (J.A. IV, iii, pp, 89-90). It may be noted in this case that the tentative date neither for Kṛshṇa nor for the king can as yet be fixed.

in unbelievable numbers,[7] but also in a descending sequence which gives the whole an appearance of a deliberate planning of mythology rather than a sound historical chronology. JACOBI, therefore, rightly remarks that beyond Pārśva, everything is "lost in the mist of fable and fiction".[8]

Pārśvanātha:

Irrespective of the fact that even the longevity attributed to Parśva-100 years—seems to be a part of the whole sequence, yet "the moderation of the Jainas upto the time of Pārśva is the most remarkable as after that they far outstrip all their compeers in the race of absurdity, making the lives of their Tīrthankaras extend to thousands of years, and interposing between them countless ages, thus enabling us to trace with some confidence the boundary between the historical and the fabulous".[9]

Therefore, even though he is said to have flourished 83000 years after the death of the twenty-second Tīrthankara, the gap of 250 years between him and Mahāvīra, and his longevity of a hundred years, do not seem to "transgress the limits of probability".[10] The gap between him and Mahāvīra makes Pārśvanātha belong to the 8th cent. B.C.[11]

His Life-story:

Pārśva was born of king Āsasena of Vārāṇasī and his queen Vāmā. Leading his life for thirty years as a house-holder, he renounced the world. Undergoing a preliminary period of eighty-three days of hardships and bodily mortification, he led the life of a monk for nearly seventy years, and finally attained Nirvāṇa on the Sammeta Śikhara (in Bengal).

His Field of Influence:

Among the chief cities which he is said to have visited were Ahicchattā,[12] Āmalakappā,[13] Hatthiṇāpura,[14] Kampillapura,[15] Kosambī,[16] Rāyagiha,[17]

7. See *Kalpasūtra, SBE,* xxii, p. 280; also *Ibid.*, text, pp. 186-88.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. Rev. STEVENSON, Pref. to the transl. of *Kalpasūtra*, p. xii, quoted by JACOBI, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
10. LASSEN, *I. A.*, II, p. 261.
11. CHARPENTIER, *CHI*, i, p. 153; Prof. Hirālāl JAIN, says that the caves at Dhārāśiva belong to the Pārśva period, vide his intr. to *Karakaṇḍu Cariya,* ref. to by K. P. JAIN, *J. A.*, IV, 3, p. 90, f. n. 7.
12. *Ācār.* N. 335; see also *Kalpa. comm.*, p. 167; mod. Rāmnagar in Bareilly: *CAGI,* p 413.
13. *Nāyā.* II, p. 222; along the way from Masār to Vaiśālī, in Shahabad Distt., *GEB.*, p. 24ff.
14. Identified with an old place in Mawana Tahsil in Meerut: *CAGI,* p. 702.
15. Identified with mod. Kampil in Farrukhābad Distt., *GEB.*, p. 18.
16. *Nāyā,* II, 10, p. 230; mod. Kosam near Allahabad, *CAGI.*, p. 709.
17. *Nāyā;* =mod. Rajgīr in Bihar.

Sāgeya[18] and Sāvatthī.[19] From this it seems that he wandered chiefly in the modern provinces of Bihar and U.P.

The Followers of Pārśva :

Pārśva seems to have collected a good number of adherents to his faith. The *Kalpasūtra* says that he had 16000 monks under Āryadatta, 38000 nuns under Puṣpacūlā, 164000 laymen headed by Suvrata, and 327000 laywomen, the chief among whom was Sunandā. Besides these he had a number of monks as his disciples who were well-versed in the Pūrvās, and endowed with various supernatural powers, as also those who were destined to obtain liberation in that very birth.[20]

Among the royal followers may be mentioned king Paesi[21] who was converted by Kesi,[22] a disciple of Pārśva, prince Akkhobha,[23] and the parents of Mahāvīra.[24] Besides these, some of his distinct disciples were Kālāsavesiya-putta,[25] Gangeya,[26] Udaya Peḍhālaputta,[27] Punḍarīya,[28] Pārśvā the nun,[29] Mehila, Ānandarakkhiya, Kāsava and others.[30]

These followers were termed as 'pāsāvaccijjā therā'.[31]

Buddhist Evidence :

Apart from the Jaina references to the followers of Pārśva, the Buddhist texts also refer to them. It may be noted that on these references JACOBI finally proved the pre-Mahāvīra antiquity of Jainism.[32] These texts besides giving the details about his religion called as 'cāujjāma dhamma,' as we shall

18. *Ibid.*, II, 9, p. 229;= Ayodhyā.
19. *Ibid.*, II, 9, 10, p. 229; mod. Sahet-Mahet, *CAGI*, p. 469.
20. *SBE.*, xxii, p. 274; also *Smv.* pp. 316, 65a, 101b, 103a, 104b.
21. Mention in the Payāsisutta of the *Dīghanikāya.* It may be noted that the king was contemporary with Kesi who was a contemporary of Mahāvīra.
22. *Uttar.*, 23.
23. *Atgḍ.*, p. 6.
24. *SBE.*, xxii, II, 15, 16 (p. 194).
25. *Bhag.*, p. 99aff.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 439ff.
27. *Stkṛ.*, II, 7 (pp. 419ff); *Ṭhāṇ.*, p. 457.
28. *Nāyā.*, Chapt. 19.
29. *Ṭhāṇ.*, p. 457b.
30. *Bhag.*, 2. 5.
31. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 457b; *Bhag.* pp. 136ff, 247b.
32. *SBE*, xlv, pp. XIV-XXI; *I.A.*, IX, pp. 158-63; also see CHARPENTIER *CHI*, i, p. 153; DASGUPTA, *Hist. of Ind. Phil.* i, p. 173.

see later on, refer to his disciples like Upāli,[33] Abhaya,[34] Sīha,[35] Asibandhaka-putta,[36] Saccā and Paṭācarā.[37]

Pārśva's Religion :

The religion of Pārśva was called Cāujjāma dhamma[38] or the four-fold religion consisting of abstinence from himsā (pāṇāivāya), untruth (musāvāya), stealing (adiṇṇādāṇa) and possession (bahiddhādāṇa). The followers of Pārśva were allowed to put on clothes.

Other aspects of his religion are revealed by the practice of repenting for the transgressions done, as resorted to by the parents of Mahāvīra. They also practised fasting upto death by lying upon a bed of Kuśa-grass.[39]

The practice of giving up all clothing in order to practise the life as a Jinakalpika monk towards the end of one's career is also referred to in the case of Municandra who was the follower of Pārśva.[40]

It may be noted that certain Buddhist texts seem to refer to a similar fourfold religion though they attribute it to the Nātaputta (Mahāvīra). The phrase used there is 'cātuyāma saṁvara saṁvuto',[41] which according to JACOBI[42] refers to the religion of Pārśva.

Church Organisation :

We have already seen that Pārśva had around him a respectable number of followers divided into monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. His monk disciples were divided into eight groups, each of which was headed by a gaṇadhara. The names of these gaṇadharas were Subha, Subhaghosa, Vasiṭṭha, Bambhayārī, Soma, Siridhara, Vīrabhadda and Jasa.[43]

That he did not neglect the order of nuns is also proved by the mention of several of his nun-followers under Pupphacūlā.

33. *Majj. N.* I. Upāli Sutta.
34. *Ibid.* I. Abhayarājakumāra Sutta.
35. *Mahāvagga* VI, 31.
36. *Sam. N.* iv, 317ff.
37. *Jātakas,* III, 1.
38. *Nāyā.* pp. 139, 218; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 457b; *Bhag.* p. 455a; *Uttar.* 23, 12; *Rāyap. sū.* 147.
39. *Ācār.* II, 15, 16 (p. 194).
40. *Āvaśyaka-C.* pp. 285, 291.
41. The Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya,* p. 57 (PTS).
42. *I.A.* IX, p. 160; *SBE,* xlv, pp. XX-XXI.
43. *Smv.* p. 13b: The commentary says that even though the number is eight both in *Ṭhāṇ.* and *Paryūṣaṇākalpa,* yet in *Āvaśyaka* it is ten. Therefore, these two must have been short-lived, *Smv. comm.* p. 14b; also *Kalpasūtra, comm.* p. 169.

Other details regarding the Church organisation are lacking. The only thing to be noted is that these monks led a wandering life, except in the rainy season, to keep contact with the laity.

Evaluation of Pārśva's Order :

In the light of the evidence as noted above, it appears that Pārśva based his order on sound and broad principles of morality, the implications and the details of which were understood by his disciples who were of quick understanding and of a marvellous self-control.[44]

His insistence on Ahimsā may be said to be a reaction to the practices of animal sacrifices current in his contemporary society.[45] Thus he raised a voice of dissent towards such generally approved customs in the society.

Moreover, he kept the doors of his Church open to all people, irrespective of caste, status or creed and thus insisted on the equality of birth.

In order to do this, he was equipped more than anybody else, as by birth he belonged to the royal race among the Kshatriyas. His contact and connections with these powerful ruling magnates must have helped a lot in the spread of his Church. It is unfortunate, however, that many of his royal followers cannot be identified with certainty.[46]

The interval between Pārśva and Mahāvīra :

Of the interval of 250 years between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, we have no knowledge, and it is very difficult to say whether, after Pārśva's death, his religion was in a flourishing condition or otherwise.

One thing, however, may be noted, and that is pertaining to the existence of the followers of Pārśva's system even in the time of Mahāvīra. Among the various important disciples of Pārśva mentioned before, many came in contact either with Mahāvīra himself or with his chief disciple Goyama Indabhūi. It is interesting to note that at Tungiyā,[47] as many as five hundred

44. *Uttar.* 23, 26-27; *Ṭhān.* pp. 201-202; *Mūl.* 7, 114-33. also JACOBI's f.n. 3, on p. 122 of *SBE.* xlv.

45. *Niryā.* (VAIDYA). p. 39 refs. to paśubandha, yajna, yūpa, etc.

46. In this connection, it may be noted, that Prasenajit who was the father-in-law of Pārśva is tried to be identified with the king Senajit, a ruler of the southern Pañcāla mentioned in the Purāṇas: See PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.* pp. 127, 146.

47. JAIN, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 345, has the following note on Tungiyā: "The Jain pilgrims identify Tungiya with the town of Bihar. Probably it may be identified with modern Tungi situated two miles from Bihar—*Prācina Tīrthamālā*, Pt. 1, p. 16 introduction".

disciples of Pārśva (pāsāvaccijjā therā) met Mahāvīra, and accepted his five-fold dharma (pañcajāma dhamma)[48] which was but an extension of the four-fold religion, as we shall presently see.

Mahāvīra :

The gap between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, possibly, saw the rise of innumerable sects and subsects in the religious life of India. This is evidenced by the mention of as many as three hundred and sixty-three sub-divisions of the four principal schools in the *Sūtrakṛtānga*.[49] Besides these schools, the *Aupapātika*[50] refers to a number of monastic communities who differed from each other in the peculiarity of ascetic conduct.

Inspite of this vast number of sects, it may be noted that these were not water-tight compartments which seldom came in contact with one another. On the other hand, "we have to imagine a time when there was no organised religion or established Church in the country to interfere with the freedom of speculation by imposing upon its adherents its professed dogmas, and when conversion implied, in the case of a learner or truth-seeker, no more than a transition from one mode of self-training to another, which he deemed more suitable to his temperament. Nor even in the case of a layman did it ever demand that unflinching devotion or that profession of blind faith which leads men by imperceptible steps to harbour bigotry, to become religious fanatics, and to shut the gates of benevolence upon every stranger fellow-being who is a stranger".[51]

Inspite of this individualistic setting of religious frame which BARUA advocates, it may be noted that in the society of Mahāvīra's time, such liberty and broad-mindedness were lacking. He had, therefore, to assert the equality of birth and status as against the claim to superiority by birth in a Brahmin gotra. It may be made clear here, that Mahāvīra was not against the Brahmins as a whole. But he was against the demoralised priestly class which went to the extent of not only chaining the society by the rigid framework of the caste-system, but also limiting the powers of the king. Therefore, we find the Jaina texts[52] depicting the ideal qualities of the Brahmin and designating their samaṇas as brāhmaṇa as well. It is wrong, therefore, to look at Mahā-

48. *Bhag.* pp. 136ff.
49. *SBE.*, xlv, p. 315; *Stkṛ. ṭī.* pp. 208ff.
50. pp. 170ff; for detailed expl. of these, see A. SEN's '*Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*'.
51. BARUA, *Hist. of Pre-Buddhist Phil.*, p. 365.
52. *Uttar.* XXV.

vīra as anti-Brāhmanical, as also the representative of the Kshatriyas alone in this ideological revolution, the seeds of which, as we have seen elsewhere, were sown long before his advent.

Against this background it would be better for us to note his life-story and then to evaluate his career.

His Life-story :

Vardhamāna 'Mahāvīra' was born at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma.[53] His father's name was Siddhārtha who belonged to the jnātṛ Kshatriyas. His mother was Tisalā who was the sister of king Ceṭaka, the ruler of Vaiśālī and belonging to the Licchavī Kshatriyas. Thus on the father's as well as on the mother's side he belonged to the royal Kshatriya stock.

An incident regarding the birth of Mahāvīra, which, it may be noted, is accepted only by the Śvetāṁbaras, cannot be ignored. It is said that Mahāvīra was first conceived in the womb of a Brahmin lady called Devānandā, but was later transferred to the womb of Tisalā Khattiyāṇī as 'Tīrthankaras are not born in the Brahmin families'.[54] Even though the whole incident has been discredited by the Digambaras, the *Bhagavatīsūtra* puts this episode in the mouth of Mahāvīra himself. The incident described there is that of Devānandā and Usabhadatta, the original parents, coming to see Mahāvīra when the latter was famous as a preacher. On seeing Mahāvīra, milk flowed from the breast of Devānandā due to the strong motherly love she bore towards him. Goyama asked his Master the reason of this, upon which the latter admitted that he was the son of Devānandā. The text goes on to say that these original parents of Mahāvīra accepted the order of their Jaina son.[55]

Curious enough, the tradition about this transfer of the womb goes back to the beginning of the Christian era or even earlier, as it is found depicted in one of the Mathurā sculptures.[56]

To return to our subject, after his birth, Mahāvīra grew up and was in due course married to Yaśodā and had a daughter called Anojjā or

53. Vaiśalī has been identified with Basārh: Distt. Muzaffarpur, and Kuṇḍagrāma with Basukund by Nando Lal DEY, *G.D.* p. 107; See also, GHATGE, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 413.

54. *Kalpasūtra*, JACOBI, p. 225; *Smv.* p. 89a; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 523b; *Ācār.* II, 15, 4-5 (pp. 190-91).

55. *Bhag.* pp. 457-48: (9.33): This may be one of the causes of his having Brahmin disciples.

56. *ASR*, XX, pt. IV, 2-5; Regarding this transfer of womb, CHARPENTIER remarks, "The Digambaras seem to hold the more sensible opinion"—*CHI*, i, p. 158.

Priyadarśanā from her.[57] Then, at the age of thirty, he decided to renounce the world. So taking the permission of his relatives, Mahāvīra renounced the world after tearing off his hair.

For the next twelve years he underwent a course of rigorous bodily mortification at the end of which he attained omniscience. Then for the next thirty years he led the life of a wandering missionary, and obtained Nirvāṇa at the end of his life of seventy-two years,[58] at a place called Pāvā.[59]

Death of Mahāvīra:

Scholars are not unanimous regarding the date of the death of Mahāvīra. The traditional date given in 527 B.C.[60]

There arise serious difficulties, however, in accepting this date as it hardly makes room for the religious activity of Buddha who was said to be a contemporary with Mahāvīra, and whose death as fixed by scholars is 477 B.C. This means that Mahāvīra died when Buddha was only thirty years old and had yet to get disciples.

Another date based on the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra,[61] comes to 467 B.C. to which both JĀCOBI[62] and CHARPENTIER[63] agree, as it can enable us to see various activities of Mahāvīra in relation to some other historical personalities, in their proper sequence.

C. J. SHAH and others, however, like to give it a bit wider range, i.e., C. 480-487 B.C., as it, according to him, "seems more reasonable and more in keeping with the contemporary historical atmosphere and with certain events of Candragupta's own life."[64]

Instead of entering into details about these various theories, we may say that the traditional date cannot be relied upon, and, therefore, the dates as advocated in the last two theories may safely be accepted as they seem to be historically sound in the present state of our knowledge.

57. The Digambaras do not subscribe to this view. They say that Mahāvīra was not married.

58. *Ācār. SBE.* xxii, pp. 189-202; *Kalpasūtra*, pp. 217-70.

59. Mod. 'Pāvāpurī' in Paṭnā District: GHATGE, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

60. JACOBI, *Kalpasūtra*, Intr. p. 8; also *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutunga, quoted by SHAH, *Jainism in North India*, pp. 27-28. See also, K. B. PATHAK, who supports this date *I.A.*, XII, p. 21.

61. 8, 339.

62. JACOBI, *op. cit.*, pp. 6ff.

63. *CHI.* i, p. 175.

64. SHAH, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Mahāvīra's Itinerary:

We have seen that at the age of thirty, Mahāvīra embraced monastic life. During his forty-two years of wandering life he is said to have visited the following places.

Before entering into details, we may make two parts of his itinerary. The first twelve years he wandered as a non-kevalin, and the places he visited were : —

Ālabhiyā	Between Sāvatthī and Rājagiha.[65]
Aṭṭhiyagāma	Hatthigāma along the road from Vesāli to Pāvā.[66]
Avattagāma	Unidentified.
Bahusālagagāma	
Bambhaṇagāma	
Bhaddiyā	Modern Monghyr.[67]
Bhogapura	Between Pāvā and Vesāli.[68]
Campā	Campānagar or Campāpur near Bhāgalpur.[69]
Chammāṇigāma	Unidentified.
Coraga Sannivesa	Possibly Choreya in Lohardugga distt., Bengal.[70]
Daḍhabhūmi	Dalabhum in Sighbhum distt. in Bengal.[71]
Gāmāya Sannivesa	Unidentified.
Gobhūmi	Gomoh (?)[72]
Haṭṭhisīsa	Unidentified.
Jambusaṇḍa	Jambhigaon in Hazaribagh distt., or somewhere near Pāvāpurī[73]
Jambhiyagāma	Unidentified.
Kalambuka Sannivesa	
Kālāya Sannivesa	
Kayalisamāgama	
Kayaṅgalā	Kaṅkajol in Santhal Pargana in Bihar.[74]
Kollāga Sannivesa	Unidentified.

65. RAY CHOWDHURY, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
66. LAW, B. C., *Mahavira: His Life and Teachings*, p. 33.
67. Rahul SANKRITYAYANA, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, p. 248n.
68. *Suttanipāta*, V, 1, 38.
69. *GEB.*, p. 6.
70. *Index Geographicus Indicus*, p. xxv. (BARNESS).
71. JAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
74. Rahul SANKRITYAYANA, *op. cit.*, p. 213n

Kosambī	Kosam, thirty miles south-west of Allahabad.[75]
Kumārāya Sannivesa	Unidentified.
Kummagāma	
Kummāragāma	
Kuṇḍāga Sannivesa	
Kūviya Sannivesa	
Lādha	Mod. districts of Hoogly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and the eastern portions of Midnapore.[76]
Lohaggalā	Lohardagā in the Bengal district which forms the central and north-western portions of Chota Nagpur.[77]
Majjhimā Pāvā	Pāwāpuri, 7 miles to the east of Bihar town in Bihar.[78]
Malaya	South of Patna and south-west of Gayā, in Bihar.[79]
Meṇḍhiyagāma	Unidentified.
Mihilā	Janakapur within Nepal border.[80]
Morāga Sannivesa	Unidentified.
Mosali	"
Nālandā	Bargaon, 7 miles north-west of Rajgir in Patna distt.[81]
Nandiggāma	Unidentified.
Nangalā	
Pālayagāma	
Pattakālaya	
Peḍhālagāma	In Sighbhum distt. in Bengal?[82]
Piṭṭhicampā	Unidentified.
Punnakalasa	"
Purimatāla	Purulia in Bihar.[83]
Rāyagiha	Rajgir in Bihar.
Salisīsayagāma	Unidentified.

75. *CAGI.*, p. 709.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 732.
77. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 475.
78. *Distt. Gaz. Patna.*
79. Muni Kalyanavijaya, *Śramaṇa Bhagwān Mahāvīra*, p. 381.
80. *CAGI.*, p. 718.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 537.
82. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 322.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

Sānulaṭṭhiyagāma	unidentified.
Sāvatthī	Sahet-Mahet on the Rapti.[84]
Seyaviyā	Either Satiabia or Basedita : the latter 7 miles from Sahet-Mahet.[85]
Siddhatthapura	Siddhanagrāma in Birbhum distt.[86]
Subbhabhūmi	Singhbhum in Bengal.[87]
Subhoma	Unidentified.
Succhittā	
Sumangalagāma	
Sumsumārapura	Hilly place near Chunar in Birzapur distt.[88]
Surabhipura	Unidentified.
Suvannakhalaya	
Tambāya Sannivesa	
Ṭhūṇāka Sannivesa	To the north-west of Patna (?)[89]
Tosali	Dhauli or nearabout in Orissa.
Uṇṇaga	Unidentified.
Vācāla	"
Vajjabhūmi	Birbhum (?)[90]
Vāluyagāma	Unidentified.
Vārāṇasī	Benares.
Vayaggāma	Unidentified.
Vesālī	Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.[91]

After his attainment of the Kevala Jnāna, he is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rāyagiha and Nālandā, six in Mihilā, four in Vesāli and Vāṇiyagāma; two in Bhaddiyā and one each at Ālabhiyā, Paṇiyabhūmi, Sāvatthi and Pāvā. From the identification of a few of these places, it appears that the field of influence of Mahāvīra roughly formed the modern provinces of Bihar and some parts of Bengal and U.P. It may at the same time be noted that "the list is neither exhaustive nor chronological, though covering broadly the forty-two years of his itinerary."[92]

84. *CAGI.*, p. 469.
85. DEY, *Geogr. Dict*, p. 184.
86. *History of Bengal.* Vol. I, p. 22, Quoted by JAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
87. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, p. 529.
88. SANKRITYAYANA, *Majj-N.* p. 61n.
89. JAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
91. *CAGI.*, p. 507.
92. GHATGE, *op. cit.*, p. 415; Shree K. P. JAIN, on the authority of *Harivamśa-purāṇa* tries to prove that Mahāvīra had toured extensively in Rajputana, Punjab, South

Followers of Mahāvīra:

At the time of the death of Mahāvīra, he had a large community of monks and layfollowers. He had —

Monks	—	14000	—	under Indabhūi
Nuns	—	36000	—	under Candanā
Laymen	—	159000	—	under Śankhaśataka
Laywomen	—	318000	—	under Sulasā and Revatī.

Besides these he had quite a respectable number of monks having supernatural powers, of those who knew the Pūrvās, of debators and others.[93]

Royal Patrons:

The birth of Mahāvīra in a semi-royal Kshatriya dynasty of the Nāyas from his father's side, and his contact with the Licchavis from his mother's side, put him in a very favourable position, and we see him winning around him a strong royal support in the cause of the spread of his religion.

The Jaina texts mention a number of kings, queens, princes, princesses, ministers and merchants as the disciples of Mahāvīra. Kings like Kūṇiya,[94] Ceṭaka,[95] Seṇiya,[96] Pajjoya,[97] Dadhivāhaṇa, [98] Udāyaṇa,[99] Vīrangaya, Vīrajasa, Sanjaya, Sankha, Kāsivaddhaṇa[100] and others were said to be his devout followers.

Queens like Prabhāvatī of Udāyana,[101] Mṛgāvatī and Jayantī of Kosambī,[102] queens of king Śreṇika and Pradyota,[103] and princesses like Candanā,[104] the daughter of the king of Campā, were among his followers.

India, and north-western countries like Kamboja and Vālhīka (*JSB*. XII, i, p. 17). But the text is certainly late, and the idea there is possibly an after-thought. It probably describes the spread of Jainism contemporary with itself. Regarding the ref. to Mahāvīra's visit to Sindhu-Sovīra (*Bhag*. pp. 556ff), JAIN rightly remarks: "It is quite possible that in later times, the Jainas did come in contact with the people of Sindhu-Sovīra and to prove that their connection with that part of the country was not new, the story of Mahāvīra's visit seems to have originated".—*Life in Ancient India*, p. 261.

93. *Kalpasūtra, SBE*, xxii, pp. 267-68.
94. *Aup*. pp. 44-46.
95. *Āvaś*. C. II, p. 164.
96. *Nāyā*, p. 146; *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 4586; *Uttar*. XX.
97. *Bhag*. *sū*. 442.
98. *Āvaś*. C. II, p. 207.
99. *Bhag*. pp. 556ff.
100. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 430b.
101. *Āvaśyaka*. p. 299.
102. *Bhag*. 12. 2.
103. *Āvaś*. *C*. p. 91; Atgḍ. 7, p. 43.
104. *Bhag*. p. 458b.

Princes called Atimukta,[105] Padma,[106] grandsons of Seṇiya, Megha, Abhaya and others[107] were said to have joined the Church of Mahāvīra.

Historical Identification :

It may, however, be noted that only a few among these kings can be identified, and that there were some who were claimed by the Buddhists as belonging to their own sect.

According to the Jaina texts, Mahāvīra was connected with many of these kings through his maternal uncle Ceṭaka, king of Vesālī. This Ceṭaka was said to have seven daughters who were married to the following persons:[108]

Names :				King of :
Prabhāvatī	married to	Udāyana	..	Sindhu Sovīra
Padmāvatī	,,	Dadhivāhana	..	Campā
Mṛgāvatī	,,	Śatānīka	..	Kauśāmbī
Śivā	,,	Caṇḍa Pradyota	..	Avantī
Jyeshṭhā	,,	Nandivardhana, brother of Mahāvīra.	..	Kuṇḍagrāma
Sujyeshṭhā	Became a nun			
Cellaṇā	married to	Bimbasāra	..	Magadha.

Of these, Udāyana has been the hero of a number of Sanskrit romantic stories and is mentioned in both the Buddhist and Jaina literature, with the difference that the name of his consort appears as Vāsuladattā, a corruption of Vāsavadattā.[109] There is, therefore, sufficient ground for acknowledging the historicity of this person who has been immortalised in various stories and accounts.

Regarding Dadhivāhana, SHAH remarks, "Considering the importance that Campā enjoys in the Jaina annals there is nothing strange if one assumes on the authority of the Jaina literature that the family of Dadhivāhana had a living interest in the Jaina doctrines".[110] Moreover, the daughter of this king, Candanā, was said to be the chief nun of Mahāvīra. There is nothing wrong, therefore, if we take this king as a historical person.

105. *Atgḍ.* 3rd Vagga.
106. *Niryā.* p. 32.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 33; *Nāyā.* Chapt. 1; *Āvaś. C.* p. 115.
108. *Āvaśyaka.* p. 676.
109. Rhys DAVIDS, *Buddhist India.* p. 4: *Āvaśyaka.* p. 674.
110. *Jainism in North India*, p. 93.

Out of the rest, the last in the list, i.e., Bimbisāra is important as he was none else than the famous king of the same name belonging to the Śiśunāga dynasty. But we shall deal with this king later on when we deal with this dynasty as a whole.

It will be clear from the above discussion that only a few of these kings can definitely be identified and "late Jaina tradition, without much historical support, however, brings nearly all the kings of north India in those days in relation to Mahāvīra by describing their queens as the daughters of Ceṭaka, the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra".[111]

Religion of Mahāvīra:

We have already referred to the facts about the existence of the followers of Pārśva in the time of Mahāvīra, and about the religion of Pārśva as followed by the parents of Mahāvīra.

Against this background, we may say that the religion advocated by Mahāvīra was not a creation of his own. The only thing he did was the organisation of moral and disciplinary aspects of the then existing Jaina Church. That he stood for a stricter code of discipline of the body and of the mind is evident from his inclusion of the fifth vow of celibacy to the aggregate of four vows of Pārśva.

The explanation offered by the Jaina texts in support of the inclusion of the vow of celibacy is as follows: The *Uttarādhyayana* says that "the first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last saints prevaricating and slow of understanding, those between the two, simple and wise: hence there are two forms of the Law. The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the Law, and the last could only with difficulty observe them, but those between them easily understood and observed them."[112]

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that Pārśva did not advocate celibacy. What he did was that in the vow of aparigraha (non-possession) he included the vow of celibacy. This indirect implication of non-possession could easily be understood by the followers of Pārśva who were "simple and wise". Mahāvīra's disciples, on the other hand, "being prevaricating and

111. GHATGE, *op. cit.*, p. 415. In the light of the above statement, compare SHAH's remark, "Practically all the most important sixteen Mahājanapadas had, in one or the other capacity, come under the influence of the Jaina Church".—*Op. cit.*, p. 110.

112. *Uttar.* 23, 26-27; *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 201-202; Purimā ujjujaḍā u vankajaḍā ya pacchimā | Majjhimā ujjupannā u teṇa dhamme duhā kae || 26 Purimāṇaṁ duvvisojjho u carimāṇaṁ duraṇupālao | Kappo majjhimagāṇaṁ tu suvisojjho supālao || 27 ||—*Uttar.*

slow of understanding ..... could only with difficulty observe" the vow of non-possession. Hence he had to include the fifth vow of abstaining from all sexual acts in clear terms.

On this, JACOBI remarks, "As the vow of chastity is not explicitly mentioned among Pārśva's four vows, but was understood to be implicitly enjoined by them (i.e. P.'s followers), it follows that only such men as were of an upright disposition and quick understanding would not go astray by observing the four vows literally, i.e., by not abstaining from sexual intercourse, as it was not expressly forbidden.—The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and this is possible only on the assumption of a sufficient interval of time having elapsed between the last two Tīrthankaras. And this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahāvīra came 250 years after Pārśva."[113]

Another distinguishing feature of the reformed code of Mahāvīra was the introduction of the practice of nudity. It is said that he wore clothes for a period of thirteen months after renunciation, and after that he went about naked.[114] Pārśva, his predecessor, is said to have allowed an under and an upper garment to his followers.[115]

Inspite of the fact that Mahāvīra himself told his disciples that 'mae acclate dhamme paṇṇatte' (I have laid down the practice of nudity),[116] we find that the first Tīrthankara, Ṛṣabha also, according to both the Jaina and non-Jaina accounts—as we have seen elsewhere—, went naked in a later stage of his life which may be described as 'avadhūta' in which one is indifferent to the body and public condemnation.

The same point may be noted from the story about the Brahmin Somila who stole off the divine garment of Mahāvīra to make profit out of it. This story, even though late,[117] tends to bring to prominence the possible view that as he was undergoing hardships for twelve years with complete non-attachment for the body, "it (was) but natural that in a state of forgetfulness as this, Mahāvīra was not conscious whether or not he was dressed".[118] It may be remarked that celibacy and nudity are closely related

113. JACOBI, SBE., xlv, p. 122, f.n. 3.
114. *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE.*, xxii, pp. 259-60.
115. *Uttar.* XXIII, 13.
116. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 4606.
117. *Kalpasūtra*, Kalpalatā Vyākhyā, pp. 131ff; See Guṇacandra, '*Mahāvīracariyaṁ*'.
118. SHAH, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

from the point of view of controlling the senses and non-attachment to bodily pleasures and external needs.

Another practice made compulsory, the details of which we shall see later on, was that of Pratikramaṇa (the confession and condemnation of transgressions). It may be noted that this practice was not an invention by Mahāvīra, but the only element he added was its compulsion on all, irrespective of the fact whether a fault was done or not. It was made an item of daily routine. The disciples of the Tīrthankaras from 2 to 23 also did it only when a fault was committed. These disciples were not of a forgetful nature. The followers of the first and the last Tīrthankaras, on the other hand, were of a fickle mind (calacitta)[119] and hence pratikramaṇa was made compulsory. The typical phrase used in this connection was 'cāujjāmāo pañcamahavvaiyaṁ sapaḍikkamaṇaṁ dhammaṁ paḍivajjai'.[120]

External Influence ?

Regarding this tightening of morals, scholars believe that Mahāvīra must have been greatly influenced by similar practices of other contemporary sects. JACOBI says that, "the rigid rules formed no part of the ancient creed of Jainism and Mahāvīra might have borrowed them from the Acelakas or Nirgranthas the followers of Gosāla with whom he is said to have lived for six years".[121] On the other hand, we find CHARPENTIER saying exactly the opposite. He remarks, "Not only was his (Gosāla's) doctrine, although differing on many points, mainly taken from the tenets of Mahāvīra; but his whole mode of life also, in its insistence on nakedness and on the utter deprivation of all comforts, bore a close resemblance to that of the Jainas".[122] Before giving any verdict on the extent of borrowing or copying as took place between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas, it would be better to see the relations between Gosāla and Mahāvīra.

Gosāla and Mahāvīra :

Gośāla, the son of a Mankhali (picture-exhibitor), was born at Saravaṇa in the cow-pen of a Brahmin (hence named go-śāla). When come of age he also practised the same profession as that of his father. While at Rāyagiha, he saw people paying respect to Mahāvīra, and so Gosāla requested Mahāvīra to enlist him as his disciple.

119. *Mūl.*, 7, 114-33a.

120. *Bhag.* p. 99aff: Story of Kālāsavesiyaputta; also pp. 248a, 455a; 791b.

121. *SBE.*, xlv, p. xxxii; See also Mrs. STEVENSON, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 59, 185; BARUA, *Jour. of Deptt. of Lett.* (Cal.), ii, pp. 17-18.

122. *CHI.*, Vol. 1, p. 162.

Once, while they were touring together, Gosāla happened to see a sesamum plant, and he asked Mahāvīra whether the plant would thrive or die. Mahāvīra replied that the plant would perish, and it happened likewise. Further on, Gosāla teased a certain ascetic called Vesiyāyaṇa who tried to burn him with tejoleśyā, but Mahāvīra saved Gosāla from it.

While on the way back, Gosāla created a difference of opinion regarding the sesamum plant, and he severed his connections with his teacher. Then acquiring the tejoleśyā by the way as laid down by Mahāvīra previously to him, Gosāla proclaimed himself as the head of the Ājīvikas, and told the people that he was the Jina.

Making Sāvatthī as the chief centre of his activities, Gosāla once came to stay in the house of his laywoman follower. Mahāvīra also happened to be at Sāvatthī where he denounced the claim of Gosāla to be the Jina. Gosāla, learning this, got wild and tried in vain to burn Mahāvīra with the tejolesyā. This led to further debates and the hitting by magical powers by Gosāla. Mahāvīra declared that Gosāla would die within a week due to the recoil of the magical power on him. Due to that Gosāla, falling ill, gave himself up to drinking and incontinency. Then, when his end was near, he called his followers and told them that Mahāvīra was really great and that he had harassed him out of revenge.[123]

Gosāla advocated the theory of niyativāda or fatalism, and started the practice of nudity and austerities in his sect also.[124]

One thing is clear from the above account, and that is the existence of close relationship between Mahāvīra and Gosāla and the former's earlier career as a teacher. The efforts of the Jaina texts in often refuting the doctrines of the Ājīvikas but not even mentioning tneir far greater contemporary, Buddha, go to imply the close contact between the leader of the Jainas and that of the Ājīvikas. But this close relationship had a limit. For, as GHATGE remarks, "Though it will be going too far to regard Mahāvira as a pupil of Gosāla, and assume many points in the Jaina creed as borrowed from the Ājīvika sect, it is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jaina monks may have come from the code of the Ājīvikas, and some significance must be attached to the coincidence of Mahāvīra giving up his garment in the year of his meeting with Gosāla".[125]

123. *Bhag.* pp. 659a-696a; *Uvāsaga:* HOERNLE's App.
124. *Ibid.* 6, p. 44; *Bhag.* pp. 369bff; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 233b; *Aup. sū.* 41.
125. *op. cit.*, p. 414.

Evaluation of the Role of Mahāvīra:

From the account of his career as seen above, Mahāvīra appears more as a reformer than as the founder of a sect. "By the very nature of the case, tradition has preserved only those points of Pārśva's teachings which differed from the religion of Mahāvīra, while all other common points are ignored. The few differences that are known make Mahāvīra definitely a reformer of an existing faith, and the addition of a vow, the importance of nudity and a more systematic arrangement of its philosophical tenets may be credited to his reforming zeal".[126]......"What he did was, in all likelihood, the codification of an unsystematic mass of beliefs into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen. A decided inclination towards enumeration and classification may be attributed to him."[127]

That he had a winning personality, an organisational skill, and the drive of a reformer can be seen from the several royal followers he could win over for the spread of his Church. Not only royal persons but even people of all classes joined his ranks. In this case it may be noted that his gaṇadharas (chief disciples) were all Brahmins.

Comparing his role with that of Buddha, JACOBI remarks, "Mahāvīra plays a part wholly different from that of Buddha in the histories of their Churches. His attainment to the highest knowledge cannot be compared to that of Buddha. The latter had to reject wrong beliefs and wrong practices before he found out the right belief and the right conduct. He seems to have carved out his own way,—a fact which is easily recognised in all Buddhist writings. But Mahāvīra went through the usual career of an ascetic; he seems never to have changed in opinion nor to have rejected religious practices, formerly adhered to. Only his knowledge increased as in the process of his penance the hindrances to the higher degrees of knowledge were destroyed until it became absolute. His doctrines are not spoken of in the Sūtras as his discoveries, but as decreta or old established truths (paṇṇatta)".[128]

JACOBI's remark seems to minimise the role of Mahāvīra. But it need not. For, it may be said that if one is on the right path in his search for the Absolute, one may have no necessity to discard wrong beliefs, etc. The test is whether Mahāvīra attained the Absolute or not. If he did, then how he did, is immaterial. And what type of this knowledge of the Absolute

126. *Ibid.*, p. 412.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
128. *I.A.*, SX, p. 161.

was, it is very difficult to say or compare with that of Buddha, without ourselves being in a similar position.

When once he got such a knowledge, Mahāvīra chose to express his knowledge in the people's own language—Ardhamāgadhī.[129] Besides the local people, he could absorb en mass the whole following of Pārśva in his Church, as the former had taken that system as his basis for reformation. Thus with old traditions and new zeal of a reformer he led a touring life coming in contact with all, irrespective of caste or creed or status. This contact led to the building up of a strong laity which showered upon him extraordinary devotion, and went to the extent of deifying him.[130]

The Gaṇadharas:

Mahāvīra had built up an excellent cadre of his chief disciples (gaṇadharas) numbering eleven in all, each of whom had several junior disciples under him.

The following information is available about them:[131]

	Name	Caste		Gotra	Place
1.	Indabhūi	Brahmin	Brothers	Goyama	Gobbaragāma
2.	Aggibhūi	"		"	"
3.	Vāubhūi	"		"	"
4.	Viyatta	"		Bhāraddāya	Kollāga Sannivesa
5.	Suhamma	"		Aggivesāyaṇa	" "
6.	Maṇḍiya	"		Vāsiṭṭha	Moriya "
7.	Moriyaputta	"		Kāsava	" "
8.	Akaṁpiya	"		Goyama	Mihilā
9.	Ayalabhāyā	"		Hariāyaṇa	Kosala
10.	Meijja	"		Koḍinna	Tungiya Sannivesa
11.	Pabhāsa	"		"	Rāyagiha.

129. *Aup.* p. 146; *Smv.* p. 60b.

130. For epithets of Mahāvīra like 'devayaṁ ceiyaṁ' etc., *Aup.* pp. 26-41; *Uvā.* (HOERNLE), p. 109.

131. For further details, *Smv.* pp. 69b, 83a, 84b, 86a, 89b, 96a, 97b, 100b; JACOBI, *SBE.*, xxii, pp. 286-87.

The Career and work of the Gaṇadharas:

All these gaṇadharas were well-versed in the Twelve Angas and the fourteen Pūrvās. Most of them died at Rāyagiha after a fast of one month.

Unfortunately, nine out of these eleven gaṇadharas died in the very life-time of Mahāvīra. The two to survive were Indabhūi Goyama who was the pet disciple of his Master, and Suhamma. The first died twelve years after Mahāvīra, and the latter twenty years after Mahāvīra's death.

Suhamma became the head of the Church after Mahāvīra, and "the Nirgrantha Śramaṇas of the present time are all spiritual descendants of the monk Suhamma".[132] From the set formula at the beginning of the several Jaina canonical texts, Suhamma appears to have narrated these, as he had heard Mahāvīra tell them, to his disciple Jambu.[133]

One point regarding these gaṇadharas may not be ignored, and it is the fact that all of them were Brahmins. It may suggest two things. First, that among the Brahmins also an ideological revolution was taking place which is seen clearly in the Upanishads—as we have remarked elsewhere[134] — which made them give up the traditional grooves of thoughts advocating ritualism. Or, secondly, it may mean that inspite of Mahāvīra's organisational ability and contact with the lower classes of the society, it was the intelligentia which included predominantly the Brahmins, that helped him in the spread of his faith. Even though, therefore, he advocated the principle of "spiritual democracy" in keeping open the doors of his Church to all classes and castes, it was the intelligent class who was not full of blind faith but was spurred by the firmness of conviction which it could express with convincing arguments, that furthered the cause of Mahāvīra.

The Schisms:

Inspite of his drive for reformation and the organisation of discipline in the Church, Mahāvīra had to face schisms in his own life-time. In all, eight principal schisms took place upto the origin of the major Digambara-Śvetāṁbara division. Out of these the first two occurred in Mahāvīra's life-time.

132. *Kalpasūtra, SBE,* xxii, p.

133. 'Suyaṁ me āusaṁ teṇa bhagavayā evaṁ akkhāyaṁ etc.......upto...... evaṁ khalu Jambū'.

134. See Part I, Chapt. 3

The account of the schisms is as follows:

1. *Bahuraya*:

It was rather unfortunate that the first rift in the Church was due to Mahāvīra's son-in-law Jamāli.[135] He was also the son of his eldest sister Sudaṁsaṇā.

Fourteen years after the attainment of kevala jnāna by Mahāvīra, Jamāli started this school at Sāvatthī. He maintained that before a particular act is completed its results begin to take place.[136]

2. *Jīvapaesiya*:

This schism originated with Tissagutta in the city of Usabhapura, sixteen years after the attainment of omniscience by Mahāvīra.

It advocated the view that the soul does not pervade all the atoms of the body, an opinion contrary to that held by Mahāvīra.

The followers of this schism were pardoned and readmitted as they came to know the wrongness of their view.[137]

3. *Avvattaga*:

This originated 14 years after the death of Mahāvīra, and it was started by Āṣāḍha at Seaviyā. They held that there was no difference between a monk and a god.

They were enlightened by Balabhadda of Moriya Vaṁsa.[138]

4. *Samuccheiya*:

Assamitta started it at Mihilā, 220 years after Mahāvīra's death.[139]

He held the opinion that the results of the good or the bad actions are immaterial since all life comes to an end sometime.

They, however, realised their mistake through Khaṇḍarakkha and were pardoned.

5. *Dokiriyā*:

This was led by Ganga 228 years after the death of Mahāvīra. It originated at a place called Ullugatīra.[140]

135. For his account, *Bhag.* pp. 461ff
136. *Āvaśyaka. mūl. bhā.* vs. 125-26; *Vṛtti*, pp. 402-05.
137. *Ibid.*, v. 127, pp. 405-06.
138. *Ibid.*, v. 129, pp. 406-08.
139. *Ibid.*, Vs. 131-32, pp. 408-09.
140. *Ibid.*, vs. 133-134, pp. 409-10.

He held that two opposite or contrary feelings like hot and cold could be experienced simultaneously.

6. *Nojīva*:

This was also called as the Terāsiya and its founder was Rohagutta. It was started at Aṅtarañjiā, 544 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.

Rohagupta advocated the existence of a third principle called Nojīva besides Jīva and Ajīva.[141]

The *Kalpasūtra* says that Chalua Rohagutta, a disciple of Ajja Mahāgirī founded this schism,[142] and that the Vaiśeṣika philosophy arose out of it.[143]

7. *Abaddhiya*:

After a period of 584 years since the death of Mahāvīra, Guṭṭhāmahila started it at the city of Dasapura.[144]

He held that the karmic atoms simply touch the soul, but do not bind it.[145]

It may be noted that all these schools never attained the status of a serious schism, but ultimately merged in their original Church.

But the eighth schism which finally brought about a serious rift in the Church was the Digambara-Śvetāṁbara partition.

Digaṁbara-Śvetāṁbara Split:

The traditional accounts regarding this schism differ with these two sects. They are as follows:

Śvetāṁbara Version:

The Śvetāṁbaras relate the story of a certain Śivabhūti, who, 609 years after the death of Mahāvīra, founded a sect called as 'Boḍiya' in the city of Rathavīrapura.[146]

This Śivabhūti had won many battles for his king, and the latter showered honours on him. Naturally Śivabhūti became very proud and used to return home late at night. When once he came late at night, his mother, on the complaint by her daughter-in-law, refused to open him the door, and

141. *Ibid.*, vs. 135-40, pp. 411-15.
142. *SBE.*, xxii, p. 290.
143. *Kalpasūtra*, Kalpalatā Vyākhyā, p. 229b.
144. Identified with mod. Mandasor in C.I.: *CAGI*, p. 726.
145. *Āvaśyaka-bhā.* vs. 141-144; *Vṛtti*, pp. 415-18.
146. *Ibid.*, vs. 145ff; vṛtti, pp. 418-26.

asked him to go to any place the doors of which he was likely to find open. Getting wild, Śivabhūti entered such a place which, however, turned out to be a monastery. He asked the head priest, to initiate him but the priest refused to do so, whereupon Śivabhūti himself plucked out the hair and wandered as a monk.

After some time, this self-initiated monk Śivabhūti happened to come to the same place. The king, his former friend, came to know of his arrival, and sent him a valuable garment as a gift.

Śivabhūti's superior protested and disallowed him to use such a garment. When Śivabhūti did not listen to his advice, the teacher tore off that garment and used it as a mattress. Getting wild and excited, Śivabhūti gave up all clothing and went about naked. His sister Uttarā also followed him and she also became naked. But when the courtesans of the city complained that nobody would go to them seeing the ugly nature of the feminine body, Śivabhūti disallowed his sister to accept nudity. Two other persons called Koundinya and Koṭṭavīra became Śivabhūti's disciples. Thus nudity was started by the Boḍiyas under Śivabhūti.

Digambara Account:

The Digambaras relate a different story in this matter. They say that in the reign of Candragupta (Maurya), Bhadrabāhu predicted a terrible famine in the country of Magadha, for a period of twelve years. Hence a part of the community migrated to South India under his leadership, while the rest remained in Magadha.

When after sometime, the leaders met together at Ujjeṇī, the famine was still there, and hence they allowed the monks to wear a piece of cloth (ardhaphālaka) to hide shame while on the begging tour. But even when the famine was over, those monks refusd to give up the use of the piece of cloth. The conservative element protested against this. And, thus these Ardhaphālakas proved to be the forerunners of the Śvetāṁbaras.[147]

The final separation, however, came later on due to Candralekhā, queen of king Lokapāla of Valabhīpura. It is related that these Ardhaphālaka monks were invited by her. But seeing them neither clothed nor naked, the king was disappointed, and the queen, therefore, asked them to wear complete clothes. Thenceforth, the Ardhaphālakas began to put on white clothes and came to be called as Śvetapaṭas.[148]

147. *J.A.*, VIII, i, p. 35; GLASENAPP, p. 357; PREMI, *'Darśanasāra'*, p. 60.

148. *J.A.*, XI, ii, pp. 6-7; *Bṛhatkathā* of Hariṣeṇa 131; 'Śvetapaṭas', ref. in an epigraph of the period of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman: *I.A.*, VII, No. 37, pp. 37-38.

Corroboration for the Dig. Account:

The following points support the Digambara account:

(1) The Magadha famine and the migration of Bhadrabāhu is referred to in a Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa epigraph of c. 600 A.D.[149] It may be noted, however, that only the incident of migration and not its after-effects are referred to in this epigraph.

(2) In the *Thāṇānga*,[150] Mahāvīra tells Goyama, "I have laid down the practice of nudity (mae acelate dhamme paṇṇatte)." It may be noted that neither the *Ācārānga* nor the *Kalpasūtra* texts refer to the story of Somila Brāhamaṇa. That is found only in the commentaries.

(3) Even the Śvetāṁbara texts refer to two modes of monk-life—the Jiṇakappī and the Therakappī, some among the former accepting nudity and thus trying to copy the Jina.

(4) The inscription of Khāravela of Kalinga (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) refers to the image of the Jina which he brought back from *Magadha* as it was carried away by the Nanda king.[151]

(5) Regarding the sculptures on the Udayagiri and the Khanḍagiri caves, it may be noted that, "Only the Tīrthankaras are represented nude, and even they are occasionally shown dressed, if the scene is intended to represent some scene of their human life."[152]

Śvetāmbara Arguments:

As against these points, the points in favour of the Śvetāṁbaras are:

(1) The story of Somila does indicate only the state of unattachment to the bodily care by Mahāvīra.

(2) Scholars are still not unanimous regarding the date of Bhadrabāhu, for there were more than one Bhadrabāhus in the Jaina Church.

(3) From the rules regarding clothing as given in the Angas, no compulsion is evident regarding nudity. The only factor that is stressed is non-attachment to the body as well as to clothing.

(4) Even the Jinakalpikas used clothing.

149. *E.C.* II, No. 1; Vol. IV, p. 22; *I.A.* III, pp. 153-58; For Life of Bhadrabāhu, Ibid; Also *I.A.*, XXI, p. 157.

150. p. 460b.

151. *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 80:.

152. Mon Mohan CAKRAVARTI, *Notes on the Remains on Dhauli and in the Caves of Udayagiri and Khanḍagiri*, p. 2.

Modern Scholars :

(i) HOERNLE believes that the idea of Digambaratva may be due to the influence of the Ājīvikas who were also the advocates of nudity.[153]

(ii) Mrs. STEVENSON holds—"The probability is that there had always been two parties in the community: the older and weaker section, who wore clothes and dated from Pārśvanātha's time, and who were called Sthavira-kalpa (the spiritual ancestors of the Śvetāṁbaras); and the Jinakalpa, or puritans, who kept the extreme letter of the law as Mahāvīra had done, and who are the forerunners of the Digambaras."[154]

Conclusions :

The conclusions can best be summarised in the words of Dr. GHATGE.[155]

"The traditional accounts of the origin of the split are puerile and the outcome of sectarian hatred.[156] They, however, agree in assigning it to the end of the first century A.D., which is quite likely. The evidence of the literary writings of the Śvetāṁbaras and early sculptures goes to show that most of the differences between the two sects were of slow growth and did not arise all at one time.

Attempts to explain the origin of this split are mainly based upon only one divergent practice, that of wearing a white robe or going naked, which has given the two sects their names. The split is sometimes traced to differences between the practices of Mahāvīra and his predecessor Pārśva, or the more austere life of his pupil Gosāla, or to the events caused by the great famine in Magadha which occurred at the time of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta, causing the migration of a section of the community to the South. In all probability, Gosāla's teaching has nothing to do with this later division and is firmly repudiated by both sects. The teachings of Mahāvīra and Pārśva on the use of clothes and the practice of nudity were somehow reconciled in the lifetime of Mahāvīra. Orthodox teaching allowed option, producing two modes of behaviour known as Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa, but some sections of the community may have preferred the one to

153. *ERE*, 1, p. 267: ELLIOT in *'Hinduism and Buddhism'* (p. 112) says—"Nudity as a part of asceticism was practised by several sects in the time of Mahāvīra, but it was also reprobated by others (including all Buddhists) who felt it to be barbarous and unedifying".

154. *Heart of Jainism*, p. 79; also JACOBI, *SBE*, xlv, pp. 119-29; P. L. VAIDYA, *Uvāsaga°*, notes.

155. *Op. cit.*, pp. 416-17.

156. See, SHAH, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

the other, and isolated groups insisting on the harder course of life may have well existed from the very beginning.

When the first council was held at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon, a group, given to a more severe mode of life, appears to have repudiated it, perhaps due to the migration "to the coast" caused by the famine. Along with such a group there must have also existed others holding views which combined the opinions of both the sects in various ways. With their disappearance, in course of time, the two sects found themselves in sharp contrast and finally fell apart. By the very nature of the case, no precise date can be assigned to this process."

The quotation, though lengthy, brings out the real basis of the schism, and points out to the impossibility of fixing a tentative date for this schism which was the result of an evolution going on for a long time.

Regarding the history of Jainism in general, in the post-Mahāvīra period, it should be noted that "the spread of Jainism was more a case of successive migration than a continuous expansion."[157] Hence it would be better for us to see its spread dynasty-wise after dividing India into two major divisions—North and South.

North India :

We have already seen that Mahāvīra's field of activity was the eastern part of northern India, and that he had connections with several kings of the traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas.

The Śiśunāgas :

Out of these kings, the Jaina texts often refer to Seṇiya Baṁbhasāra. This Seṇiya is to be identified with the Bimbisāra of the Śiśunāga dynasty. According to the Jaina tradition, his wife was Cellaṇā who was the daughter of king Ceṭaka, the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra.

That this powerful king had come under the influence of Mahāvīra is amply borne out by his debate with a Jaina monk as given in the *Uttarādhyayana*[158] which resulted in an event in which "the lion of kings .... together with his wives, servants, and relations, became a staunch believer in the Law." The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā*[159] also depicts an occasion in which the king together with his wife Cellaṇā came to pay homage to Mahāvīra. Besides these, many of his other wives and sons joined the order of Mahāvīra.[160]

157. GHATGE, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
158. Chapt. 20.
159. X, 6-11.
160. *Nāyā.*, Chapt. 1; *Anuttr.* 1, 2; *Atgḍ.* 16-26; *Bhag.* 4, 6.

Bimbisāra was followed by his son Kūṇiya or Ajāyasattu who was born to Cellaṇā. Kūṇika has also been frequently referred to as a devotee of Mahāvīra. The *Aupapātika* gives a graphic description of his visit to Mahāvīra's sermon. Regarding this king the Buddhists and the Jainas differ inasmuch as the former discredit him by saying that he murdered his father and then ascended the throne. The Jainas, however, admit that he harassed his father by imprisoning him, but they seem to twist the account and show that Kūṇiya repented for it when it was too late because his father, misunderstanding his son's purpose, had already taken poison.[161] The account of the Buddhists, perhaps, hints that this king was not favourable to them, while that of the Jainas, which softens down his behaviour, seems to be the outcome of Kūṇiya's devotion to their faith.[162]

Anyway, this king reigned at any important epoch in Indian history, inasmuch as "it was during the reign of Ajātaśatru that both Mahāvīra and Gautama, the great teachers of Jainism and Buddhism respectively, are said to have entered Nirvāṇa."[163] And, from the Jaina account and Buddhist denunciation of him,[164] it appears that his affinities leaned heavily towards Jainism.

The successor of Ajātaśatru was Udāyi. According to the Jaina accounts, this king also was a devout Jaina. He is credited with the building of a Jaina temple at Pāṭaliputra.[165] That he did not pay merely a lip-sympathy to Jainism is proved by the account which says that he practised fasts after the manner of a Jaina layman. Moreover, the very circumstances of his end which made him face death at the hands of a dethroned prince, who had come with a Jaina ācārya, in the disguise of a Jaina monk, make it evident that the Jaina monks had a free access to his palace without any trouble.[166]

Thus these three major kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty seem to be the followers of the Jaina faith. Of course, no epigraphical evidence is available

161. Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭi*, p. 161-164.

162. "Mahāvīra survived his hated rival Gosāla for 16 years, and probably witnessed the rapid progress of his faith during the reign of Ajātaśatru who seems to have been a supporter of the Jains, if we may infer that gratitude is the motive which leads them to make excuses for the horrible murder of his father, Bimbasāra."—CHARPENTIER, *CHI*, i, p. 163.

163. RAYCHAUDHARI, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 215.

164. Ajātaśatru gives orders for the killing of the Buddha at the instance of Devadattā: Rhys DAVID and OLDENBERG, *Vinaya Texts*, part iii, p. 243.

165. *Triṣaṣṭi*, VI, 181.

166. *Ibid.*, 186ff.

to corroborate these facts, but the mass of traditions around them, and the fact that even the Buddhist texts claim the first and the last king among the three mentioned above, tend to suggest that these kings who were great and powerful, did their best to establish the indigenous religions firm in Magadha as far back as the sixth-fifth century B.C.

The Nandas :

The successors of the Śiśunāgas were the Nandas, and the *Āvaśyakasūtra*[167] makes the first king the son of a barber from a courtesan.

The very fact of their non-Brahmin origin tends to lend support to Jaina accounts of them which show that they were Jainas.

The Khāravela inscription, however, tends to suggest that they had invaded Kalinga and had carried off the image of a Jina. This does not mean, however, that the Nanda empire pertained only to these two provinces. According to Raychaudhari, "Several Mysore inscriptions state that Kuntala a province which included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas."[168]

Inspite of this wide expanse of the Nanda empire, it is difficult to say in what parts they helped Jainism to flourish. The following, however, are the points to be gathered regarding them from the Jaina sources.

(i) The *subodhikā ṭīkā*[169] on the *Kalpasūtra,* says that the minister of the ninth Nanda was a certain Sagaḍāla who was a Jaina, and who was the father of a famous Jaina ācārya Sthūlabhadra. As the ministership of the Nandas was awarded in a hereditary fashion,[170] Sthūlabhadra's brother succeeded his father, while Sthūlabhadra joined the Jaina order of monks.

(ii) We have already referred to the Khāravela inscription which says that that king in the twelfth year of his reign brought back the image of the Kalingajina stolen away by the Nandarāja from Kalinga to Magadha (nandarāja-nītaṁ ca kalingajina sannivesaṁ . . . gaha-ratanāna paḍihārehi).[171] This shows that not only the Nandas were devotees of Jainism, but that at their time Jainism was somewhat an established religion of a community in Kalinga.

167. p. 690.
168. *Op. cit.,* p. 235.
169. p. 162.
170. *Āvaśyaka,* p. 692.
171. Barua, *I. H. Q.,* XIV, pp. 259ff.

This fact gets corroboration even in the Jaina texts. For instance, the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[172] says that there was a certain king Tosalika who was particular about guarding a Jina image in the city of Tosali. References to Mahāvīra's visit to Tosali are also to be met with.[173]

(iii) That the Jaina monks had the trust of the king in them can be seen from the incident that Cāṇakya exploited the services of a Jaina in the revolution which he so successfully brought about in the overthrow of the Nandas.[174]

Inspite of this picture of the Nandas and their feeling about Jainism, it is surprising to note that the Jaina accounts are silent over the state of their religion in the other parts of the Nanda empire besides Magadha and Kalinga. It may be that these two provinces were still their strongholds and that they did not care much for consolidation in regions beyond the land of their own birth.

The Mauryas :

The successors of the Nandas were the mighty Mauryas who were perhaps the first emperors of a large part of India.

The origin of the Mauryas seems to have been with Candragupta, who according to the Jaina accounts, was the son of a peacock-tamer (moraposaga).

We are, however, concerned here more with the affinity of the first king Candragupta towards Jainism. According to the Jaina tradition, in the reign of the king, Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine of twelve years in Magadha, and migrated to South India with a number of disciples, the chief among whom was Candragupta.[175]

Scholars are not unanimous either regarding this tradition about Candragupta or that about Cāṇakya who according to Jaina texts died a death by Saṁlehaṇā or fast unto death.[176] RICE,[177] NARASIMHACAR[178] and

172. 6, 115ff.

173. *Āvaśyaka*, pp. 219-20 (Āgamodaya Smt. Ed., Bom. 1916-17).

174. NARASIMHACAR, *EC*, II, Intr., p. 41. Moreover CHARPENTIER remarks—'Jainas do not share the bad opinion of these kings which was held by the Buddhists. This fact seems to suggest that the Nanda kings were not unfavourably inclined towards the Jaina religion."—*CHI.*, p. 164. Also see *JRAS*, 1918, p. 546; *JBORS.*, XIII, p. 245.

175. RICE, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 3-4: Authority of Rājāvalikathe; also *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa (931 A.D.): 131; (Ed. UPADHYE).

176. *Saṁthāraya Paiṇṇaya*, vs. 73-75.

177. *Op. cit.*, pp. 2-10; *I. A.*, III, pp. 153-58.

178. *Inscr. at Śr. Beḷ.* pp. 36-40.

SMITH[179] accept the tradition of Bhadrabāhu's migration to the south with Candragupta, while FLEET[180] and others doubt it. We have already referred to the epigraph of c. 600 A.D., which refers to the migration of Bhadrabāhu to the south.[181] Apart from this, the mention of 'sarmanes' by Megasthenes[182] who visited the court of Candragupta sometime between 305-297 B.C.,[183] may be taken as a sufficient proof of the ascendancy of Jaina monks under Candragupta. Unless, therefore, any contradictory evidence comes to light we may not challenge the Jaina affinities of Candragupta.

Moreover, the silence of Brāhmanical sources may mean three things. First that he may not have patronized Brāhmanism or that he was an orthodox Brahmin himself, or that they did not know much about his end as he is said to have died far away from his capital, *i.e.*, at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. RAYCHAUDHARI[184] and SHAH[185] maintain that "the epithet Vṛshala applied to him in the *Mudrārākshasa* suggests that in regard to certain matters he did deviate from strict orthodoxy."

If, therefore, we accept the view that Candragupta was a Jaina, then it may be said that he not only made Jainism firm in north India, but also had a hand in spreading it to the Southern parts of his empire as he was one of the pioneers to go there along with Bhadrabāhu and others.

Bindusāra :

Bindusāra was the successor of Candragupta. It is difficult to say anything about his affinities or otherwise towards Jainism as the Jaina sources are silent about him. SHAH,[186] however, says that "he must have extended his dominions so as to cover at least some portions of Mysore. ....It may not be unlikely that, in addition to the Kshatriya ambitions of mere conquest, Bindusāra might have been actuated by filial motive in acquiring Mysore, a place rendered sacred by the last days of his father Chandragupta". But in the light of the reference from Buddhist *Mahāvaṁsa* which he quotes in the next paragraph and which says that Bindusāra was of Brahmanical faith, it is very difficult to maintain the view about his possibility of being not at least antagonistic to Jainism.

179. *OHI.*, pp. 75-76; JAYASWAL, *JBORS.*, iii, p. 452.
180. *I.A.*, XXI, p. 156.
181. *E. C.*, II, No. 1.
182. MCCRINDLE, *Invasions of Alexander*, p. 358.
183. BANERJI, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 84
184. *Op. cit.*, p. 295, f. n. 2.
185. *Op. cit.*, pp. 135-38.
186. *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

Aśoka:

Aśoka, the first sovereign ruler of India, succeeded Bindusāra. He distinguished himself by not only consolidating the empire but also by exhibiting a superb piety which may be said to rest on ethical principles common both to Jainism and Buddhism.

The broad-based liberalism so evident in his edicts has led some scholars[187] to believe that he was a Jaina, while there are others who say that he was a Buddhist.[188]

From the edicts themselves, scholars like KERN opine that "His inscriptions with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhistic".[189] For the emperor says that "whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely".[190] "All sects must on all occasions be honoured".[191] That he was benevolent to all is proved by his instructions which are applicable to the samaṇas, niganthas, ājīvikas and others.

Taking into consideration his broadmindedness and his insistence on Ahimsā, SHAH[192] opines, "What we venture to suggest is this, that as years went on Aśoka came more and more under the influence of the teaching of Buddha, became less and less sectarian, and tried to inculcate in his subjects the Dharma which embraced the moral precepts and dogmatic tenets common to other religions, though, as Rev. HERAS rightly observes, he was 'especially influenced by the Jaina doctrines as regards sacredness and inviolability of life' ".

Some scholars go to the other extreme and accuse Aśoka of being a bigot. According to Haraprasad SASTRI,[193] Aśoka's stoppage of animal sacrifices and his appointing of the Superintendents of morals (Dharma Mahāmātya), "was a direct invasion on the right and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas", who getting restless due to this trespass paved the way for the entry of the staunch Brāhmanical Śungas.

187. K. P. JAINA, *JA.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 81; Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 9-16; No. 2, pp. 53-60; Vol. VI, No. II, pp. 43-50; Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 20-25, FLEET, *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 491-92.

188. HULTZSCH, *CII*, Intr., p. xlix.

189. KERN, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 112.

190. HULTZSCH, *CII*, p. 21.

191. Junāgadh Ed., *Bhāvnagar Inscr.*, Edict 12.

192. *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

193. *JPASB*, 1910, pp. 259-60.

Strange enough, Jaina literary evidence is silent over the state of Jainism under Aśoka's rule. Though no doubt we get a reference[194] to Candagutta, Bindusāra and Asogasiri who were said to have surpassed each other regarding the prowess and the extent of their empire, yet, "as the historical records of the sect have very little to tell us of the reign of Candragupta and his son Bindusāra, and perhaps even less of the great Aśoka, it seems probable that they had already in the 3rd cent. B.C. begun to lose their foothold in Eastern India".[195]

Under these circumstances, it cannot definitely be said that Aśoka was either a staunch Buddhist or a mild Jaina, or a benefactor of the Ājīvikas. The only thing we can say is that he was perhaps too broad-minded to set himself within the framework of a particular sect.

Anyway, it is definite that no evidence is available from his career that he harassed the Jainas. It is probable, therefore, that they maintained their place in the society if not at the royal court.[196]

Kuṇāla :

The Jaina texts[197] give an interesting account about this son of Aśoka. It is said that in the city of Pāḍaliputta there was a king Asogasirī. His son was Kuṇāla who was given the province of Ujjenī for his maintenance (Kumārabhuttīe). When the prince was eight years old, Asoga sent a message that the prince should be taught quickly (śīghramadhīyatāṁ kumāraḥ). The step-mother of the child, however, gave an anusvāra over 'a' which made the order as 'śīghramaṅdhīyatāṁ Kumāraḥ' (quickly make the prince blind). When the prince saw the order, he himself took out his eyes. After some time, Kuṇāla pleased the king and asked him to hand over the kingdom to his son Sampai who was in his previous birth a disciple of Ārya Suhasti. The emperor granted the request and Sampai was made the viceroy of Ujjenī, who afterwards conquered the whole Dakkhiṇāvaha.

Besides this, "the reality of the existence of Kuṇāla is established by the combined testimony of the Purāṇic and Buddhist works (which represent him as the father of Sampaḍī) as well as the evidence of Hemacandra and Jinaprabhasūri, the well-known Jaina writers".[198]

194. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 3276-3278.
195. CHARPENTIER, *CHI*. Vol. 1, p. 166.
196. "Any attempt to prove a greater interest on his part in the welfare of the Jains must fail, unwarranted as it is by the scriptures of the Jains themselves".—*Ibid*
197. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 3275-76.
198. RAYCHAUDHARI, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

Two things, however, may be noted: that Kuṇāla never succeeded Aśoka, and that Ujjeni rather than Pāṭalīputra was coming into prominence.

Samprati and Daśaratha:

With the passing away of Aśoka, two of his grandsons seem to have come to prominence—Samprati and Daśaratha. It is not clear as to what the relations between these two were, and Jaina and Buddhist traditions even omit the name of Daśaratha. But his historicity has been attested by his dedication of the caves to the Ājīvika sect on the Nāgārjunī Hill.[199]

It may, therefore, be possible that both these grandsons of Aśoka ruled simultaneously, Samprati at Ujjain and Daśaratha at Pāṭalīputra.

Out of these two, Samprati was said to be a great patron of Jainism. We have already referred to the episode connected with his birth. When after his rise to kingship, he came in contact with the famous Jaina pontiff Ārya Suhastin at Ujjain, the latter told him regarding the story of the former's previous birth. Hearing that, Samprati became devoted to the Ācārya and accepted the vows of a Jaina layman.

He is said to have given clothes to the monks, opened food-centres for the poor, and asked the cooks to give all the remnant of the food to the Jaina monks. He paid the cooks for this as otherwise the monks were not likely to accept food from the king as it was not allowed to them.

Thus the monks obtained profuse articles of food and pieces of clothing. Then Ārya Mahāgiri told Ārya Suhastin that it was likely that the king had ordered the people indirectly in this connection. Ārya Suhastin, however, out of affection for his disciples, allowed the monks to accept these, upon which Ārya Mahāgirī threatened him with separation of the sambhoga, i.e. severing connections and not having common meals or reading of scriptures. At last Ārya Suhastin came to know his mistake and stopped the monks from taking advantage of the bounty of the king.

Samprati invited all his vassals and explained them the Jinadharma. Thus, festivals and worship of the Jina images began to be celebrated in all the countries round about Ujjain. He also asked his feudatories to prohibit killing of living beings in their regions, and make the touring of monks safe.

The king used to send his spies in the garb of Jaina monks to the border regions. Thus he made the regions of Andha, Damila, Maharaṭṭa and Kuḍukka safe for the Jaina monks.[200]

199. *I. A.*, XX, pp. 361ff.
200. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā* Vol. III, 3275-89; JACOBI, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 69.

It may be said, therefore, that Samprati furthered the cause of Jainism with perfect zeal, and though the sphere of the Mauryan activity shifted from the eastern parts of our country to somewhat western or central India, he opened up further regions in the south for the spread of Jainism, the beginnings of which were probably already made by his great-grand-father, Candragupta.

That Jainism had an overwhelming influence in the royal court is proved by the relations of Suhastin with Samprati.

Another point to be marked is the distribution of clothing to monks by Samprati. From this it appears that the monks who were patronised by Samprati were possibly the Śvetāmbara Jainas, if at all a conclusion can be drawn from the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* which may be taken to belong to a later period than that ascribed to Samprati. This view seems to be corroborated by the fact that the Digambara paṭṭāvalis omit the name of Suhastin.[201] Mrs. STEVENSON further remarks that Ārya Mahāgirī left the region and went to Daśārṇabhadra in disappointment of his failure to win over the monks to a stricter discipline of monastic life, seeing that the king was completely won over by Ārya Suhastin.[202]

From the career of these three famous kings of the Mauryan dynasty we may say that out of these three, the first and the last are said to have taken a direct part in the spread of Jainism not only in Magadha, but to the parts west of Magadha as well. With the advent of Aśoka, Jainism seems not to have missed royal patronage, but it counted more upon lay patronage and could mantain it, due to the liberal policy of Aśoka. With the stepping in of Samprati, however, Jainism took an aggressive role and spread to Central India, the Deccan and as far as Kuḍukka (Coorg) in South India.

Before we take up the development of Jainism in other parts of India, we have to go back to Kalinga again where the great Chedi king Khāravela, in the 2nd cent. B.C., raised the status of Jainism to that of a state religion.

Before entering into the details about the career of Khāravela, it may be noted that inspite of SHAH's remark that on architectural and sculptural grounds the Hāthigumphā caves may well claim an antiquity going upto the 4th cent. B.C.,[203] the inscription of Khāravela is the first definite proof for the history of Jainism in Kalinga.

201. KLATT, *I.A.*, XI, p. 251; also HOERNLE, *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 57-58.

202. *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

203. *Op. cit.*, p. 150. It may be noted that architectural stylistic evidence is not always a very correct standard for forcing a conclusion.

Khāravela :

We have already referred to the fact that the carrying away of a Jaina image by the Nanda king from Kalinga presupposes the existence of Jainism in an established form even before the times of the Nandas.

The Udayagiri and the Khaṇḍagiri hills which are strewn with caves for the monks, and some of which contain inscriptions in the Brāhmī script which may go back to the Mauryan age,[204] prove to be a sufficient evidence of the flourishing condition of Jainism in about the second-third century B.C.

Before, therefore, entering upon the discussion about the inscription of Khāravela, it would be better to study other minor details.

Out of the several caves, the Satghara, Navamuni, and Ananta caves are important inasmuch as they contain images of and symbols pertaining to the Jaina Tīrthankaras. The Rānigumphā cave sculptures exhibit the procession of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthankara. Besides these serpent-hoods connected with Pārśva, worn-out Jaina images of other Tīrthankaras with their lānchanas and deities are also to be found.

The Inscription of Khāravela :

This contains seventeen lines, but these prove to be of immense importance to the history of Jainism in Kalinga. The contents of the inscription show that it is a biographical sketch of the great king who was a devout Jaina.

The inscription opens with the salute to the Arhats and the Siddhas in the typical Jaina tradition (Namo Ar(i)haṁtānaṁ Namo sava-sidhānaṁ). Then the account begins with the story of his life right from his fifteenth year. At the age of twenty-four he came to the throne and did many works which were of immense use to his subjects. But besides these, the points of importance from our point of view are the following :

(1) In the 6th year of his reign he performed Rājasūya.

(2) In the eighth year he attacked Magadha, the reports about which caused a consternation in the heart of Demetrios who took a retreat.

(3) He gave gifts to the Brāhmaṇas after the previous incident.

(4) He broke up the confideracy of the Tramira (Draviḍa) countries, and terrified the kings of the Uttarāpatha as well.

204. *Ibid.*

(5) He made the king of Magadha, Bahasati-mitra, to bow down to his feet. Then he set up the image of the Jina of the Kalinga which had been taken away by king Nanda to Magadha.

(6) "In the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī Hill where the wheel of conquest had been well-revolved (i.e. the religion of Jina had been preached), he offers respectfully royal maintenance, China clothes and white clothes (vāsāsitāni)[205] to (the monks)";

(7) He brought about a council of the wise ascetics and sages from various quarters;

(8) He caused to be compiled the sevenfold Angas of the sixty-four letters which had been lost in the period of the Mauryas,

(9) He realised the nature of soul and body.

The following observations may be made on the above points:

(i) Even though he was a devout Jaina, he, perhaps, did not like to leave the traditional grooves of Kshatriya life, inasmuch as he did the Rājasūya ceremony. He also gave gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. It may mean, therefore, as is the case in most of the cases of royal patronage in India, that even though Khāravela had a strong affinity for Jainism, he was not antagonistic to other sects. In fact he styled himself as 'sava-pāsaṇḍa-pūjako' —the worshipper of all sects.[206]

(ii) From the account of his conquests, he seems to have weilded influence over Magadha, as well as terrified other kings, as far south as the Pāṇḍyas. Inspite of this, however, it is not known what he did regarding the spread of Jainism in these regions.

(iii) That he was a devout Jaina is evident from his winning back the Jina image which was taken to Magadha by the Nanda king. Besides this, he accepted the vows of an uvāsaga and ultimately realised the distinction between Jīva and Deha.

(iv) The reference to the 'moriya-kāla-vocchinna' (destroyed in the reign of the Mauryas) sacred texts, perhaps, hints to the tradition of the great famine in Magadha in the reign of Candragupta, and his migration to the South with Bhadrabāhu. So also his reference to the assembly of wise ascetics and sages possibly echos the tradition about the Council of Pāṭaliputra under Sthūlabhadra. Thus, the inscription goes to confirm the traditional accounts of the Jainas regarding famine, councils and the loss of the Canon.

205. JAYASWAL & BANERJI, *E. I.*, Vol. XX. pp. 80, 89.
206. *JBORS.*, iv, p. 403.

(v) Another point to be noted is regarding the Jina-image. On the evidence of this inscription, we may say that image worship—which has been referred to in one of the Angas (*Nāyādhamma*[207]) regarding the worship of Jiṇapaḍimā by Dovaī—was prevalent in Kalinga as well as in Magadha right from the Nandas who were the predecessors of the Mauryas. It means, therefore, that Jainism must have been in a flourishing condition there in pre-Mauryan times, and was possibly introduced there by Mahāvīra himself, as the Jaina texts refer to his visits to Tosalī, as we have seen elsewhere.

(iv) Khāravela's defeat of Basahati-mitta (= Pusyamitra,)[208] tends to suggest that the former tried to check the reviving Brāhmanical influence in Magadha.

(vii) If we take the reading of JAYASWAL and BANERJI to be correct,[209] then, line fourteen may be said to refer to the distribution of white clothes to the monks. Then, in this case, one may say that it tends to show the existence of the Śvetāmbara monks in Kalinga in about the second century B.C., if not earlier.

(viii) Another interesting reference is that where the inscription refers to 'kāya-nisīdīyāya yāpa-ñāvakehi ...... '.[210]

In this connection, it would be better to quote JAYASWAL,[211] as this line according to him "gives information of highest importance to history". He says —

"Yāpa-ñāvakas (Skt. Yāpa-jñāpakas) 'the teachers of yāpa', cannot be identified without reference to the history of Jainism. The *Bhadrabāhu-carita* in giving the history of Jainism immediately after the teacher Bhadrabāhu, a contemporary of Candragupta, says that amongst the numerous disciples of Bhadrabāhu who worshipped the bones of their master a school called Yāpana-Saṅgha arose and that they finally decided to remain without clothes. The Yāpana-sangha flourished in the south as they prominently appear in Carnatic inscriptions.[212] They are now extinct. Muni

207. See Chapt. XVI.
208. SMITH, *JRAS.*, 1918, p. 545; RAYCHAUDHARI, *op. cit.*, pp. 373ff.
209. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
211. *JBORS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 338-90; see also *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 233 for changes in the reading of the line. This, however, does not alter these two phrases under discussion.
212. See *I.A.*, VI, pp. 24-27; VII, pp. 33-35; XVIII, p. 309; XII, p. 11; *E.I.*, IX, No. 6; *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 69; *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 177; see UPADHYE's article on the Yāpanīyas in *BUJ*, Vol. 1, pt. VI, May 1933, pp. 224-231; MORAES, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 252.

JINAVIJAYA is of opinion that some tenets of theirs bore affinity to the Digambara school and some to the Śvetāmbara. In view of this opinion the Yāpana school marked the stage before the great schism. Our inscription shows that Yāpa which gave the name to the school consisted of certain pious practices.

......The professors of yāpa were at the Kāyya-Nishīdī on the 'revered (arahite) Kumārī Hill'. That his Nishīdī was a Nishīdī of the Arhat is proved by the next line. In this volume of the Journal (IV, 96) I drew attention to the technical meaning of the Jain Nishīdī 'resting place', a 'tomb'. The Nishīdī at the Kumārī Hill was not an ornamental tomb but a real stupa, for it is qualified Kāyya, corporeal (i.e. having remains of the body). Thus it seems that the Jains called their stupas or chaityas Nishīdīs. The Jaina stupa discovered at Mathurā and the datum of the *Bhadrabāhu-carita* saying that the disciples of Bhadrabāhu worshipped the bones of their Master, establish the fact that the Jainas (at any rate the Digambaras) observed the practice of erecting monuments on the remains of their teachers...

Inspite of this alleged identity of yāpa with the yāpanīyas which JAYASWAL wants to bring out, it may be noted that neither literary nor epigraphical sources are available of such antiquity, as ascribed to the Khāravela inscription, to corroborate the existence of Yāpanīyas in the second century B.C.

(viii) That the members of the family of Khāravela were also influenced by the king's devotion to Janism is clear from the erection of a Jina temple and the building of some caves by Khāravela's chief queen for the sake of the Kalinga Samaṇas.[213]

(ix) It is likely that at the time of invading Magadha, Khāravela might have conquered Bengal and eastern Bihar as well. The existence of Jaina monuments in these parts of our country tend to suggest a strong Jaina influence in this region.

Strange enough, the Jaina literary tradition is markedly silent about their great patron, Khāravela. It is difficult to explain why the Jaina traditions which mention without fail even rival kings, should have made Khāravela insignificant by complete absence of any reference to him.

This much about Khāravela. The effects of his zeal for Jainism paved the way for the maintenance of the faith for a long time. This has been

213. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 159.

corroborated by an inscription in the Navamuni cave[214] in the Udayagiri—Khaṇḍagiri hills which is dated the eighteenth year of the reign of Udyotakesarī. It mentions a certain Śubhacandra, a disciple of Kulacandra, an ācārya of Deśigaṇa, Graha kula of the Ārya saṁgha. Scholars attribute it a date round about the 10th cent. A.D.

Another inscription in the Lālatenḍu Kesarī's cave refers to the fifth year of the reign of Udyotakesarī. It is named after the king of the same name belonging to the Kesarī dynasty (c. 7-12 cent. A.D.). It contains a group of naked images of the Digambara sect.[215] Besides this, 'decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine'.

It may be noted that from these two inscriptions it seems that the Digambaras were more prominent in this region during the tenure of the Kesarī dynasty.

This patronage to Jainism in general seems to have lasted even upto the sixteenth century A.D., as according to GANGULY,[216] Pratāpa Rudra Deva of the Sūrya dynasty had a great leaning towards Jainism.

Along with Kalinga, Bengal also seemed to have come under Jaina influence. The Pahārpur copper-plate of the Gupta year 159 (478-79 A.D.) denotes the existence of the Digambaras in Bengal as the epigraph refers to Ācārya Guhanandi of Nandi Sangha.[217] Jaina Tīrthankara images of about 500 A.D. were found out in the mound in Mainamati village in Bengal.[218] Further, Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in the 7th cent. A.D. says, "The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous".[219]

We have briefly sketched the position of Jainism which shows that Jainism was prevalent in some form or the other in Kalinga upto the sixteenth century A.D. Let us now see the state of Jainism after Khāravela (i.e. 2nd century B.C.) in central and western India.

We have already referred to the fact that Samprati Maurya introduced Jainism in various regions in India. His younger brother Śāliśuka is credit-

214. *Ibid.*, p. 166; *ASI.* Ann. Rep. 1902-03, p. 40. a.

215. *E.I.*, 13, pp. 166-67; Acc. to Hiuen Tsiang (7th cent. A.D.) Kalinga was one of the chief seats of the Jainas; BUHLER, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 40. f. n. 1.

216. *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 19; acc. to K. P. JAIN, who quotes from *Daṭhavamso* (II, 72-91), Guhaśiva, king of Kaliṅga (c. 400 A.D.) was converted to Buddhism; hence the Nirgranthas left Kaliṅga (*JA*. XII, ii, p. 69).

217. *JA.*, XII, ii, p. 72-74.

218. K. P. JAIN, *Ibid.*, quoting from B. C. LAW Volume, pp. 218-219.

219. *E.I.*, XX, p. 60.

ed with the spread of Jainism in Saurāṣṭra as well.[220] From this it may be remarked that Jainism had its followers throughout north India by about the 2nd century B.C.

We have also noted the remark of CHARPENTIER who opines that the Jainas had already in the 3rd century B.C. begun to lose their foothold in eastern India. Samprati had made Ujjain as his capital, and the Jainas seemed to predominate more in Malwa, Mathura and central India.

Before studying the Mathura inscriptions, it would be better for us to see the state of Jainism in north India in post-Khāravela and pre-Mathura period.

Round about the first century B.C., according to tradition, there arose a great figure called Vikramāditya of Ujjainī who was said to have been converted to Jainism by Siddhasena Divākara, a famous Jaina teacher.[221] Regarding the predecessor of Vikramāditya, Gardabhilla, the Jainas have an episode which depicts him as one who abducted the sister of the famous Kālakācārya. The latter sought the help of the Scythian kings in this matter. CHARPENTIER is against treating the whole story lightly, for he points out that the *Kālakācāryakathā*[222] refers to the Scythian kings as Sāhānasāhiḥ which is identical with the title 'Shaonano Shao' appearing on the coins of the Kushāṇas.[223]

A certain Kālaka is also said to have gone to king Sātayāṇa (sātavāhana) at Pratiṣṭhānapura, where on account of the convenience of the king Kālaka changed the date of the Paryuṣaṇa festival from the 5th to the 4th of Bhādrapada.[224]

Contemporary with these persons were Pādalittasūri and Vajraswāmin. The former is said to have gone to Mānyakheṭa (mod: Mālkheḍ), to cure the headache of a certain king Muruṇḍa of Pāṭaliputra,[225] while the latter is credited with the spread of Jainism to the south where the Buddhists were dominant.[226] Pādalipta was endowed with the power of flying through the air and he is said to have impressed the king, and founded the famous Śatruñjaya. Besides this, a certain king Devapāla of Kumārapura was said

220. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 29-31.

221. KLATT, *I.A.*, XI, pp. 247, 251; Mrs. STEVENSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 77; SHAH, *op. cit.*, p. 187; EDGERTON, *Vikrama's Adventures*, Pt. 1, Intr. p. lviii.

222. v. 27; see also *Bṛh. kalp. bhā. Vṛ* 943; *Nis. C.*, 10, p. 571ff.

223. *CHI.*, i, p. 168.

224. *Kālakācāryakathā*, v. 54.

225. *Prabhāvaka*, 59. (Pādaliptaprabandha).

226. *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, XII, 311, 388.

to have been converted to Jainism, and Ārya Khapuṭa, so the story goes, defeated the Buddhists in a debate at Bhṛgukaccha (mod: Broach).

There is, however, little epigraphical evidence to support this picture of the prosperous and aggressive state of Jainism in the first century B.C. in the region covered by the Deccan, Gujarāt and Malwā. One thing, however, seems certain, and that is that Jainism, inspite of its change of the field of activity, was confident enough to secure royal patronage in the beginning of the Christian era. This prosperous state supported by a devoted laity which exhibited its faith in the building up of Stūpas, statues, votive tablets and dedicatory images, seems to bear out HAVELL's remark that, "The epigraphical records....show that until the second or third century A.D., practically all royal and private benevolences were bestowed upon Jaina and Buddhist institutions, and that patronage of Brāhmaṇas, as such, and of Brāhmanical deities did not begin until after that time".[227]

Antiquities and Epigraphs of Mathurā:

From about the 2nd century A.D. Mathurā seems to have formed part of the Kushāna empire. Statues and inscriptions of the famous kings of this dynasty are found here. It may, however, be noted that these inscriptions do not belong only to the Scythian period, but several earlier ones have also been traced which tend to suggest that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in this region right from the second century B.C., or even earlier.

The earliest inscription on linguistic and palaeographic ground according to BÜHLER, is that which describes the gift of an ornamental arch (pāsādatorana) by a certain layfollower (sāvakāsa) named Utaradāsaka who claimed to be a disciple of Samana Māharakhita.[228] The inscription itself does not contain the date, but according to the same scholar mentioned above, the inscription may well go back to the 2nd cent. B.C.

Next in antiquity are two epigraphs one of which, however, is incomplete[229] as it mentions only "mahārāja mahākshatrapa...ma...' Besides these only an invocation of Arhats and the words quoted previously are to be found on the Jaina image. The other [230] clearly refers to the time

227. *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 14
228. *E.I.*, Vol. 2, Ins. No. 1; also LUDERS *List*, *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 17.
229. LUDERS, *op. cit.*, No. 83.
230. *E.I.*, Vol. 2, p. 199, No. II; LUDERS *List*, No. 59; another inscription referring to the same king; CUNNINGHAM, *ASR*, III, p. 30, No. 1; the gift of a tank, a reservoir, etc., by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śaigrava gotra.

of 'Svāmisa Mahakshatrapasa Śoḍāsasa savatsare (42). This Śoḍāsa has been dated by RAYCHAUDHARI to about the 1st cent. A.D.[231]

Then we come to the group of inscriptions which directly express the regnal years of Kanishka,[232] Huvishka [233] and Vāsudeva[234] (1-2 cent. A.D.).

After the Kushāna epigraphs, there come those which belong to the Gupta period,[235] and lastly one which belongs to the eleventh century A.D.[236]

Without going into the details of the Gupta and later inscriptions, we shall restrict ourselves here with the inscriptions upto the Kushāna period.

The following points may be noted from their study:

(i) No. 47 of LUDERS list[237] mentions the setting up of an image at Vodva (?) Thūpa by a female lay-disciple Dīnā in the year 79.

In this connection, it may be noted that literary, epigraphical and archaeological evidences corroborate each other. As for the literary evidence, the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*[238] refers to a jewelied thūba at Mahurā, due to which ill-feeling spread between the Jainas and the Buddhists, which ultimately resulted in the defeat of the Buddhists. People at Mathurā were said to be devoted to Jina images which they installed in their houses.[239] This goes well with the find of several Jina images as well as a Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā due to the excavations carried out by scholars like CUNNINGHAM in 1871, GROWSE in 1875 and by Drs. BURGESS and FUHRER in 1887-96. Only "during the season 1889-90 when the Jaina Stūpa and the western Jaina temple belonging to the Digambara sect were exposed, 80 images of Tīrthankaras, 120 pieces of stone railings, many miscellaneous sculptures, and numerous inscriptions, of which 17 belong to the Indo-Scythian (Kushāna) period, from the year 5 to the year 86, were exhumed."[240] This is enough to give us an idea of the flourishing condition of Jainism in this region in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

231. *Op. cit., pp.* 446ff.
232. *E.I.*, i, p. 381, No. 1; *Ibid.*, p. 391, No. 19; *ASR*, III, p. 31, No. 4; *E.I.*, IX; pp. 239-41; LUDERS, 79.
233. *E.I.*, ii, p. 206, No. 25; LUDERS, 80; *E.I.*, X, p. 7; LUDERS, 35, 41, 42, 46, 56.
234. LUDERS *List*, No. 60, 66, 68, 72, 76.
235. *E.I.*, Vol. ii, p. 198, Nos. XXXVIII-XL.
236. *Ibid.*, No. XLI, p. 198.
237. Also *E.I.*, ii, No. XX, p. 204.
238. 5, 27ff; *Bṛhatkathākośa*, 12, 132.
239. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* II, 1774ff.
240. SMITH, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiqities of Mathurā, Intr.*, p. 3.

(ii) That Jainism was receiving support especially from the trading and lower classes of the society is evident from the fact that the devotees came from such classes as the treasurers,[241] the perfumers,[242] workers in metal,[243] the members of a goṣṭhī (committee),[244] village headmen,[245] wives of caravan leaders,[246] merchants,[247] wives of dancers,[248] goldsmiths,[249] and also courtesans.[250] Sometimes the whole community consisting of the four orders contributed an image for the use of all.[251] Thus a strong, organised body of the lay-followers maintained the spirit and the existence of the Jaina Church.[252]

(iii) That the monks and the nuns were active in propogating their faith is evident from the fact that a majority of these dedications were done at the instance or advice of a religious teacher, either male or female.

(iv) The order of nuns seemed to have been well-organised and well supported as they played their part in inducing the laywomen to dedicate images and votive tablets (āyāgapaṭa).

(v) From the various Gaṇas. Kulas, Śākhās and Saṁbhogas, it appears that the Jaina Church was grouped in minor units with a proper set of hierarchy over them. The monks are referred to with the honorific title ajja (ārya), the disciples as antevāsi, antevāsikinī (i.e. antevāsinī) and śiśīni, and a reference to the vācaka is also to be met with.

(vi) The dedications are not only to Mahāvīra but even to other Tīrthankaras like Ṛṣabha and Pārśva. This tends to lend support to the traditional view that before Mahāvīra there were many other Tīrthankaras. Besides this, the discovery of several images of the Jinas shows that idol-

241. *E.I., Vol. ii,* p. 205, No. 23.
242. *ASR.*, III, p. 34, No. 16; LUDERS, 76.
243. LUDERS *List*, No. 54; also 53.
244. *Ibid.*
245. *Ibid.*, No. 48.
246. *Ibid.*, 30.
247. *Ibid.*, 24.
248. *Ibid.*, 100.
249. *Ibid.*, 95.
250. *Ibid.*, 102.
251. *Ibid.*, 57.
252. "The inscriptions of the Scythian period are in the majority of cases Jaina and Buddhist and if epigraphical evidence is to be relied upon solely for the reconstruction of the history of our sacred literature then we must admit that Brahmanism was not a popular or a flourishing religion in Mathura or the western part of the U.P." —BANERJI: *'The Age of the Imperial Guptas'*, p. 113.

worship was firmly established among the Jainas in this period, and the monks were indirectly encouraging the people to have images and stūpas.

We have seen up till now that by the end of the second century A.D., Jainism spread in Kalinga, Magadha, Malwa, Mathura and Ujjain. Besides these regions, its existence in Gujarat and Kathiawad is evidenced by the inscription of Jayadāman's grandson in a cave at Junagadh which refers to Kevalajnāna, a technical term denoting omniscience among the Jainas.[253]

Before, however, we go to western India and Gujarat, we shall see the state of Jainism under the powerful Gupta empire. It would be better for us to treat Gujarat, western India and Rajputana separately as they have long been known to be centres of Jainism.

The Gupta Empire :

The period from the extinction of the Kushānas upto the advent of the Guptas is one about which we have scanty material not only regarding Jainism alone but also pertaining to the history of India as a whole.

The rule of the Guptas has been looked upon by many scholars to be the period of the consolidation of Brāhmanism.[254]

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that the Guptas were fanatical Vaishṇavites. On the contrary, it would be better to call them the best examples of religious toleration because they did not seem to suppress other faiths.

This tolerant spirit of the Guptas has been evidenced both by literary as well as by epigraphic corroboration. For instance, the *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri[255] (Ś. 700) refers in its introductory verses to a certain Torarāya and his guru Harigupta belonging to the dynasty of the Guptas. This Tora king has been identified with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa (death, first decade of the 6th cent. A.D.). Harigupta also has been identified with the Harigupta of a copper coin bearing the name, by CUNNINGHAM. It may therefore, be said that the Guptas were not certainly anti-Jaina.

This can further be evidenced by a few epigraphs belonging to the reigns of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta which go to prove that Jainism also flourished modestly side by side with Brāhmanism and Buddhism.

253. *E.I.*, XVI, 239; LUDERS' *List*, 966: Date lost.
254. DANDEKAR, *A Hist. of the Guptas*, pp. 185-86.
255. Article of JINAVIJAYA in *JSS*, III, pp. 169ff.

When we come to Kumāragupta (414-55 A.D.) we have, first, the Udayagiri cave inscription[256] of G.E. 106 (= 426 A.D.) which belongs to his reign, and refers to the dedication of an image of Pārśva with "the expanded hoods of a snake and an attendant female divinity," by Sanghala, a disciple of Gośarman of Ārya kula. Another inscription from Mathurā speaks clearly of the 'paramabhaṭṭārakamāhārājādhirājaśrīkumāragupta', and mentions the installation of an image by a lady Śāmāḍhyā at the instance of a Jaina guru who belonged to the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and Vidyādharī śākhā.[257] From these inscriptions we may conclude that "Jainism had many adherents and patrons about this time. It was still lingering in Mathura, but the days of its prosperity were obviously gone."[258]

Coming to the reign of Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.), we have the famous Kahāum pillar inscription[259] of the Gupta year 140 (= 460-61 A.D.). It tells us that a man named Madra dedicated five images of the ādikartṛs or Jinas on a stone pillar in the village of Kakubha in the modern tahsīl of Deoriya in the Gorakhapur district. The five images have been identified by PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI[260] with those of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. They are all naked standing figures. Besides these "other Jaina sculptures of the period have reached the museums at Mathura, Lucknow and Allahabad, while some might be lying unnoticed throughout the U.P. and C.I., as were those of Kathiawad."[261]

Besides the Brāhmanical inscriptions of the Guptas, there are a number of others belonging to the different kings of this dynasty, which throw light on the religious toleration of these kings towards Buddhism as well.[262] A superb example of this can be had in the Bilsad inscription of Kumāragupta's reign which speaks of the worship of Kārtikeya Mahāsena Swāmī, while Buddha, Śiva and the Sūrya are glorified in the Mankuwar, Karamdande and Mandasor inscriptions respectively.[263] Regarding Skandagupta, RAYCHAUDHARI[264] remarks that, "The emperor continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers. Himself a Bhāgavata or worshipper of Kṛshṇa-Vishṇu,

256. BANERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 106: FLEET, *CII*, iii, No. LXI, pp. 258: *I.A.*, XI, p. 310.
257. *E.I.*, ii, No. XXXIX, p. 210.
258. DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 192: Same view by BANERJI, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
259. FLEET, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 66-7. No. XV; The term Ādikartṛ is used in the sense of a Jina in *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE*, xxii, p. 225. See also CUNNINGHAM, *ASI*, i, pl. XXIX.
260. I.A., X, P. 126.
261. SANKALIA, Jaina Iconography, *A Vol. of Ind. and Iranian Studies*, pp. 337-338.
262. See, DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-91.
263 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
264. *op. cit.*, p. 580.

he and his officers did not discourage followers of other sects, e.g., Jainas and devotees of the Sun. The people also were tolerant. The Kahāum inscription commemorates the erection of Jaina images by a person, 'full of affection for Brahmins.'[265]

This remark is amply corroborated by the find of the copper-plate at Pahārpur in the Rajshahi district of Bengal, dated G. E. 159 (= 478-9 A.D.), and falling in the reign of Buddhagupta. It records the gift of land by a Brāhmaṇa couple for the maintenance of worship in a Jaina Vihāra presided over by Guhanandin at the village of Vaṭagohali.[266]

Even a century after the fall of the Guptas, Yuan Chwang describes the existence of naked Jaina mandicants in the temples of north Bengal.

With these references with us, we may say that Jainism was prevalent in the Gupta period, though it was not in a flourishing condition as in the previous period. But as the Pahārpur plate shows, it had vitalising energy enough to win sympathy even among the Brahmins. Therefore, even though it lacked a direct royal patronage, it had firm roots in the masses. HAVELL, therefore, seems to be justified, when he remarks, "The capital of the Gupta emperors became the centre of Brāhmanical culture, but the masses followed the religious traditions of their forefathers, and Buddhist and Jaina monasteries continued to be public schools and universities for the greater part of India."[267]

Very little is known regarding the history of India in general in the half century that followed the Guptas. Harsha who succeeded the Guptas in North India after a century or half, even though of strong Buddhist affinities gave grants to Jainism also.[268]

In the post-Harsha period Jainism spread rapidly to Rājputānā, Gujarāt, Central India and Karṇāṭak. Before studying the development of Jainism in Gujarat, we shall see how far various royal dynasties of north India helped Jainism.

During the post-Gupta period Jainism prospered under the rule of the Gurjara-Prathihāras, Gāhaḍvālas, Candellas and the Kalacūris in Rajputāna, the U.P., C.P., and C.I., while Bihar and Bengal were predominantly Buddhist under the Pālas and the Senas. Orissa, which was once a centre

265. "The Gupta sovereigns had imbibed in themselves the true spirit of Hinduism, namely, remarkable tolerance towards other religions."—DANDEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

266. BANERJI, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-08.

267. *op. cit.*, p. 156.

268. GLASENAPP. *op. cit.*, p. 46.

of Jainism, turned into a Hindu centre. This does not, however, indicate that Jainism was completely wiped out from either Bihar, Bengal or Orissa, in the post-Gupta period.

The Pratīhāras:

Inspite of their Brāhmanical affinities,[269] it need not be supposed that the Kanauj Pratīhāras suppressed other sects. As a matter of fact, we come across two Jaina inscriptions belonging to the period of the Pratīhāras one of which is inscribed on the pillar of a Jaina temple at Deogarh in the Lalitapur subdivision of the Jhānsī District of U.P. It refers to the reign of Bhoja in which a certain man called Deva, a subject of the Mahāsāmanta Vishṇurāma, who was a feudatory of Bhojadeva, erected a pillar in Ś. 784 (862 A.D.). The same place contains "the ruins of an extensive group of Jain temples . . . . . with a large collection of naked Jaina figures."[270]

Besides this, there is another Jaina record belonging to the reign of Vatsarāja, dated V. S. 1013, and found at Osia (32 miles north of Jodhpur). It refers to the construction of a Jaina temple.[271] From these stray epigraphs and the existence of archaeological remains, it may be said, that Jainism did flourish under the Pratīhāras of Kanauj.

Regarding the Gurjara Pratīhāras in Gujarat and Rajputana, we shall study the position of Jainism when we discuss Jainism in that region.

Candellas:

Under the Candellas whose seat of kingdom was Jejabhukti (Bundelkhand), and who ruled from c. 9th cent. A.D., onwards,[272] Jainism seems to have prospered on a large scale, for several inscriptions and magnificent temples still bear witness to it.

Several kings of this dynasty favoured the building up of Jina temples. For instance, the Khajurāho Jaina temple inscription mentions that a certain Jaina layman gave gifts to the Jinālaya in the form of a garden (vāṭikā). This Jaina gentleman was "held in honour by Dhangarāja."[273]

269. SMITH, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 256; Three of the kings of this dynasty are described as "worshippers of Bhagavatī". The seal of Mahipāla, the 10th king, bears an image of Bhagavatī, even though he is said to be a devotee of the Sun.

270. CUNNINGHAM, *ASI*, X, pp. 100-01.

271. BHANDARKAR, D. R., *ASI, WC*, 1907, Sect. XI, p. 15.

272. RAY, *Dyn. Hist. of N. India*, Vol. II, p. 736.

273. *E.I.*, *I*, pp. 135-36.

Coming to the reign of Madanavarman, we have as many as five Jaina inscriptions :

(1) Khajurāho Jaina Image Inscription:
Dated : 1147-48 A.D.;
Mentions only Śreṣṭhin pānidhara.[274]

(2) Horniman Jaina Image Inscription:
Dated : V. S. 1208 (1150 A.D.).
Dedication of an image by the Śreṣṭhin Maula of the Grahapati family of Maṇḍilapur.[275]

(3) Mahoba Jaina Image Inscription:
Dated : 1155 A.D.
Dedication of Neminātha image by Rūpakāra Lakhaṇa.[276]

(4) Khajurāho Jaina Image Inscription:
Dated : 1157-58 A.D.
Image of Sambhavanātha set up by a certain Sādhu Sālhe.[277]

(5) Mahoba Jaina Image Inscription:
Dated : 1163 A.D.
Refers to the dedication of a Jina image.[278]

In the reign of Paramardi also we have Mahoba image inscription inscribed on a broken Jaina statue dated 1168 A.D.[279]

From the localities of these inscriptions, it seems that Khajurāho and Mahoba were two great centres of the Jainas under the Candellas. This has been corroborated by the excavations at Khajurāho carried out by CUNNINGHAM as early as 1874-77, which yielded a large number of standing and squatted naked Jina figures.[280]

Gāhaḍvālas (c. 1075-1200 A.D.)[281] :

Even though a majority of the epigraphs found so far of this dynasty of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja are Brāhmanical in nature, yet, the existence of Jainism among the mass of the population is evidenced by a number of

274. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.
275. *JRAS.* 1898, pp. 101-02.
276. *ASR*, XXI, p. 73.
277. *E.I.*, I, p. 151.
278. *ASR*, II, p. 448, No. 25.
279. *ASR*, XXI, p. 74.
280. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 16-17; For Mahoba as well as Khajurāho, see *Ibid.*, Vols. I, III, VII, X.
281. RAY, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 548.

archaeological remains in the form of broken Jaina temples and images found in this region.[282] It may be, therefore, that the kings of this dynasty were tolerant of Jainism.

Kacchapaghātas of Rajputana and C. India:

The various branches of this dynasty ruled from c. 950 to 1125 A.D.[283] Out of these, we have evidence of the existence of Jainism under at least two branches:

(a) *Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior:*

A fragmentary Jaina image inscription dated 977 (A.D.) contains only the name of the king Vajradāman, which proves that the king was not unfavourable to Jainism even though temples of Vishṇu and Śiva are also found belonging to his period.[284]

Coming to the reign of Mahīpāla, we have the Sāsbahu inscription (1093 A.D.) which mentions a certain 'Yaśodeva Digambarārka.'[285] Probably the same person has been also termed as "Nirgranthanātha" in the Gwalior fragmentary inscription (1104 A.D.).[286] But it is strange to note that this 'nirgranthanātha' composed the record at the setting up of a linga. If the term is to be understood as the name of a Jaina person then it possibly suggests the degree of religious toleration the Jainas exhibited during this period.

(b) *Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund:*

A certain inscription found on a pilaster of a Jaina temple now turned into a mosque, falls in the reign of Vijayapāla of this branch. Dated 1043 A.D., the epigraph begins with a sal tation to the Siddhas and refers to a certain Maheśwarasūri of the Kāmyaka gaccha. It then tells us that this ācārya died in 1100 V. S. after which Sādhu Sarvadeva wrote a praśasti.[287]

The Dubkund stone inscription[288] (1088 A.D.) gives a more clear-cut statement about the condition of the Jaina Church. Starting with an invocation to the various Tīrthankaras and also to the Śrutadevatā, the inscription tells us that two Jaina traders who were friends of the king Vikramasimha (1070-1100 A.D.), took a prominent part in the building up of a Jina temple at the instance of a certain Vijayakīrti of the Lāṭavāgata Gaṇa. The

282. See *ASR,* Vols. I, II, VII, X.
283. RAY, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 835.
284. *JASB.*, XXI, p. 393-400.
285. *I.A.*, XV, pp. 33-46.
286. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.
287 *I.A.*, XIV, pp. 8-10.
288. *E.I.*, ii, pp. 232-40.

king also gave a grant of land for the purpose of worship and maintenance of the temple, as also for the oil for the lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men. It thus shows that the Jainas had mustered strength due to royal patronage and were in a flourishing condition.

Haihayas of Tripurī:

Inspite of the predominance of Hindu monuments under the Haihayas who ruled in the U.P. and C.P. from about the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D., to about the first quarter of the thirteenth century,[289] widespread Jaina remains in these regions show that along with Brāhmanism with its various cults, Jainism was also in existence. Images of Jaina Śāsanadevīs, Tīrthankaras and other Jaina sculptures found at Sahagpur, Jura, Jubblepore, and Bahuriband[290] are a sufficient testimony to the Jaina affinities of at least a section of a people in this region under the rule of the Haihayas.

Paramāras of Gujarāt, Mālwā and Rājputānā:

As in the case of the Haihayas, so also among the Paramāras, there were several kings who were the devotees of Śiva. Inspite of this, however, we have a number of epigraphical and literary evidences which goes to prove that the kings of this dynasty indirectly patronised Jainism during their rule in Mālwā and Rājputānā between the 9th and the 14th cent. A.D.

For instance, the Kalvan (Nasik Distt., Bombay) plates of Yaśovarman,[291] give an eulogy of the Paramāra king Bhojadeva (c. 1010-55 A.D.), during whose reign the former got a town called Selluka from the latter. Now in the village called Muktāpalī in the Auḍrahāḍi-viṣaya, the Sāmanta the illustrious Rāṇaka Amma of the Ganga family, being convinced of the Jina dharma through the preachings of the Śvetāmbara Ācārya Ammedeva, gave some land at Mahiṣabuddhikā, the holy tīrtha of Kālakāleśvara (10 mls. from Kaḷvaṇ, Nasik Distt.). Along with this, the local commercial community granted the income of fourteen shops, two oil mills and flower-gardens to the temple of the Jina in the Śvetapada country (equivalent to the northern portion of Nasik Distt.). The temple was dedicated to Munisuvrata.

From this, it seems that especially the trading and the midddle classes had an affinity for Jainism and that some members of it had sought the goodwill of the Paramāra Bhojadeva also.

289. Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 816-17.
290. See *Mem. of Arch. Sur. of Ind.*, No. 23 (1931), by R. D. Banerji.
291. *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 69-75.

Coming to the reign of Arjunavarman, we find that he patronised great poets who have been claimed to be theirs by the Jainas. These three persons were Madana, Bilhaṇa and Āśādhara.

Regarding the first who was the royal preceptor (rājaguru) of Arjunavarman, RAY,[292] on the authority of Jaina literary tradition, says that Madana was "taught by Āśādhara", who was the famous Digambara Jaina writer.

Bilhaṇa was "another luminary in Arjunavarman's court, who is described as Mahāpaṇḍita in the royal grants. He served the Mālava prince as his Sandhivigrahika, and is referred to as Mahākavi in Jaina tradition".[293]

More famous than these two was Āśādharā, the writer of *Jinayajnakalpa, Triṣaṣṭismṛti, Sāgāradharmāmṛta* and *Anagāradharmāmṛta.* Regarding him, RAY remarks that, "The third scholar was the Jaina Āśādhara, whose father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) is probably to be identified with the person of that name who appears with the title rājā as Mahāsandhivigrahika of Arjunavarman in one of his Bhopāl grants. The Jaina tradition records that Madana was a pupil of Āśādhara".[294]

That even the successors of Arjuna, viz. Devapāla and Jaitugi were not unfavourable to Jainism can be proved from the fact that under the former the same Madana continued to be the royal priest, while under both these kings, Āśādhara could get leisure and patronage enough to complete all his four masterly works. The Modi stone-inscription[295] (V. S. 1314) of the reign of Jayavarman II found in a Jaina temple shows that Jainism was having a reputed and a respectable existence under the Paramāras in Central India and Rajputana.

We have up till now studied the fortunes of Jainism in North-India except Gujarat. As remarked elsewhere, Gujarat has been still a centre of Jainism, and hence it would be better for us to study the rise and growth of Jainism in this province separately.

Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ:

The associations of Jainism and Gujarat have been, according to Jaina literary sources, a matter of remote antiquity. It is said that Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthankara renounced the world in Kaṭhiāwāḍ.[296]

292. *Op. cit.,* II, p. 897.
293. *Ibid.,* p. 899.
294. *Ibid.*
295. *Ibid.,* II, p. 903.
296. See SANKALIA, 'The Great Renunciation of Neminātha', *IHQ.,* June, 1940.

Coming to the historical period, we may not be wrong in supposing that "the first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarat-Kathiawad when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the 4th cent. B.C."[297] We have, however, no literary or epigraphic evidence to corroborate the statement.

A more definite proof of the Jaina contact with Gujarat can be had in the Junāgaḍh inscription of the grandson of Jayadāman,[298] the Kṣatrapa ruler, which refers to 'Kevalajnāna', a purely Jaina technical term signifying omniscience. Along with this, in the Bāwā Pyārā caves at Junāgaḍh we find Jaina symbols like the Swastika, Bhadrāsana, Nandipada, Mīnayugala and others which resemble with those found on the āyāgapaṭas at the Jaina Stūpa at Mathurā.[299]

Another indication of the early Jaina settlements in Kāṭhiāwāḍ is evidenced by the Jina images found at Dhank in Goṇḍāl State. Scholars have identified them with the figures of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanathā and Mahāvīra. These Tīrthankaras are endowed with their lāñchanas and Śāsanadevīs.[300] The images are naked. SANKALIA remarks in this connection, "Do they therefore belong to the Digambara sect or to the time before which the differentiation between the sects was not so rigid, about 300 A.D., a period which is suggested by the period of the sculptures?"[301]

Coming to the early medieval period we have scanty evidence to study the state of Jainism in Gujarāt. But it may be noted that the Gujarāt branch of the Pratihāras had two kings named Jayabhaṭṭa and Dadda whose titles vītarāga and praśāntarāga betray traces of Jaina influence. Even though it would be wrong to suppose that they were Jainas—for they were devotees of Sūrya—, these titles which are exclusively applied more or less to the Jaina Tīrthankaras, show that these kings must have been influenced by Jainism to some extent, or that the local Jaina community may have conferred these titles on the benevolent kings.

Unfortunately no archaeological information under the Gujarāt Cālukyas regarding the prevalence of Jainism is available, while under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt, the existence of Jainism is evidenced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate of A.D. 821 falling under the reign of Karkarāja Suvar-

297. SANKALIA, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 233.
298. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 239; the exact wording is 'kevalijñāna samprāptānām'.
299. BURGESS, *Antiquities of Kacch and Kathiawad*, pl. xviii, fig. 3; SMITH, *ASI*, XX, pl. xi.
300. For details about iconography, see SANKALIA, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.
301. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

ṇavarṣa,[302] mentioning the Sena Sangha, a branch of Mūla sangha, and the existence of Jaina temple and monastery (vasahikā) at Nāgasārikā (mod. Navasārī). In the absence of any archaeological or literary evidence, it is difficult to measure the full extent of Jaina influence in this region. But it seems probable that the Digambara Jainas held the ground upto the advent of the powerful Śvetāṁbara Jainism under the Cālukyas of Aṇhilapāṭaka.

Before going to the Cālukyas, it may be noted that Valabhī, which is known from traditional sources to be a stronghold of the Jainas after their exodus from Magadha, is scarcely referred to be so in the inscriptions. "This non-confirmation by epigraphical evidence, let alone archaeological, is really surprising. Among the latter material are a few images."[303]

As remarked above, Śvetāṁbara Jainism found keen patrons in the Cālukya dynasty. It will be better for us, therefore, to see their account king by king.

All the three inscriptions of Mūlarāja, noted by RAY,[304] reveal nothing peculiar regarding Jainism during his reign. On the contrary they reveal him as a devotee of Śiva.

Along with Mūlarāja, some of his late successors like Bhīmadeva and Jayasimha seem to have been Śaivites. Regarding the former, it may be noted that inspite of his Śaivite leanings, he never came in the way of Jaina followers as is clear from the fact that he allowed his minister Vimala to build the excellent Vimalavasahi at Ābu.

Regarding the latter, Jayasimha, it may be said that even though he is said to have built the temple of Rudra Mahākāla at Siddhapur and also the magnificent lake Sahasralinga at Pāṭan, he was a great friend of the famous Jaina scholar Hemacandra. According to the latter, the king is said to have worshipped Neminātha on his way back to Aṇhilvāḍa from Somanātha,[305] and also erected a temple of Mahāvīra at Sidhpur. Debates between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras were held. The Digambaras were represented by Kumudacandra, and the Śvetāṁbaras by Hemacandra and others.[306] The very fact that Kumudacandra had to come from Kar-

302. *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 136 and 144.
303. SANKALIA, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
304. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 942-43.
305. *Dravyāśraya*, XV, 69-75.
306. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 97-104.

ṇāṭaka shows that the Digambaras were losing hold in Gujarat. This was further wiped out by their defeat in this debate, and this may be corroborated by the absence of Digambara epigraphs and the scanty number of their temples in Gujarat.

Hemacandra wrote a Prākrit grammar for the king. Inspite of this, Hemacandra could not completely win over the king to Jainism, and on one occasion Jayasimha went to the extent of forbidding the Jainas to raise up flags on their temples.[307]

Kumārapāla, the successor of Jayasimha elevated the position of Jainism still higher, and in his reign it became the state religion. Kumārapāla in his pre-Jaina days was a devotee of Śiva and he had "a new stone-temple built in the place of the dilapidated wood-temple of Śiva-Somanātha in Devapattana".[308] It seems, however, possible that after the death of Jayasimha, "Kumārapāla's elevation to the throne was to some extent aided by the powerful Jaina party in Gujarat",[309] as throughout his life Jayasimha did not look with favour towards Kumārapāla.[310] It may be, therefore, to compensate for the help the Jainas and particularly Hemacandra did to him, that Kumārapāla showed strong affinity towards Jainism.

The services rendered by Kumārapāla to Jainism were of a distinctive nature. Besides offering liberal royal patronage to Jaina temples[311] and teachers, he proclaimed amārighoṣaṇā throughout his kingdom and prohibited the killing of living beings on certain days.[312] Besides these, there is epigraphical evidence to show that his feudatories also prohibited animal slaughter.[313] SANKALIA, therefore, rightly remarks that, "to this day, due

307. CHITRAO, *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, p. 834; For details about the relations between Hemacandra and Jayasimha, see Chapt. III of '*Life of Hemacandra*' transl. from BUHLER's German into English by Manilal PATEL.

308. BUHLER, *op. cit.*, Engl. Tran. pp. 29, 46; "A Śaiva teacher, Devabodhi by name .... is supposed to have been a spiritual adviser to Kumārapāla even after his conversion"—*Ibid.*, p. 46; For grants to Siva under his reign, see *Bhav. Inscri.* pp. 158-60; *E.I.*, II, pp. 421-24; *Ibid.*, XX, p. 47, No. 312; *Bhav. Inscri.* pp. 186-93; *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85; *E.I.*, XI, pp. 47-48.

309. RAY, *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 976

310. *Ibid.*

311. He built temples at Pālitānā, Girnar, Tārangā, etc., for a Jaina Vihāra with Pārśvanātha image at mod. Jalor, see *E.I.*, XI, pp. 54-55.

312. *Dravyāśraya*, XV, 34.

313. Kiradu stone pillar-inscription of Mahāvāja Ālhaṇadeva (c. 1153 A.D.), *Bhav. Inscr.* pp. 172-73; Ratanpur stone inscription of Girijādevī, the Mahārājnī of Pūnapākṣadeva (Naḍḍulā Cāhamāna): *Ibid.*, pp. 205-07.

principally to this order passed 800 years ago, Gujarat is still mainly vegetarian. Jaina temples etc., were built as a matter of course".[314]

It seems, therefore, that in his later years, the king became much influenced by Hemacandra,[315] on whom he conferred the title of Kalikāla-sarvajna.

Inspite of this, however, it is difficult to say whether Kumārapāla was a thorough Jaina. For, even the Jaina sources admit that he worshipped Maheśwara, and the epigraphs corroborate it.[316] On the other hand, *Rāsamālā*[317] quotes an instance of the Sisodiā queen of Kumārapāla who committed suicide as her husband insisted on her accepting Jainism. RAY[318] goes a step further when he remarks that Kumārapāla accepted Jainism only as a token of gratitude for the help the Jainas did in his attaining to kingship, as also to get financial stability to the state treasury from this wealthy class.

Whatever be the motives of Kumārapāla in embracing Jainism, it is certain that Jainism was greatly benefited by him. At the same time it may not be forgotten that "Kumārapāla may have championed Jainism, but he did not neglect the cause of Śaivism".[319]

With the exit of Kumārapāla a reaction was set upon the royal patronage to Jainism, for his successor, Ajayapāla, was a devout Śaiva and an enemy of Jainism. He is said to have destroyed Jaina temples.[320]

Inspite of this onslaught, Jainism seems to have flourished under Jaina ministers and rich merchants. Amongst these, the names of Vastupāla and Tejapāla stand out in bold relief. Both these ministers of the Vaghelas, a branch of the Soḷaṅkis, built magnificent temples at Abu, Girnār and Śatrunjaya, and several epigraphs stand testimony to their Jaina allegiance.[321] Besides this, popular support to Jainism is evidenced by

314. *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

315. See *Kumārapālacarita*, Sgs. V. ff. also *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabha.

316. Veraval Stone Inscr. of A.D. 1169.

317. A. K. FORBES, *Rās.*, Vol. i, pp. 192-93

318. *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 996-97.

319. SANKALIA, *op. cit.*, p. 221; "Despite these extensive activities in the service of the Jaina-doctrine and to the advantage of the Jainas, Kumārapāla did not completely forget the old cult of his family"—*Life of Hemacandra*, Engl. Transl., p. 46.

320. *Prab.—Cint.* p. 154.

321. *Bhav. Inscri.*, Soḷankī Dyn. No. II, p. 174; No. XI, p. 214; No. XII, p. 218; *E.I.*, viii, p. 200; GUERINOT, *Ep. Jaina*, Nos. 471-74; 479-80; etc. It may also be noted that Vastupāla had also installed the images of the consorts of Sūrya: See *Wat. Mus. Rep.*, Rajkot, 1923-24, 18, List No. 516.

Jaina temples at Talājā, Āmaraṇa (Nawānagar State), and at Cambay the construction of which took place in this period.

Prevalence of Jainism in Rajputana can be attested by the epigraphs of the Cāhamānas,[322] Cudāsamas,[323] Guhils,[324] Rāwals,[325] Rāṭhoḍs,[326] and the rulers of the Sūrya dynasty.[327] It may, however, be noted that even though these kings did not seem to have come in the way of the lay-devotion to Jainism, many of them were devotees of Sūrya and Śiva. As noted elsewhere, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hastikuṇḍi also helped the spread of Jainism to some extent, to which the 10th cent. Jaina temple at Jodhpur by Vidagdharāja, and the Bijāpur stone inscription of Dhavala informing us about the renovation of the Vidagdharāja temple in the tenth century, stand testimony.[328] Several Jaina scholars like Haribhadra, Udyotanasūri and others flourished and enriched the literature of the Jainas.

It may, however, be noted that the Jainism that flourished under the Cālukyas in Gujarat was predominantly Śvetāmbara. The very fact that Kumudacandra had to come from the south to debate with Hemacandra and others, and the scantiness of Digambara epigraphs and monuments in Gujarat corroborate the above statement. The Digambaras were concentrated mainly in the south, and the same case as in the story of Kumudacandra, i.e., sending the Digambara representative from the south to the north for preaching, took place again under the Sultans of Delhi also, as we shall see later on.

The Deccan :

It is difficult to say anything regarding the state of Jainism in the ancient period, at least from c. 4th cent. B.C., to the beginning of the Christian era, in the Deccan.

We have already referred to the fact that several inscriptions found near Mysore, speak of the reign of the Nandas over Kuntala. The identification of 'Nav Nanda Dehra' with Nānder on the Godāvarī by RAYCHAUDHARI[329] and the view advocated by KETKAR that Paithan was the southern

322. NAHAR, Vol. i, 700, 827, 839, 852, 876, 899, 943, 944.
323. *Inscri. of Kathiawad*, Nos. 30, 32.
324. *Ibid.*, No. 56.
325. NAHAR, I, 722, 726; III, 2140, 2155, 2446-47, 2494, 2499; 2505; 2509; 2531.
326. *Ibid.*, I, 743, 904.
327. *Bhāv. Inscri.*, Sūrya Dyn. Nos. II, VII, X, XI, XII.
328. *E.I.*, X, pp. 17-24.
329. *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

capital of the Nandas,[330] tend to suggest that Deccan also formed a part of the Nanda Empire. However, we have no other evidence either literary or archaeological, of this period to show that these kings who had taken away the Jina image from Kalinga and whose ministers according to the Jaina evidence were Jainas, spread Jainism in the Deccan as well.

Coming to the Mauryas, we have the traditional account of the migration of Candragupta with Bhadrabāhu, to the south. It is difficult to say what path this famous pair of guru-śiṣya adopted in their journey towards the south. It may be that they could have made a halt in the Deccan had they found that the Deccan rather than Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, was a favourable ground for Jainism. Even though the *Gacchācāravṛtti*[331] says that Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira stayed for some time at Paiṭṭhāṇa (Paithan), it is not clear which Bhadrabāhu is meant.

The same want of evidence is to be found in the reign of the great Aśoka. Even though Deccan seems to have been a part of his empire, the state neither of Jainism nor that of Buddhism in the Deccan can be clearly visualised. If at all anything could be said, it is that the Mauryan Emperor was more liberal towards Buddhism as is perhaps attested by the Buddhist caves in the Deccan (3rd cent. B.C.), rather than towards Jainism.

Jaina literary evidence, as seen elsewhere, credits the spread of Jainism from Ujjain to the Deccan and to the southern countries to Samprati,[332] the grandson of Aśoka. But here also, we have no other evidence to corroborate this Jaina tradition.

The successors of the Mauryas, viz., the Śungas, do not seem to have held their sway over the Deccan, and until we come to the Sātavāhanas we have no definite material regarding the history of the Deccan in general.

Regarding the king Sālivāhaṇa the Jaina literary tradition says that this king ruled at Paiṭṭhāṇa. It seems that Ārya Kālaka tried to influence the king inasmuch as the former changed the date of the pajjosaṇa festival from the fifth to the fourth day so as to suit the convenience of the king who was busy on the fifth day.[333] Epigraphical records, however, tend to show that the Sātavāhanas were not Jains, but were Brāhmanical as is proved by the sacrificial record at Naneghat in Poona district, and not antagonistic to Buddhism as is evidenced by the inscriptions in the caves at Nāsik.

330. Quoted by NAIK, A.V., *Arch. of the Deccan* (Mss.), p. 46.

331. p. 93.

332. These countries were Āndhra, Draviḍa, Kuḍukka (Coorg), Mahārāṣṭra, and Surāṣṭra: *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 3278-3289.

333. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, I, p. 17; BHANDARKAR, *Early Hist. of the Deccan*, pp. 29-31.

Coming to the Kshatrapas, we find that Nahapāna was a patron of Buddhism over and above the rest of the faiths. His inscriptions at Junnar, Kārle and Nāsik, and his construction of caves and cells for monks at Nāsik, show that he had a high affinity for Buddhism rather than for Jainism.

It may, however, be noted that the Jaina literary tradition speaks of a certain king Muruṇḍa of Paiṭṭhāṇa whose headache was cured by Pādalittasūri.[334] *According to Sten* KONOW, *Muruṇḍa is a Śaka word denoting the sense of 'a lord.'*[335] *We have no other definite corroborating evidence to show whether Pādalitta with the help of this king spread Jainism in the Deccan.*

Regarding the state of Jainism or even its existence under the Ābhīras and Traikūṭakas, the successors of the Sātavāhanas, we have practically no evidence. On the other hand, Fa Hien's (5th cent. A.D.) account depicts the majority of the Buddhists over other faiths.[336] Later on, according to the statements of Hiuen Tsiang (7th cent. A.D.), Deccan seemed to have been replete with numerous heretical sects.[337]

Coming to the Vākāṭakas, we find that they were Brāhmanical rather than Jaina. For instance, Pravarasena "performed many sacrifices including the Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava and the Aśvamedha which he performed no less than four times."[338]

It is only when we come to the Cālukyas and their successors that we can have a more clear picture of Jainism both in the Deccan and the Karṇāṭak than we could have in the reign of the previous dynasties.

Under the western Cālukyas of Badāmī, we have both epigraphical and archaeological evidence to prove that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the Deccan in the early medieval period (c. 500-950 A.D.).

The following Jaina records of the Badāmi Cālukyas are known:

(1) Altem Copper-plates—Kolhapur State, Refers to Sāmiyāra, a feudatory of Pulakeśin, who built a Jina temple in Ś. 411 in Alaktakanagara with the permission of Pulakeśin, and granted lands to it.[339]

334. *Piṇḍa-N.* 498.
335. JAIN, *Life in Anc. Ind.* p. 393.
336. *I.A.*, Vol. 40, p. 211.
337. *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, p. 291.
338. NAIK, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
339. *I.A.*, Vol. vii, p. 211.

(2) Aihole Inscription, Bijapur District; Dated Ś. 556—Refers to the Poet Ravikīrti, whose patron was Pulakeśin Satyāśraya, who built a Jina temple.[340]

(3) Lakshmeshvar Inscriptions, Dharwar Distt.: Undated. A certain king of the Sendra family, granted land to Śankha-Jinendra.[341]

(4) Lakshmeshwar Inscription (ii)—Dated Ś. 610: mentions Vijayāditya who gave a village to his father's priest who belonged to the Devagaṇa of the Mūlasaṁgha, for the benefit of the temple of Śankha Jinendra at Pulikara.[342]

(5) Āḍūr Inscription, Dharwar District: Undated. Reign of Kīrtivarman II; grant of land by an unnamed chief to a Jinālaya.[343]

(6) Āḍūr Inscription (ii)—Reign of Kīrtivarman I; refers to the grant of rice-land to the Jinendra temple. The priest Prabhācandra acquired this grant.[344]

Besides these records, we have caves at Badāmī (c. 650 A.D.)[345] with images of Tīrthaṅkaras, those at Aihole (c. 700 A.D.)[346] with the figure of Mahāvīra and other Jaina symbols like makaras and dvārapālas, the caves of Dhārāśiva (c. 600-650 A.D.) in the Hyderabad State,[347] with Tīrthankara images—all these reveal a prosperous condition of Jainism in the Deccan in the 7th century A.D.

Under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose different branches ruled in Gujarāt, Rājputānā, and the Deccan, we have a flourishing state of Jainism, as some of the kings of this dynasty were devout Jainas themselves. For instance, Amoghavarsha had great leanings towards Jainism which is evidenced by the fact that Jinasena, the writer of *Ādipurāṇa*, was his preceptor. Moreover a certain Jaina mathematician called Mahāvīrācārya, the writer of *Gaṇitasārasangraha*, who was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha, calls him as the follower of Syādvāda.[348] Amoghavarsha seems to have granted land for a Jinālaya at the request of his subordinate Bankeśa.[349] "It would seem

340. *E.I.*, Vol. vi, 4.
341. *I.A.*, Vol. vii, 106.
342. *Ibid.*, 112.
343. *Kar. Inscr.* 1. 4.
344. *I.A.*, xi, 69.
345. *ASWI*, I, pp. 25-26.
346. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
347. *Ibid.*, III. p. 4.
348. ALTEKAR, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 88.
349. *E.I.*, vi, No. 4.

that he was often putting his Yuvarāja or the ministry in charge of the administration, in order to pass some days in retirement and contemplation in the company of his Jaina gurus."[350]

Inspite of this, it may be noted that Amoghavarsha was also a devotee of the Brāhmanical goddess Mahālakshmī in order to please whom he cut one of his fingers so that she may avert a calamity that was to befall him.[351]

Kṛshṇa II, another king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, had Guṇabhadra, the compiler of the last five chapters of *Ādipurāṇa,* as his preceptor.[352] The same king gave a grant to the Jaina temple at Mulgund.[353]

Indra III, the successor of Kṛshṇa II, was also a patron of Jainism, as is evidenced by his building a stone pedestal for the bathing ceremony of Śāntinātha.[354]

The last king of the dynasty, Indra IV, is said to have accepted death in the typically Jaina fashion called Sallekhanā (i.e., fast unto death).[355]

Besides these, we come across other kings in this dynasty who were influenced by Jaina tenets. For instance, the Kaḍaba copper-plate dated Ś. 735, says that king Prabhūtavarsha (i.e., Govinda III) on the request of one Cākirāja, granted the village of Jālamangala to a Jaina monk Arkakīrti on behalf of the temple of Jinendra at Śilāgrāma, in remuneration for his having warded off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, the governor of Kunungil District.[356]

Even the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were influenced by Jainism inasmuch as the Raṭṭas of Saundatti,[357] Bankeya the governor of Banawāsi[358] and his son, and Śrīvijaya,[359] a general of Indra III—all these were patrons of Jainism.

This royal patronage did not result simply in temple-building and grants of land. Far more important than that was the rise of a number of Jaina scholars who wrote masterly works on Logic and enriched various

350. ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
351. Sanjan Copper-plates, *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248; ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
352. *JBBRAS*, XXII, p. 85.
353. *Ibid.*, X, p. 192.
354. *ASR.*, 1905-6, pp. 121-2.
355. *E.C.*, ii, No. 133; also *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 124.
356. *E.I.*, Vol. iv, p. 340.
357. *JBBRAS*, 10, 194.
358. *Ibid.*, vi, p. 29; KIELHORN'S *List*, No. 74.
359. *E.I.*, X, p. 149.

branches of literature. Some of these writers were Samantabhadra, Akalanka, Vidyānanda, Māṇikyanandin, Prabhācandra, Jinasena, Guṇacandra and Pampa.[360] It may be noted that Digambara Jainas were in the ascendency in the south in this period.

Coming to the Late Medieval period (c. 950-1300 A.D.) in the Deccan, we have to see whether Jainism flourished or not under the Kalyāṇi Cālukyas, Yādavas and the Śilāhāras.

The following important Jaina records of the Kalyāni Cālukyas may be noted:

(i) Parbhaṇī Copper-plate: Hyderabad State: Date: Ś. 888: Grant of a village for the shrine Śubhadāma-Jinālaya to the poet Somadeva by Arikesarin III.[361]

(ii) Saundatti Inscription, Belgaum Distt.: Ś. 902: Grant to a Jina temple by Rāṭṭa Śāntivarman, a feudatory of Cālukya Taila II.[362]

(iii) Huli Inscription, Belgaum Distt.: Ś. 966: Construction of a Jina temple and grants to it during the reign of Someśvara I.[363]

(iv) Arasibidi Inscri., Bijāpur Dist.: Ś. 969: Akkādevi, during the reign of Someśvara I, granted land to the Jina temple at Vikramapura, 'for the maintenance of the establishment and of the attached friars and nuns, among whom special mention is made of Nāgasena Paṇḍita of the Hogarī Gaccha of the Vārasenagaṇa of the Mūla Sangha.'[364]

(v) Baḷagamve Inscri., Mysore State: Ś. 970: Grant by a private person to a Jaina temple when Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cāvuṇḍarāya, a subordinate of Someśvara I, was holding Baḷḷigāve.[365]

(vi) Mulgund Inscription, Dharwar Dist.: Ś. 975: Reign of Someśvara I: Refers to a Jaina Sandhivigrahādhikāri Baḷdeva who gave an estate to Nayasena as trustee for the supply of food to a basti.[366]

(vii) Gowarwad Inscription: Dharwar Distt.: Ś. 993 and 994: Someśvara II: His mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Lakṣma granted some estates to the Jaina

360. For details, see ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-11; For details about cave temples like Ellura and others belonging to this period, see NAIK, *op. cit.*, pp. 358ff.

361. *SMHD.*, 2. 33 (No. 7).

362. *JBBRAS.*, 10, p. 204.

363. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 174.

364. *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 122.

365. *I.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 179.

366. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 54.

temple at Annigere; also grant of land by General Rāchideva for the cult of Kalideva and the Jinas.[367]

(viii) Gudigere Inscription: Dharwar Distt.: Ś. 998: 'Records that Śrinandipaṇḍita, a Jaina Guru acquired possession of some fields which were under the control of the Jaina temple called Ānesejjaya-basaḍi which was built by Kurikumahādevī, the younger sister of Cālukya Cakravartin Vijayāditya Vallabha at Puregere and gave 15 mattaras out of these lands to his disciple Singayya which the latter allotted for the purpose of providing food for the Saints at Guḍigere. Grant by the same teacher to the temple of the god Bhuvanaikamalla Śāntināthadeva.'[368]

(ix) Lakshmeśvara Inscription, Dharwar District: Cāḷ. Vik. Era 6: Reign of Vikramāditya VI: Feudatory Eremayya made a grant to Jaina cult under the care of Narendrasena of Sena gaṇa of Mūla Sangha.[369]

(x) Koṇṇur Inscri.: Belgaum Distt.: Ś. 1009: Vikramāditya II: a grant by Nīdhiyamagāmaṇḍa to a Jaina temple.[370]

(xi) Kaṇṇur Inscri.: Cā. Vi. 37: Reign of Vikramāditya VI: grant of land to a Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha by a Brahmin officer.[371]

(xii) Terdal Inscription, Sangli State: Ś. 1045: Grant by Maṇḍalika Gonkidevarasa to Nemināthа. Reign of Vikramāditya VI.[372]

(xiii) Huli Inscri.: Belgaum Distt.: No date: Vikramaditya VI: Construction of and grants to a Jina temple.[373]

(xiv) Hunasikatti Inscri.: Belgaum Distt.: Ś. 1054: Someśvara III: grant by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Mārasimhadeva to the god Ekasāleya—Pārśvanātha.[374]

(xv) Huli Inscri.: Belgaum Distt.: Ś. 1067: Jagadekamalla II: Grant by Nīmana to the Jaina temple, and for the maintenance of the ascetics.[375]

(xvi) Kalhoḷi Inscri.: Belgaum: Ś. 1127: grants at the order of Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kārttavīrya IV, for a Jaina temple.[376]

367. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 339.
368. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 38.
369. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 59.
370. *JBBRAS.*, X, p. 287.
371. *ASI.*, *A.R.*, 1930-34, p. 242.
372. *I.A.*, XIV, p. 15.
373. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 202.
374. *I.A.*, X, p. 132.
375. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 174.
376. *JBBRAS.*, Vol. X, p. 220

These inscriptions give us a fair idea regarding the extent of royal patronage to Jainism under the later Cālukyas of Badāmī. It seems therefore that not only the kings themselves of this dynasty, but even their feudatories and their officers were liberal towards Jainism. Another point to be noted is that they patronised the Digambaras, and not the Śvetāṁbaras.

This tide of popularity and patronage seems to have ebbed considerably under the Kalacuryas, for under Bijjala who was a devout Śaivite, we get the majority of the grants to Śaiva temples.[377]

The setback to the Jainas seems to have hung heavily on them even under the Yādavas, but perhaps, not so complete as under the Kalacuryas, for we do get a few Jaina inscriptions under the Yādavas. For instance:

(i) Anjaneri Inscription: Nasik Distt.: Ś. 1063: Grant of two shops to the temple of Candraprabha by Seuṇacandra of the Yādava race.[378]

(ii) Bijapur Inscri.: Ś. 1119: Commanders of Jaitrapāla made a grant to a sage Candrābharaṇa.[379]

(iii) Bijapur Inscri.: Ś. 1179: grant of land by Karasideva to a Jaina temple, now turned into a mosque.[380]

(iv) Belur Inscri. : Mysore State : Ś. 1193 : Kūci Rāja built a Jina temple, gave grants of land, shops and arecanut gardens to it : His guru, Padmasena Bhaṭṭāraka of Pagab-gaccha of the Senagaṇa of Mūla Sangha.[381]

(v) Belgāmi Inscri. : Mysore State : Ś. 1216 (or 1218) : Grant of lands to Jaina temples and to basadis.[382]

The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur also seem to have patronised the Digambara Jainas as would be clear from the following epigraphs :

(i) Honnūr Inscrip. Kolhāpur : No date : Grant of land and of a house by Ballāḷa and Gaṇḍarāditya for the provision of food to the ascetics : Basaḍi built by Bammagāvuṇḍa of the Punnāga-Vṛkshamūlagaṇa of the Mūlasangha.[383]

377. We have, however, instances of patronage to Jainism: Thus, Recarasa, minister of Kalacurya Āhavamalladeva, gave grants to Jina temple: *E.C.*, VII, Shik. 197: GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 408; K. P. JAINA remarks, "Most of the kings of this dynasty patronised Jainism"—*JA.*, xi, ii, p. 28.

378. *I.A.*, XII, p. 126.

379. *INKK*, p. 146, No. 17.

380. *ASI.*, *AR*, 1930-34, p. 224.

381. *E.C.*, XI, p. 45 (Dg. 13).

382. *ASI.*, *AR.*, 1924, p. 124.

383. *I.A.*, XII, p. 102.

(ii) Kolhapur Pārśvanātha Temple inscrip.: Ś. 1058: Creation of Basaḍi by Mahāsāmanta Nimbadevarasa.[384]

(iii) Kolhapur inscription: Ś. 1065: Grant by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vijayādityadeva for the worship of Pārśvanātha.[385]

We have taken a survey of the condition of Jainism from the Nanda period upto the end of the Śilāhāra dynasty in the Deccan. Such a survey shows that till the advent of the Cālukyas of Badami, we have little information of the flourishing condition of Jainism. With the entry of the Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, Jainism got ample royal patronage and munificence from officers and merchants. It may, however, be noticed that Jainism was not the only religion in the field, for, along with it, Brahmanism and in earlier phases Buddhism also flourished in the Deccan. The wonderful sense of religious toleration which seemed inherent in Indian kings thrived all religions, and "in the Deccan itself the revival of Hinduism did not in the least affect the prospects of Jainism; it continued to be the religion of a strong minority throughout our period (750-1000 A.D.)".[386]

Karnatak, Mysore and Vengi:

The contact of Karnatak and its adjoining regions with Jainism is associated with the migration of the Digambaras to this locality, with Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa as its centre.

From Bhadrabāhu to the advent of the Gangas in about the second century A.D., we have but a hazy picture of Jainism in south India. Tamil works like the *Kural*, *Silappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*[387] which, according to some scholars, belong to the early centuries of the Christian era throw but a dim light on the condition of Jainism, and nothing beyond probabilities and conjectures can be had from them.

Regarding the position of the Jainas in the Sangam period (c. 2nd century. A.D..) AIYENGAR and RAO,[388] on the authority of the works mentioned above, say that the "fervent manner in which Jaina beliefs and morals are depicted, the copious references to Jaina centres of learning and the description of the society in general, leave no doubt in the minds of the readers of the epics, the impression, that the religion of the Arhat was

384. *E.I.*, XIX, p. 30 (No. 4a).
385. *Ibid.*, III, p. 209.
386. ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
387. For their dates, see *Ancient India* by S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, pp. 360, 380; DIKSHITAR, *Studies in Tamil Lit. and Hist.*, p. 83.
388. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 46-47.

embraced by large and even increasing numbers of the Dravidians". The same scholars point out the comparative simplicity of Jaina worship, the exclusive character of Brāhmanical rites and the perfect organisation of the Jaina community as the causes that must have led to the Jaina hold over the country in that period.

The creation of the Ganga kingdom (2nd-11th cent. A.D.) through the active agency of Simhanandin who gave refuge to two forlorn princes from the North,[389] in about the 2nd cent. A.D., laid a firm foundation for the prosperous career of Jainism under the Gangas. It became a state religion due to which the Jaina monks giving up their traditional seclusion from the political affairs, came out in the role of king-makers and royal advisers.

Simhanandin was not satisfied simply with giving them a kingdom, but he guided the princes regarding the principles of policy inasmuch as he warned them that 'if they did not approve of the Jina Śāsana, if they seized the wives of others, if they ate honey or flesh, if they formed relationship with the low....if they fled from the battlefield, then, their race would go to ruin!'[390] Thus the great ascetic set within proper limits the principle of Ahimsā in conformity with kingly duties.

The marvellous feat of cutting asunder a stone pillar by a single stroke of the sword given by Simhanandin to Konguṇivarman, has been interpreted by SALETORE as the removal or doing away with the Buddhist influence in Karṇāṭak symbolised in the existence of the Buddhist monuments near the place of the meeting of Simhanandin and Konguṇivarman. He remarks, "Buddhist influence still held its own in the south for some time to come and it was evidently this which the great Jaina teacher overcame with the help of his royal disciple. Konguṇivarmā's demonstration of physical strength brought about it, indeed, 'sovereignty' to the Jainas; and the reward which he secured for this remarkable feat was a kingdom".[391]

Besides Konguṇivarman, his successors were also Jaina patrons. For instance, Avinīta had his preceptor in Vijayakīrti at whose instance the king gave grants of land to the Jina temples.[392] The same king has been described

389. *E.C.*, II, 397, p. 169; *MAR*, 1921, p. 26; 1923, p. 115; SII. II, p. 387.
390. SALETORE, *Medieval Jainism*, p. 12.
391. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.
392. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, RAMASWAMI and AIYANGAR, pp. 110-111; KRISHNA RAO, *Gangas of Talkad*, p. 227.

as one "in whose heart the Supreme Jina footprints are fixed".[393] The assertion by RICE that Pūjyapāda, the famous Jaina scholar, was the guru of Durvinīta, the successor of Avinīta, however, has been exploded by SALETORE.[394]

Śivamāra I (670-713 A.D.) also liberally helped the spread of Jainism and granted lands to Jina temples.[395] Other kings of this dynasty like Śripuruṣa Muttarasa Pṛthvīkonguṇi II,[396] Śivamāra II,[397] Ereyappa,[398] Prince Duggamāra, Mārasimha,[399] and Rācamalla,[400]—all these were devout patrons of Jainism, who, coming under the sway of Jaina tenets, built magnificent basaḍis, temples and establishments for the Jainas.

Not only the kings but even their feudatories and ministers fostered the cause of Jainism, and out of these, the figure of Cāvunḍarāya minister of the Ganga Rācamalla (IV), and the builder of the colossal image of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, stands out prominently.[401]

It may not, however, be supposed that these kings were exclusively Jainas, for they gave grants to other sects like Brāhmanism also. Hence SALETORE remarks, "....The Ganga kings....notwithstanding their liberal attitude and patronage of the Hindus, still continued to foster the cause of Jainism to which alone their House had owed its origin as a political factor in the land".[402]

Another dynasty that liberally patronised Jainism was that of the Kadambas (c. 3rd cent. A.D.). The following are some of the Jaina records of this dynasty:

(1) Ruler: Kākusthavarmā: middle of the 5th cent. A.D.:[403] Records grant of land to a certain Śrutakīrti for the purpose of worship to Jinendra.[404]

393. *E.C.*, VII, sh. 6, of c. 1060 A.D.
394. *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-23.
395. *MAR*, 1925, p. 92.
396. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 85, p. 135.
397. *Ibid.*, II, 415, p. 180.
398. *MAR*, 1932, pp. 240-41.
399. For his erecting of basaḍis and mānastambhas, and his fast unto death: *E.C.*, II, 59, pp. 12-14.
400. His guru was Vajrapāṇi Panḍita of Draviḷānvaya of the Mūlasaṅgha: *E.C.* VI, Mg. 18, p. 61.
401. *E.C.* II, 175, 176, 179: For the support by princes, queens and feudatories of the Gangas, see: *E.C.*, II, 150; IV, Ng. 32; VI, Chik. 160; VII, Sh. 6, 10; Shik. 120; VIII, Sb. 140; IX, Nel. 60, etc. etc.
402. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.
403. MORAES advocates it: See *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 71-72.
404. *I.A.*, Vol. vi, p. 24.

(2) Ruler: Mṛgeśavarman, grandson of Kākusthavarman, who ruled between 475-490 A.D.:[405] Grant records that in the third year of his reign, the king granted some fields for the cleaning of the Jina temple and for the image-worship with ghee.[406]

(3) Same ruler: 4th year of his reign: The village granted was to be shared equally by the Śvetapaṭas, Nirgranthas, and the Arhat.[407]

It may be noted that the inscription is important inasmuch as it reveals the existence of the Śvetāmbaras in the south under the Kadambas, to whom this king of the dynasty treated equally with the Digambaras (Nirgranthas).

(4) Same ruler: 8th year: The king built a Jinālaya, and granting lands for it handed it over to the Kūrcakas for their maintenance.[408] It may be noted that these Kūrcakas were naked ascetics.

(5) Ruler: Ravivarman: He passed orders for the celebration of the festival of Jinendra for eight days from the full-moon day of Kārtika out of the revenues of the village Pumkheṭaka granted for that purpose. The ascetics were also to be supported during the four months of the rainy season, and the people were asked to perform worship of the Jinendra.[409]

(6) Ruler: Ravivarman: grant of land to the Jina temple.[410]

(7) Same ruler: Grant of land by the king's brother Bhānuvarman for the ablution ceremony, to the Jainas.[411]

(8) Ruler: Harivarman: grant of a village to the Kūrcakas under Vāriṣeṇācārya, in the 4th year of his reign: Purpose of the grant was to anoint the Arhat with butter and for the purpose of feeding the Kūrcakas.[412]

(9) Same ruler: 5th year of his reign: Grant of a village at the request of his feudatory, Bhānuśakti of the Sendraka family, for the use of the Ahariṣṭi Śramaṇas under Dharanandi.[413]

(10) Ruler: Devavarman: grant of land to the Yāpanīya sect of the Jinas.[414]

405. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
406. *I. A.*, Vol. VII, pp. 36-37, No. XXXVI.
407. *Ibid.*, p. 38; No. XXXVII.
408. Fleet, *I. A.*, vi, p. 25.
409. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 27.
410. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30; also *JA.*, xii, 2, pp. 71-72.
411. *I. A.*, VI, p. 29.
412. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
413. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
414. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 34-35. For details about the Yāpanīyas, see Upadhye, *BUJ.*, 1, pt. VI, May, (1933), pp. 224-31

From the above records it may be said (i) that a number of sects had arisen among the Jainas in South India in this period.

(ii) That a class of naked ascetics called the Kūrcakas was in existence, and

(iii) That the Śvetapaṭas were also in South India.

Over and above this it may be noted that inspite of this exuberance of liberality towards Jainism by some Kadamba kings, they were essentially Brāhmanical. For instance, Mṛgeśavarman who gave grants to Jainism, is also referred to as "honouring gods, Brāhmaṇas, priests and the learned; ever making gifts to chief Brāhmaṇas".[415] Inspite of this, as MORAES remarks, "Jainism was really a popular religion in the Kadamba Empire and that there were many people who were worshippers of Jinendra".[416]...."Jaina maṭhas were established in all parts of Karṇāṭak. The inscriptions speak at length about the Jaina monastery at Kuppaṭūr, and give a short genealogy of the gurus. We learn from the records that queen Mālaladevī patronised this institution. At Bhandavapura there was another famous maṭha. The flourishing city of Beḷagāmi also contained a representative Jaina population and there existed a Jaina monastery."[417]

Coming to the Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi who were a branch of the Cālukyas of Badāmī and who reigned from 624 A.D. onwards[418] with Vengi as the seat of their kingdom, we find the following information regarding their attitude towards Jainism:

Reign of Vishṇuvardhana I:

In the Timmāpuram Plates, he is spoken of as a Paramabhāgavata or a great devotee of Vishṇu.[419]

His queen Ayyaṇa Mahādevī, "favoured the Jaina monks of Kavuṛūri Gaṇa with a shrine called Naḍumbivasati at Bejavāḍa, i.e. Bezwāḍa".[420]

Inspite of these instances, it is not possible to dogmatise about the exclusive religious affinities of this king and his queen, for the Indian kings have been known to be patrons of several sects at one and the same time.

415. *I. A.*, VII, p. 38.
416. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.
417. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53.
418. VENKATARAMANAYYA, *The Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi*, (*ECV*) p. 57.
419. *E. I.*, IX, p. 317.
420. *ECV.*, p. 63.

Reign of Vijayāditya II (806-846 *A.D.*):

This king was a devotee of Śiva and he erected several Śaiva temples.[421]

Cālukya Bhīma I:

Built temples of Śiva.[422]

Amma II:

Patronised both the Hindus and the Jainas for he gave grants to the Śaiva monks of the Kālāmukha sect as well as Jaina ascetics of the Nandi and the Aḍḍakaligaccha.[423]

Vimalāditya:

He was probably converted to Jainism in his later age.[424]

Rājarāja I:

Devoted to the worship of God Śiva, but not narrow-minded, hence liberal to all sects.[425]

Regarding the religious conditions under the Eastern Cālukyas, VENKATARAMANAYYA remarks that of the three sects, viz. Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, "Buddhism at one time dominant throughout the land was already decadent. Its monasteries once teeming with thousands of busy monks, were practically deserted when Hiuen Tsiang visited the country in the first half of the 7th cent. A.D.; and a few that still lingered within the old walls remained there more on account of their love of the sacred relics enshrined in the holy stupas than for the propogation of the Dharma........ No wonder that the numerous records of the period do not even remotely allude to the religion of the Buddha.

"......The Jaina monks were very active......The deserted images met with in the ruined village sites all over the country show that the Jaina settlements were numerous, and an appreciable section of the people paid homage to the Arhats and Tīrthankaras......Several inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukya monarchs and their subjects record the construction of basaḍis and temples and register the gift of lands and money for their maintenance. Jainism, however, never attained the position of the state religion.

421. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
422. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.
423. *E.I.*, VII, p. 177 ff; ix. p. 47 ff; xii, p. 161.
424. *ECV.*, p. 216.
425. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Hinduism was the national religion of the Telugu country throughout the Cālukya period."[426]

Another dynasty that helped the cause of Jainism more vigorously was that of the Hoysaḷas. According to epigraphical evidence the very creation of this dynasty was the work of a Jaina monk. According to SALETORE, "it was an example of a religion in the pre-Vijayānagara days which demonstrated the importance of the fact of even religious leaders aiding materially the creation of proper political environment necessary for the resuscitation of the life of the country".[427]

The traditional account of the rise of this dynasty is connected with the help of a Jaina sage.[428] It was in the fitness of things, therefore, that the Hoysaḷas should have given a wholehearted support to Jainism. This is corroborated by several epigraphs of this dynasty. For instance, Vinayāditya was under the influence of the Sudatta Vardhamāna. Another sage Śāntideva was the guru of Vinayāditya II due to whose blessings the king could expand the glory of his kingdom,[429] and after whose death the king erected a memorial in his honour.[430] The king was also under the influence of Abhayacandra to whom he granted land.[431] The religious zeal of the king, therefore, resulted in the erection of several temples and basaḍis for the Jainas.

The successor of Vinayāditya was Ereyanga who was also a disciple of Gopanandin, who was a great debator and logician. To him the king granted a village.[432] It is said in one of the epigraphs that Gopanandin "caused the Jaina religion which had for a long time been at a standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the time of the Ganga kings".[433] It may mean that even though Jainism was in existence in pre-Gopanandin period, it lacked energy, vigour and the appearance of a living religion. This consciousness of assertion might have been poured into Jainism by Gopanandin who was a great scholar.

During the short rule of Ballāl I also, Jaina monks were respected. It is said that this king was cured of his illness by Cārukīrtimuni.[434]

426. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89.
427. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
428. RICE, *Mys. and Cg.*, p. 95; *E.C.*, VIII, Sb., 28; IV, Ng. 38, 39. For a detailed discussion of this episode see SALETORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 62ff.
429. *EC.*, II, 67.
430. *Ibid.*, VI, Mg. 17.
431. *MAR*, 1927, pp. 43-44.
432. *EC.*, V, Cn. 148.
433. *Ibid.*, II, 69.
434. *Ibid.*, 258.

The next king Vishṇuvardhanadeva, inspite of his devotion to the Jaina sage Śrīpāla Traividya Deva[435] alias Vādibhasiṁha, was converted to Vaishṇavism sometime about 1116 A.D., according to RICE.[436] The cause of this conversion was "the influence of the great ācārya Rāmānuja who, to escape persecution at the hands of a Colā king had taken refuge in the Hoysaḷa country".[437] SALETORE, however, maintains that Vishṇuvardhana was still a Jaina as late as 1133 A.D. as he named his son Vijaya Narasiṁha after the god Vijaya Pārśvanātha whose temple was built by one of his generals.[438]

The successor of Vishṇuvardhana was Narasiṁha I who does not seem to have done much for Jainism. However, a reference to his visit to Śravaṇa Bēḷgoḷa occurs in one of the inscriptions.[439]

His son Vira Ballāla I, however, proved to be a worthy king and he increased his realm as well as his patronage to Jainism. His preceptor was Vasupūjyadeva of the Nandi Sangha under whose influence the king granted villages for Jaina purposes.[440]

Out of the remaining kings of this dynasty, Narasiṁha III was a devout Jaina and his guru was Māghanandi. It seems, however, that the importance of the dynasty was fast decreasing, as the king was called simply as Mahāmaṇḍalācārya.[441] The end of the dynasty was approaching, and the influence of Jainism on Vīra Ballāla III, is not certain.[442]

Further South :

We have already seen that the Tamil literature of the early centuries of the Christian era shows great influence of Jaina ideas and principles. Yet, Jainism could not fare better under the rule of the royal dynasties of the south like the Pāṇḍyas, Pallavas and the Cholas. Though a few cases of their patronage to Jainism are not lacking, yet, later kings of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas helped the wiping out of Jainism from South India under the influence of Śaivite teachers. Of the Cheras, it is said that three kings

435. *Ibid.*, V, 17; Cn. 149.
436. *Op. cit.*, p. 99.
437. *Op.* cit., p. 79.
438. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
439. *E.C.*, ii, 349.
440. *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 1; Cn. 146; MAR, 1926, pp. 50-51.
441. *Ibid.*, ii, 334.
442. For other grants of the Hoysaḷas for Jaina purposes, see: E.C., ii, 178, 181; Malavalli 31; iv, Ng. 7; v, Ark. 98, Hasan 130; Belur 124, 125, 126; Arsikere 55, 141; Canna° 146, 148, 150; Hassan 57, 58, 112; vi, Chikm. 160, 161; Kadur 36, 69; Mudg. 22; xii, Tumkur 9, etc.

of this dynasty round about the beginning of the Christian era and a couple of centuries after it, had a Jaina guru, and the Jainas continued to be their spiritual heads righ upto the 5th cent. A.D.[443] GUERINOT[444] mentions a couple of inscriptions which go to prove that some kings of the Cholas were not unfavourable to Jainism as they granted lands in favour of Jaina temples.

It was, however, under the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas that Jainism had *to face tough days. Before their conversion to staunch* Śaivism, they were probably not unfavourable to Jainism. UPADHYE remarks in this connection, that "the kings of Conjeepuram were patrons of learning: since the early centuries of the Christian Era upto the 8th century A.D., from Samantabhadra to Akalanka, we hear that Jainism was being propogated round that place. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Pallava kings at Conjeepuram, during the first centuries of this era, were patrons of Jaina religion and were themselves Jainas by faith".[445] In fact Kāñcī and Madurā were great Jaina centres. It is said that the Digambara scholar Samantabhadra converted king Śivakoṭī of the Pallavas, a Śaiva devotee, to Jainism by showing him a miracle,[446] and that in the 7th century A.D. Akalanka defeated the Buddhists in a debate after which a certain king Himaśītala drove them away to Ceylon.[447]

Brāhmanical leaders like Kumārila and Śankarācārya (8th century A.D.), and the Śaivites under Nānasaṁbara Appara (7th century A.D.), Sundaramūrti and Māṇikka Vācakara (9th century A.D.), however, led a compaign against Jainism which resulted in the conversion of many Jainas. All these in collaboration with the Vaishṇava Alvārs effectively checked the spread of Jainism.[448]

Royal patrons also sided with these faiths. Mahendravarman of the Pallava dynasty embraced Śaivism, and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurā followed them. All considerations of religious toleration were set aside and Mahendravarman destroyed a large number of Jaina monasteries.[449] "But what is surprising is not that contemporary Śaiva and Vaishṇava Saints should have pictured darkly the Jainas in their religious works, but that the traditionally generous Hindu mind should have portrayed in a series of frescoes on the walls of the Golden Lily Tank of the well-known Mīnākshī temple at Madurā,

443. *J.A.*, XII, 2, p. 74.
444. *Op. cit.*, Nos. 167, 171, 478.
445. *Prv. Intr.*, p. XIIII.
446. GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
447. *Ibid.*
448. See AIYANGAR and RAO, *op. cit.*, pp. 70ff.
449. SMITH, *EHI*, p. 472.

the darker and sadder side of the struggle between the vanquished Jaina leaders and the exultant Hindu re' .ners of the tenth and the eleventh centuries. Here on the walls of the same temple are found paintings depicting the persecution and impaling of the Jainas at the instance of Tirujñānasambandhar. And what is still more unfortunate is that even now the whole tragedy is gone through at five of the twelve annual festivals at that famous Madurā temple !"[450]

Vijayanagara :

Due to this persecution, Jainism was weakened but not wiped out. It was now devoid of all its previous glory. Nevertheless it found a few patrons among the Vijayanagara rulers.

For instance, Bukkarāya I is said to have brought about a reconciliation between the Jainas and the Vaishṇavas. The point involved was about the use of five drums and Kalaśa by the Jainas. The very fact, however, that the latter had to come to a settlement with the Vaishṇavas in no way honourable to the Jainas, shows that their position had weakened considerably.[451]

Several inscriptions stand testimony to the constant feuds between these two sects.[452] However, Bukka cleverly managed to reconcile both sides. His feudatories and subordinates[453] as also minor dynasties helped the cause of Jainism to some extent. But tottering Jainism never seemed to gain ground as would be clear from an epigraph of 1638 A.D.[454]

This epigraph refers to the reign of Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belur, in which a certain Huchchappa Deva stamped a liṅga on the pillars of the Vijayapārśvanātha basadi of Haḷeyabiḍu, and Vijayappa, a devout Jaina, erased that linga. This was a sufficient cause for a flare up. On the petition from the Jaina leaders, the Mahāmahattu of Hāḷebiḍu after due consultations with others gave the following judgment: "Having (first) caused vibhuti (ashes) and vīlya (betel-leaf) to be offered (according to Śaiva mode of worship), you (i.e. the Jainas) may perform the worship, decorations, illumi-

450. SALETORE, op. cit., p. 279.

451. *I.A.*, XIV, p. 233.

452. *E.C.*, ii, 334; viii, Tl. 197; IX, Ma. 18, etc.

453. Baicapa, minister of Harihara II, *E.C.*, VIII, Sorab, 152; SII., i, 152; Irugapa (II) nephew of minister of Harihara II, *E.C.*, ii, 82; vii, p. 115; Devarāya (I), *E.C.*, xi, Hiriyur 28; Devarāya II, GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, Nos. 619, 620.

Minor Rulers: Cangalva: GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 241, 661; Kongalva, *Ibid.*, 188-90, 590; Princess of Kārkal, 680, 688; Kalase Kings, *E.C.*, VII, Shimoga 114; Cāntara, *Ibid.*, VIII, Nagar 60; GUERINOT, 197, 203, 226; *E.C.*, VIII, Shik. 103; Shim. 116! etc.

454. *E.C.*, V, Belur. 128.

nations, ablutions and other Jaina ceremonies of this Vijaya-Pārśvanātha". The judgment needs no comment whatever, as it clearly subordinates the *status of the Jainas!*

Before undertaking the study of Jainism under the Muslims, it would be better for us to see the salient features in the development of Jainism in general in India, and the nature of royal patronage offered to it from time to time.

Religious Toleration:

Right from Aśoka, we find that several kings in India of varied dynasties were patrons of different faiths besides their personal one. Aśoka himself, inspite of his strong Buddhist inclinations, ordered in his edicts that all sects were to be given due respect, and he deemed it unfit for anybody to say that his own sect was the proper one.

Coming to Khāravela we find that even though he was a Jaina, he performed Brāhmanical sacrifices at the time of ascending the throne, and later on, in his inscription, he clearly states that all sects were to be looked after equally.

Mathurā monuments and inscriptions show that side by side with the Jaina monuments, Buddhist religion also flourished, and they seldom came in violent conflicts with each other.

The Guptas who were definitely Brāhmanical, did not come in the way of the followers of Jainism. Not only that they did not forbid others to give grants to Jainism.

Similar instances regarding the Candellas, Cālukyas, Haihayas, Paramāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and others have been cited to show that in the North, royal patronage was never fanatic to the extent of suppression and abolition of other sects.

In the Deccan as well as in Karṇāṭak and Mysore, the same story is repeated. For instance, the Kadambas though Brāhmanical in faith, gave magnificent grants for Jaina purposes.[455] Amoghavarsha of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, though a Jaina, was also a devotee of Mahālakshmī.[456] The Belur inscription[457] of Jayasimha (1022 A.D.) tells us that Akkādevī practised the rituals

455. Kadamba Kṛṣhṇavarman performing Aśvamedha gave grants to Jaina temples: *I.A.*, vii, 34.

456. *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 248.

457. *I.A.*, XVIII, 274.

of the Jina, Buddha and Ananta. We have several inscriptions which begin with an invocation to the Jina and to the Vishṇu.[458] Followers of Jinendra gave grants to Śiva temples and vice versa.[459]

Effects of Royal Patronage :

Such a popular and royal support seemed to have influenced the mode of outlook of the Jaina monks. Casting away all their traditional seclusion from politics, the Jaina sages assumed the role of king-makers in the case of the Gangas and the Hoysaḷas. Thus they showed "that religious tenets were to be subordinated to political exigencies when the question of rejuvenating life in the country was at stake.[460]

Centres of Learning :

Royal patronage and popular support gave a good opportunity to Jaina monks to establish various centres of learning, monasteries, Bhāṇḍāras and temples. This resulted in a vigorous literary activity by scholars like Bhadrabāhu, Devardhi, Hemacandra, Uddyotana Sūri, Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Jinasena, Akalanka, Pūjyapāda, Prabhācandra and Vasupūjya-Siddhāntadeva. Debates and discussions were carried on with rival faiths as well as between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras.

Mixing with Local Population :

Besides royal patronage, the Jaina leaders of both these sects were shrewd enough to lay a firm foundation of their hold over the middle and the trading classes in the society. Besides the sacred texts of Jainism, we have ample evidence of the Mathurā evidence—as noted elsewhere—to show that Jainism recruited followers from these classes. The monks kept constant contact with these and thus were able to build up a solid organisation of Jaina laymen, especially in Rājputānā and Gujarāt.[461]

458. FLEET, *I.A.*, iv, p. 179: Inscri. dated 1048-49 A.D.; Salutation to Jina and Śambhu: E.C., V, Belur, 128 (1638 A.D.); Salutation to Jina Ādi Varāha and Śambhu: *Ibid.*, VI, Koppa, 47 (1530 A.D.); *Ibid.*, Mudgere 67 (1278 A.D.).

459. *E.C.*, VII, Shimoga, No. 40 (c. 1180 A.D.); *E.C.* V, Channa, 221, (1235 A.D.); starting a sattra for Brāhmaṇas in a Jinālaya; *E.C.*, VII, Shik. 8 (c. 1080 A.D.); Brāhmaṇas offering a field to Jaina monastery in 902 A.D., *JBBRAS*, X, 193; Śaiva grant to Jainas: *I.A.*, X, 188. In North India, we have a Buddhist boasting that he built a thousand temples for Śiva: *I.A.*, XV, p. 304; other acts of toleration by king Mahipāla, at Sāranāth (V.S. 1083): *I.A.*, XIV, p. 140; Kumārapāla, a Śaiva in early career; Karka Suvarṇavarṣha of the Guj. Raṣṭrakūtas, himself a Śaiva, gave fields to Jaina Vihāra at Naosārī: *E.I.*, XXI: Surat Plates (821 A.D.).

460. SALETORE, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

461. See RAY's remark regarding Kumārapāla, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 996-97.

Similar was the case in the south. For we have several inscriptions which describe donations by the seṭṭis or merchants and other similar trading and middle classes in the society. SALETORE remarks, "The Jaina leaders showed the practical side of their philosophical teachings by securing the allegiance of the most important section of the middle classes—the Vīra Baṇajigas and the commercial classes, whose financial aid was of inestimable value for the cause of Anekāntamata."[462]

The Jainas even went a step further in this attempt of identifying themselves with the local people in various regions. For, as we shall see later on, several Gacchas of the Śvetāmbaras, and numerous saṁghas and other Church units of the Digambaras were named after place names. The Saṇḍera, Pallivāla and other gacchas of the Śvetāmbaras, and the Draviḍa, Kāñcī, Koḷuttūra saṁghas of the Digambaras were named after place-names either in the North or in the South India.

Besides this, the Digambaras adopted the Kannaḍa language as their own and produced a literature which not only showed their zeal but also their wise policy of preaching the people in their own mother-tongue.

With all its liberal-mindedness, royal patronage tended to be fickle and fanatical in some cases. For instance, the rise of sectarianism under the Śaivites nourished by royal patronage put the Jainas in a humiliating background as the methods of the Śaivites sometimes seemed to be drastic in the spread of their religion.[463]

Along with this thinning of the ranks of the Jainas due to religious persecution, another factor that brought slackness in their activities was the emergence of wealthy maṭhas as a result of the showering of lands and other gifts to Jaina establishments. The original standard of non-possession and poverty was set aside, and the preceptors went to the extent of acquiring lands granted to the temples for their own purposes. A single instance in this case is sufficient. For instance, an inscription dated Ś. 998 records that Śrinandipaṇḍitadeva, a Jaina guru, acquired possession of some fields which were under the control of the Jaina establishment called Ānesejja-basaḍi which was built by the younger sister of Cālukya Vijayāditya Vallabha. This guru gave fifteen mattaras of land out of the whole to his disciple Singayya.[464] Besides this we have several instances in which oil mills, income of the

462. *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

463. Ref. to the Mīnākṣī temple frescoes is already made; see MORAES, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-54, for the account of Ekānta Rāmayya under Bijjala, and the gathering storm of Vīra-Śaivas under Basava.

464. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 38.

shops, etc., were attached to various Jaina establishments, which possibly prepared the ground for corruption.[465]

Jainism under the Muslims:

The ebbing tide of the Jaina influence was further weakened by the ever encroaching waves of Muslim aggression. The glory of Madurā was laid down bare and looted by Malik Kafur, general of Allāuddin Khalji. Later on with the complete liquidation of the Vijayanagar Empire, religious toleration had no meaning, and with the advent of the Imperial dynasties of Muslims at Delhi, all indigenous religions including Jainism had to face a creed far more aggressive in spirit, policy, and execution.

That even among such rulers Jainism could get a few supporters speaks highly of the calibre of Jaina monks.[466] Muhammad Ghori, for instance, is said to have invited and honoured a Digambara monk at the request of his Begum.[467] Allāuddin Khalji is said to have honoured an able Digambara ācārya who went all the way from the South to North India to explain Jaina tenets to the king.[468] The same king is also said to have honoured a certain Śvetāmbara Rāmachandra Sūri.[469]

Other instances of Muslim liberality were those of Firuz Tughlaq who honoured a Śvetāmbara monk Ratnaśekhara,[470] and that of Muhammad Tughlaq who received the Digambara monk Siṁhakīrti.[471] Among the rulers of the Sūr dynasty, we have Sikandar Sūr who honoured Viśālakīrti, a Digambara monk, who had come all the way from South India.[472]

It was, however, in the reign of Akbar that we have somewhat more information about the contact of the Jainas with the Muslims. Epigraphical evidence shows that a Śvetāmbara Ācārya Hīravijaya had a great influence over Akbar, due to which the latter prohibited animal slaughter near Jaina holy places, freed these places from taxes, and gave the ācārya a title of Jagadguru.[473] Besides him, Akbar is said to have come in contact with other Jaina ācāryas called Jinacandra,[474] Bhānucandra[475] and Siddhicandra.[476]

465. *E.V.*, iv, Kṛshṇ., No. 3.
466. GLASENAPP., *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
467. *Ibid.*
468. *JSB.*, i. 4, p. 109
469. GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
470. *Ibid.*
471. *Car. Hist. Rev.*, iv, p. 85.
472. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.
473. NAHAR, *Prāchīna Jaina Lekhā Saṁgraha,* Vol. i, 750, 826, 856, 980; ii, 1628, 1794, 1796; *Inscri. of Kāth.* 107.
474. *E.I.*, ii, pp. 61-64; NAHAR, *op. cit.*, i, 771, 786; ii. 1196; iii, 2592.
475. *I.H.Q.* 1933, March, pp. 137-40.
476. CHITRAO, *op. cit.*, p. 809.

Jehangir drew orders for the protection of Śatruñjaya, and conferred the title of Mahātapā on Vijayadeva Sūri.[477] Another Jaina monk called Jinasimha Sūri was given the biruda "yugapradhāna" by the same emperor.[478]

The successors of Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangazeb though least enthusiastic about non-Islamic sects, seem to have maintained at least the previous grants. The former drew a farmān for the protection of Śatruñjaya[479] while the latter granted the region around Śatruñjaya together with its revenue to Śāntidāsa, the Jaina jeweller at his court.[480]

With all these cases of royal patronage, it should be noted that this courtesy was fickle and ever-changing. An inscription of Akbar's period refers to the damage done by the armies of the emperor to the pinnacle of a Jaina temple, and says further that it was repaired some twenty years afterwards. The very gap required for repairs shows that the Jainas were possibly not sure of the vagaries of the emperor.[481] In the reign of Jehangir, we find that a peculiar practice—in a few cases—was started regarding the writing of the name of the emperor on the head of Jina images.[482] NAHĀR[483] adds a note regarding this which says that "some people told emperor Jehangir — that the Jainas had written his name under the feet of their sacred images. The emperor got angry to hear this. So the Jains in order to please him wrote his name on the head of the images!" No comment is necessary on this incident!

Effects of Muslim Rule on the Jaina Church :

Terror of Muslim aggressors, loss of countrywide contact with co-religionists, widespread events of forced conversions, and the era of destruction and demolition under the Muslims had a weakening effect on the Church organisation of the Jainas. The disintegration of the Church followed and small groups called Maṇḍalas under the authority of a Maṇḍalācārya were formed.

These Maṇḍalācāryas later on turned despotic and the sense of unity and integrity was lost. This tended to introduce regional changes in monastic practices, and various discrepancies crept into it.

477. NAHAR, *op. cit.*, i, 750, 772, 837; ii, 1460.
478. *E.I.*, ii, pp. 61-64; NAHAR, *op. cit.*, i, 771, 787.
479. GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
480. *Ibid.*
481. NAHAR, *op. cit.*, ii, 1782.
482. *Ibid.*, 1578-84.
483. *Ibid.*, p. 131, f.n.

Another reason that brought about a change in monastic life was the entry of all classes of people into the Jaina Sangha. "In the beginning of their advent, these Bhaṭṭārakas or Maṇḍalācāryas served the cause of Jainism rightly well by diffusing the Jaina tenets and by converting people from all classes of society. These converts were put into various folds according to their different localities and occupations. Consequently the oneness of the Sangha disappeared and small folds or Upajātis took its place. Each Upajāti was attached to a particular sect of Bhaṭṭāraka and had its own customs and manners."[484]

Still another effect of the Muslim rule was ideological. It may be that the non-idolatrous philosophy and practice of Islam had its parallel in a similar sect of the non-idolatrous among the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat in about the 16th cent. A.D.

Conclusions :

From the survey of the historical background to the spread of Jaina monachism in different parts of India under different dynasties as attempted above, a few generalisations seem possible which may be summarised as follows :

(i) The spread of Jainism seems to have taken place in successive phases of migration rather than in a continuous connected chain of events.

(ii) The Digambaras seem more restricted to the south, while the Śvetāmbaras to the north India.

(iii) For the maintenance of their influence, the Jaina monks built up a strong and faithful organisation of the laity by keeping constant touch with the middle and the trading classes.

(iv) Another reason for the existence of Jainism upto the present day may be ascribed to "the inflexible conservatism of the Jaina community in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrines."[485]

(v) This "inflexible conservatism", however, under changing circumstances bent, but did not break, with a spirit of accommodation without revolutionising the very essentials of religion and of moral discipline.

484. *J.A.*, XIII, No. i, pp. 16-17.
485. CHARPENTIER, *CHI*, i, p. 169.

PART III

Chapter 1 : The Angas and the Mulasutras.

Chapter 2 : Chedasutras, Niryuktis and the Rest of the Canon.

Chapter 3 : The Post-Canonical Literature.

Chapter 4 : The Order of Nuns.

CHAPTER I

THE AṄGAS AND THE MŪLASŪTRAS

Introduction :

Accepting the generally approved opinion of the scholars regarding the comparatively greater antiquity of the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras over and above the rest of the texts of the Śvetāmbara Canon, as well as the high esteem shown by the Digambaras to the titles and similar classification of these texts and traditions regarding their antiquity, an attempt is made in this chapter to present the picture of, perhaps, the earliest phase of Jaina monachism.

The different facets of monastic life are studied item by item.

The Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras of the Śvetāmbara canon refer to several congregations of monks that moved from place to place during the eight months of the year. Not only their leader Mahāvīra, but his immediate disciples also led a wandering life with a vast number of their own disciples.[1] Their chief mission was to instruct the people regarding the tenets of pure life which was a step towards escaping the cycle of transmigration.

CHURCH :

Persons not qualified to enter the Order :

The monks were persons of high moral standard and self-control. To maintain this standard, certain qualifications were expected of those wishing to join the order, even though church life was proclaimed to be open to all, irrespective of caste or status.[2]

1. Ajja Suhamma wandered with his five hundred disciples: *Nāyā.* pp. 1,220; 'Dhammaghosā nāma therā ... bahuparivārā', *ibid.*, p. 163; 'Therā samosaḍhā parisā niggayā', *Ibid.* p. 198.

2. Citta and Sambhūta: Cāṇḍālas, *Uttar.* Chapt. 13; Robbers entering the order, *Ibid.* Chapt. 8.

The following persons were disqualified to enter the order[3]:

(1) a child under eight years[4] (bāla),
(2) an old person (vuḍḍha),
(3) an eunuch (paṇḍaä),
(4) a sick person (vāhiä),
(5) a person devoid of limbs (juṅgiä),
(6) a timid person (kīva),
(7) a person of dull intellect (jaḍḍa),
(8) a robber (teṇa),
(9) an enemy of the king (rāyāvagārī),
(10) a mad person (ummatta),
(11) a blind person (adaṁsaṇe),
(12) a slave (dāsa),
(13) a wicked person (duṭṭha),
(14) a stupid person (mūḍha),
(15) one who is in debt (aṇatta),
(16) an attendant (obaddha),
(17) a servant (bhayaë),
(18) a kidnapped person (sehaṇipphedịya),
(19) a pregnant woman (guvviṇī), and
(20) a woman having a small child (or a young girl?) (bālavacchā).

Causes of Renunciation:

Except these, therefore, the rest of the persons could enter the order due to all sorts of reasons. Many a people renounced the world as they were full of disgust for worldly life (saṁsārabhaya-udvignā). Sometimes, the

3. *Ṭhāṇ.* text (p. 164b) gives but three persons out of these (viz. 3, 4 and 6), and *comm.* p. 165a gives this list; It may be noted that the 4th type is also interpreted as 'vātika' which means a sexually defective person: *Ibid.* p. 164b; The Buddhist *Mahāvagga* disqualifies the following persons for the order:—a soldier, the diseased, a thief, a breaker of prison, a robber, one who was branded, a debtor, a slave. Those who were below twenty years were not to be given upasampadā, and those below fifteen were not to be initiated—pp. 108-09 (N. K. BHAGWAT's Ed.).

4. *Bhag. comm.* says that normally nobody below eight years was ordained, but Aīmuttaya, being of exceptional nature, was ordained at the age of six: p. 219b.

wife took to nun-life when her husband became a monk. Similar was the case regarding mother and son.[5] Many times, the persons impressed with the teachings of Mahāvīra took to monk life.

Besides these the *Sthānāṅga*[6] gives the following causes of renunciation :

(1) chandā—renunciation on account of one's own free will for it,

(2) rosā—due to anger,

(3) parijuṇṇā—due to poverty,

(4) suviṇā—due to enlightenment in a dream,

(5) paḍissutā—on account of the fulfilment of a particular vow,

(6) sāraṇitā—due to sudden remembrance of former birth,

(7) rogiṇītā—due to illness,

(8) aṇāḍhitā—due to humiliation by somebody,

(9) devasannattī—due to enlightenment by the gods, and

(10) vacchāṇubandhitā—renunciation due to affection for one's son who had already renounced the world.

Besides these, various methods were adopted to induce a person to become a monk. In this connection practices like creating trouble due to which a person became a monk (tuyāvaīttā), taking a person elsewhere and making him renounce (puyāvaīttā), mutually interdependent or conditional renunciation by a pair of friends (saṅgārapavvajjā), and renunciation due to listening to religious instructions ʌkkhāta-pavvajjā), were also current.[7] There were some people who took to monk life either to maintain themselves (ihaloga), or to obtain good food as well as to have a paraphernalia consistting of disciples around them (puraöpaḍibaddhā), or as a solace in lonely or orphaned life (vihagagaī), or to get rid of debt (moyāvaīttā), or on account of dainty food (parivuyāvaīttā), or by becoming brave as a lion (sīhakhaïyā).[8]

The Ceremony of Renunciation :

Inspite of such varying motives of renunciation, the process of renunciation was carried on with full gravity and sincerity for every item in it.

5. Father renouncing owing to sons' renunciation: *Uttar* Chapt. XIV.
6. p. 473b.
7. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 128b; also p. 276ab.
8. *Ibid.*

The *Jñatādharmakathāṅga*[9] gives details about this ceremony from which it is clear that the function was carried on in all pomp depending on the status of the person wishing to enter the order.

The following is the account of renunciation of a prince called Megha :

When, after his coronation, the prince determined to renounce the world, his parents summoned a barber (kāsavaä) and asked him to cut the hair of the prince so as to suit his renunciation (nikkhamaṇapāügge aggakese). These hair were received by his mother in a piece of cloth having the symbol of a swan (haṁsalakkhaṇa) over it. They were afterwards kept in a jewelled box.

After the hair-cut, Megha was bathed with silver and golden pots, and was asked to put on the choicest garments and ornaments. Then preparing a luxurious palanquin (siviä), he was seated in it along with his mother and his chief nurse who had held the rayaharaṇa (broom) and paḍiggaha (alms-bowl) brought from a shop (kuttiyāvaṇa).[10] All of them sat facing the east. Then that palanquin was carried by the relatives and servants of Megha to the temple called 'Guṇasilaä' outside the city of Rāyagiha.

On reaching there, the parents of Megha requested Lord Mahāvīra to admit their son to the order as he was disgusted with worldly life (saṁsārabhaüvvigge). Then Megha, going a few steps to the north-eastern direction, took out all his ornaments which were received by his mother in a garment bearing the sign of a swan. His mother wept bitterly to see her son taking out the ornaments, but at the same time she advised him to exert well (jaīyavvaṁ jāyā) and be careful in monklife (no pamāëyavvaṁ). Then the parents, after bowing down to Mahāvīra, returned home.

Then Megha himself tore out his hair in five handfuls (pañcamuṭṭhiyaṁ loyaṁ), and perambulating round the Lord requested him to initiate him as his own disciple. The Lord consented to it and did likewise.

The details of the occasion differed only in point of the festive element in the ceremony. Those who could not celebrate it with pomp resorted to a simpler procedure. In this case, however, the king of that particular city promised the person, who wanted to renounce, all help not only regarding the function itself but regarding the maintenance of the dependents of that person as well.

9. of Megha, Chapt. 1., pp. 30-33; of Sthāpatyāputra, Chapt. 5, 70-72; of Mallī Chapt. 8, 117-119; of Udāyaṇa, *Bhag.* pp. 619 ff; of Kārttika, *Ibid.* pp. 738ab, etc.

10. Also in *Bhag.* p. 620a.

The Church Hierarchy:

The person entering the order was introduced as a 'seha' (disciple), and was kept on probation either for six months, or four months, or for a week.[11] During this period his sole duty was to master the tenets of monk life, the proper execution of which made him fit for confirmation (uvaṭṭhāvaṇā).[12]

The confirmation made him a regular member of the order and from this stage as a seha or antevāsī,[13] he aspired to rise higher in the church hierarchy.

(a) *Seha, Antevāsī, Sāmaṇera* :

Four types of antevāsīs are referred to in the *Sthānāṅga*.[14]

They are—

(1) pavvāyaṇantevāsī nāmaṁ ege, no uvaṭṭhāvaṇantevāsī—he who has been initiated by a particular ācārya but not confirmed by him;

(2) one who has been confirmed by an ācārya but not initiated by the same ācārya;

(3) one who has been initiated as well as confirmed by the same ācārya;

and (4) dhammantevāsī—one who has become the disciple of a particular ācārya purely for religious instructions.

The antevāsin had to show implicit faith in, and perfect obedience to, the ācārya.

(b) *Thera:*

As the very designation suggests, the thera was a person elder not only in age but also in 'paryāya' (standing as a monk). This paryāya was also expressed by terms like 'ahārāiṇiya'[15] and 'omarāiṇiya.' The former was applied to a person of greater standing, and the latter to a monk who occupied a junior position in the group.[16]

11. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 129b;
12. *Ibid.* p. 240a.
13. *Nāyā.* p. 163; The *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 242b explains it as 'guroḥ samīpe vastuṁ śīlamasyāntevāsī'.
14. p. 240a; The śrāmaṇera is referred to in *Sktṛ.* 1, 4, 2, 13 (p. 277); Seha and Antevāsī in *Bhag.* pp. 11a, 382a.
15. *Ācār.* II, 3, 3. 5 (p. 146) ; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 240a; The term 'rāiṇiya' has been explained by *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* as 'ratnāni bhāvato jñānādīni taiḥ vyavaharati iti rātnikaḥ paryāyajyeṣṭhaḥ iti'. See also *Dśv.* 8, 41; 9, iii, 3; *Nāyā.* p. 34.
16. Thera mentioned in *Ācār.* II, 1, 10, 1 (p. 113); *Uttar.* 27, 1; *Dśv.* 8, 33; *Dśv. Cū.* 1, v. 9; *Anttr.* p. 58; *Antg.* p. 31; *Vivāga..* pp. 26, 77; *Bhag.* p. 382a.

The junior monks were expected to give perfect respect to the elders. The former were not allowed to go ahead of or along with the superiors. The junior monk had to stand up in respect when the thera was coming. No act such as kicking the bed of the superior, occupying his seat, having a higher seat than his, or breaking his assembly,—in short, anything that was likely to show disrespect to the elders, was ever allowed.[17]

The *Sthānāṅga* gives a list of ten kinds of theras, which, it may be noted, takes into consideration not only the church-meaning of the word but also the popular meaning, as will be clear from the following: [18]

(1) gāmathera (2) raṭṭhathera (3) nagarathera	those who managed the affairs of the village, the nation and the city;
(4) kulathera (5) gaṇathera (6) saṅghathera	those who managed the affairs pertaining to the kula, gaṇa or the sangha;
(7) pasatthārathera	the teacher;
(8) suyathera	one well-versed in the *Samavāyāṅga* etc.;
(9) jāīthera	one who is sixty years old;
(10) pariyāyathera	one who has twenty years' standing in monkhood.

It seems, therefore, that the last three in the list had a definite position and designation in the church hierarchy. No mention, however, of the duties of a thera or his other qualifications are to be found in the Aṅga texts.

(c) *Uvajjhāya*:

The upādhyāya was the chief instructor of a group of monks.[19] He gave the reading of the sūtra to the younger monks, and where there was a distinction between the text and its deeper meaning, the students approached the ācārya to get that meaning explained.

It may be noted that earlier texts like the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* do not give any details about the qualifications or the duties of an upādhyāya.

(d) *Āyariyaüvajjhāya*:

It is not clear whether this phrase denoted two officers—āyariya and uvajjhāya—, or simply one officer. The commentators are also not explicit

17. *Smv.* p. 59ab.
18. p. 516a.
19. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 140a: 'upetyādhīyate'smādityupādhyāyaḥ'; For ref. to upādhyāya: *Bhag.* p. 382a; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 142b; *Ācār.* II, 1, 10, 1 (p. 113); II, 3, 3, 4 (p. 146).

in their explanation when they say—'ācāryopādhyāyasya ācaryopādhyāyayorvā',[20] or 'ācāryeṇa saha upādhyāyaḥ ācāryopādhyāyaḥ'.[21] It is not clear, therefore, whether the rules regarding his privileges (aïsesa), and his leaving the gaṇa, pertained to one officer—the ācāryopādhyāya, or to two officers.

Anyway, this person had five privileges,[22] according to which he was allowed to wipe and clean his feet in the monastery, to ease nature in the monastery, to wait upon somebody or abstain from doing so, to live alone in the monastery for a night or two, and to remain outside the monastery for the same period.

For five reasons, he could leave the gaṇa. If he was unable to keep up the morale and the spirit of the whole group regarding moral discipline and essential duties (āṇaṁ vā dhāraṇaṁ vā), if he was unable to wield control over the other members of the gaṇa, if he was unable to recollect and explain the sacred lore to the disciples at the proper time, if he was attached to a nun belonging either to his own gaṇa or to another one, or if he was unable to pull on due to his friends or relatives leaving the gaṇa—then under any one of these circumstances he could leave the gaṇa.[23]

No mention either of the qualifications or of the duties of this officer is to be found.

(e) *Pavatti* :

Even though mentioned along with other officers,[24] no details are given regarding the Pravartin. The commentator explains him as[25]—

Tapaḥsaṁyamayogeṣu yo yogyastatra taṁ pravartayati /
Asahaṁ ca nivartayati gaṇataptikaraḥ pravartī tu //

From this it appears that he was a person who busied himself with the promotion of penance and the practice of self-control.

(f) *Āyariya*:

The ācārya was the head of a group of monks, and stood as the ideal in respect of proper moral behaviour and as the store of knowledge to his disciples.[26]

20. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 331b.
21. *Bhag. comm.* p. 232a.
22. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 329ab.
23. *Ibid.* p. 331b.
24. *Ibid.* p. 142b; *Ācār.* II, 66, 33; 67, 7; 80, 31.
25. *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 143b, 144a.
26. Ācārya ref. to in *Bhag.* p. 382a; *Dśv.* 8, 23; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 142b; *Ācār.* II, 66, 33; 66, 7; 80, 31.

The qualifications expected of him were more of a moral nature according as they are given in the texts. According to these texts, an ācārya was a person who was endowed with the five-fold ācāra (jñāna°, darśana°, cāritra°, tapa° and vīryācāra),[27] equanimity of mind, character and intellect.[28] Being such a qualified person, all the members of the group under him were expected to show complete respect to him.

The *Sthānāṅga*[29] refers to several types of ācāryas which were as follows:

(1) those who simply initiated a person (pavvāyaṇāyarite),

(2) those who confirmed a disciple (uvaṭṭhāvaṇāyariē),

(3) those who did neither of the above two things,

and (4) those who did both these things.

The privileges[30] of an ācārya and the reasons of his leaving the gaṇa[31] were the same as those noted in the case of the ācāryopādhyāya.

Besides these, the ācārya was a person who could manage to get the requisites needed by the members of his gaṇa. He also protected the requisites already acquired by the gaṇa previously.[32]

(g) *Gaṇi*:

The commentators explain this person as one who had a gaṇa (gaṇo yasya astīti).[33] This is, however, a very incomplete explanation, and we fail to get the qualities of a gaṇin which can distinguish him from an ācārya. It is not clear whether he was the same person as the ācārya.[34]

The qualities that were expected of him were mainly of a moral nature.[35] It was said that a gaṇin had to equip himself with the eightfold gaṇisampad:

(a) Ācārasampad:

(1) to be always mindful of good conduct,

(2) to be devoid of pride of high birth etc.,

27. *Ācār. comm.* pp. 4-5; *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 140a.
28. *Dśv.* 9,16.
29. p. 239b, 240a.
30. *Ibid.* p. 329ab.
31. *Ibid.* p. 331b.
32. *Ibid.* p. 385b.
33. *Ibid.* p. 143b, 144a.
34. He is equated with the ācārya: *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 422b.
35. *Dśv. Cū.* 2, v. 9: 'bhāviyappā bahussuē'.

(3) to lead a wandering life,
(4) tranquillity of mind.

(b) Śrutasampad:

(1) to be well-versed,
(2) to be acquainted with the canon,
(3) knowledge of the texts of other sects,
(4) reciting the Sūtra properly.

(c) Śarīrasampad:

(1) to have a proportionate body,
(2) to have no such limbs as would evoke shame,
(3) to possess all limbs,
(4) to have a well-built form.

(d) Vacanasampad:

(1) to have a pleasant voice,
(2) to have an attractive way of exposition,
(3) to be devoid of extreme views,
(4) to have clear, unambiguous speech.

(e) Vācanāsampad:

(1) giving reading after knowing the calibre of the student,
(2) explaining the text according to the standard of the novice,
(3) giving the reading again to the student if he did not understand it,
(4) explaining the meaning with proper references.

(f) Matisampad:

Based on the fourfold division of reason:
avagraha, īhā, apāyā, and dhāraṇā.

(g) Prayogasampad:

(1) knowing one's ability in debate,
(2) knowledge of the Nayas etc.,
(3) knowledge of the surroundings (kṣetra),
(4) knowing the nature of the debator.

(h) Saṅgrahasampad:

(1) knowledge of the proper place for the younger monks (bālādi-yogyakṣetra),

(2) knowledge pertaining to the requisites,

(3) pertaining to the proper time of study or begging,

and (4) pertaining to the rules of proper moral conduct and self-control (vinaya).[36]

No other details regarding this officer are given in the Aṅga texts.

(h) *Gaṇahara:*

This term was applied to the chief disciple of the Tīrthaṅkara. No details about him are to be found in the texts proper. The commentaries explain him, besides being the 'jinaśiṣyaviśeṣaḥ', also as the 'āryikāpratijāgarako' i.e., the protector of the nuns. He is also described as one who was priyadharmā (one who likes a religious mode of conduct), dṛḍhadharmā (firm in religion), ṛjuka (straightforward), saṅgrahopagrahakuśalaḥ (one who is able to increase not only the following but also to manage to secure the necessary things for his followers), sūtrārthavid (well-versed in the sacred lore) and gaṇādhipati (head of the group of monks).[37]

It is not clear whether there was any distinction between the gaṇin and the gaṇadhara for the former was also equated with the gaṇanāyaka which implied the gaṇadhara.[38]

(i) *Gaṇāvaccheīya:*

As in the case of the rest of the officers, the exact nature of this officer also is not clear. First of all, nowhere his qualifications are given, and in the second place, the texts are silent about his duties.

Only the commentaries explain him as the head of the part of the gaṇa.[39]

Terms Connected with Church Life:

Along with these various designations in the church hierarchy, various terms connected with the conferring of authority or the dismissal of an officer

36. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 422b.

37. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* pp. 143b, 144a; Ref. to gaṇin: *Ācār.* II, 66, 33; 67, 7; 80, 31; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 142b.

38. *Ibid. comm.* p. 140a.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 245a: 'deśosyastīti gaṇāvacchedakaḥ yo hi taṁ gṛhītvāgacchāvaṣṭambhāyaivopadhimārgaṇādinimittaṁ viharati'.

are referred to. For instance, 'uvasampayā' meant placing oneself under the control of a guru, the appointment to a particular post was called 'aṇuṇṇā', (or better, the conferring of authority), 'vijahaṇa' signified the leaving of the jurisdiction of a particular superior officer,[40] and 'uvaṭṭhāvaṇā',[41] denoted the final consecration of a novice under probation.

Comparison with other systems:

The ācārya and the upādhyāya are to be found in the Brāhmanical as well as the Buddhist church hierarchy. The 'sāmaṇera' and the 'thera' are to be met with in the Buddhist church as well. The 'gaṇadhara' is rare in Brāhmanical church hierarchy, but the 'gaṇapati' is referred to frequently, if not always in the sense of a person holding office in the Church.

The process of 'pabbajjā' and 'uvasampayā' in the Buddhist Church had its counterpart in the 'dikkhā' and 'uvaṭṭhāvaṇā' of the Jaina Church.

Even though the Buddhist Chuch had an elaborate galaxy of many other officers like the sāmaṇerapesaka,[42] saṅghabhatta (ration-officer),[43] cīvarabhājaka (cloth-distributor)[44] and others, the Jaina Church was content to have a hierarchy mainly looking to the moral aspect of the monks. It may be that the Jaina Church was not full of ideas of organising church-life on a corporate basis.

The gaṇāvacchedaka, the pravartin, gaṇin and the gaṇadhara, therefore, seem to be designations peculiar to the Jaina Church hierarchy.

Church Units:

Under these officers the monks were grouped in various units. Although the various units referred to in the Aṅgas are not explicitly explained so as to reveal their mutual relations, these units may be said to hint at administrative groups under various officers. It may, at the same time, be noted, that in explaining these units, we have to depend on the interpretation of commentators who are far removed in time taking into consideration the antiquity of the Aṅga texts themselves. It is possible, therefore, that they explain the units from contemporary conditions.

40. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 139a; *comm*. pp. 139b and 140b explains 'anunnā' as 'adhikāradānam', 'upasampat' as 'jñānādyartham bhavadīyo ahamiti abhyupagamaḥ'; 'vijahaṇa' as 'parityāgaḥ'; Upasampadā in *Uttar*. 26, 5-7.

41. Chedopasthāpanā was absent in the period between the 2nd and the 23rd Tīrthaṅkaras: *Ṭhāṇ*. *comm*. pp. 167b.

42. *Cullavagga*, VI, 21.

43. *Ibid*. VI, 21, 1.

44. *Ibid*., VI, 21, 2.

The following were the units:

(a) *Gaṇa*:

The gaṇa seems to have been the largest unit. In antiquity also, it was said to go back even to pre-Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkaras.[45]

The gaṇa is explained by the commentators as 'samānavācanākriyaḥ sādhusamudāyaḥ' (a group of monks having a common reading).[46] Other explanation of the gaṇa is 'kulasamudāyaḥ' (group of kulas).[47] But it is interesting to note that the commentators equate it with the 'gaccha' which finds place in the later parts of the Canon,[48] but nowhere in the Aṅgas proper. A more definite statement is to be found in the commentary on the *Bhagavatī*[49] which says that the gaṇa was formed of three kulas.

Thus the texts themselves are silent over the nature of the gaṇa. Inspite of this, however, we come across rules regarding the reasons that made a monk change his gaṇa, and the persons qualified to look after a gaṇa.

Persons endowed with six qualities were deemed fit to manage the affairs of a gaṇa. They were expected to be persons full of faith (saḍḍhī), truthful (sacce), well-controlled (mehāvī), capable (sattimaṁ) devoid of quarrels with, or ill feeling towards, anybody (appādhikaraṇa), and learned (bahussuya).[50]

The monk was not allowed to change his gaṇa within six months.[51] A monk doing so was termed as the 'gāṇaṅgaṇiya'.[52] But, the monks were allowed to go to another gaṇa for all sorts of subjective reasons. The reasons were as follows[53]:

(1) to gain higher knowledge (savvadhammā rotemi),
(2) to practise a stricter mode of conduct (egatitā roëmi egaīya ṇo roëmi),
(3) to get doubts dispelled (savvadhammā vitigicchāmi),
(4) to practise the 'egallavihārapaḍimā,'
(5) to acquire requisites (savvadhammā juhuṇāmi ?).

45. *Smv.* pp. 54, 61, 66, 68, 69, 71, 84, 86, 88, 90 for the gaṇas of various Tīrthaṅkaras; Gaṇa in *Bhag.* 231b; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 352a; *Uttar.* XVII, 17.
46. *Svm. comm.* p. 14b.
47. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 516a.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 331b, 340a, 386a etc.
49. *comm.* p. 382b.
50. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 352a.
51. *Svm.* pp. 39ab, 40b.
52. *Uttar.* 17, 17.
53. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 381a: Interpretation by Muni KEVALAVIJAYAJI.

Under all these circumstances, however, he had to take permission of the guru before leaving the gaṇa.

(b) *Kula* :

The monk was expected to owe allegiance to the kula of which he was a member. We have already seen that the kulas formed the gaṇa.

No details regarding this unit are to be found in the texts of the Aṅgas or even the Mūlasūtras. The commentators, however, explain it either as a group of disciples of a particular ācārya (egāyariyassa santaī),[54] or equate it with anvaya or gaccha.[55]

(c) *Sambhoga* :

Even in the case of the sambhoga the texts fail to give any explanation, but give rules regarding the formation of this group.

The sambhoga is explained by the commentators[56] as 'ekamaṇḍalīka-bhoktṛtva', by the Dictionary[57] as 'a group of monks bound together by identical sāmācārī and taking food together', and by JACOBI[58] as 'a group of monks begging alms in one district only'.

The formation of the sambhoga allowed the following concessions to its members :

(1) Uvahi—pertaining to exchange of requisites,
(2) Suä—regarding common reading and study of the sacred texts,
(3) Bhattapāṇa—exchange of food and drink,
(4) Añjalīpaggaha—showing respect to each other,
(5) Dāyaṇe—sending disciples for further study to another monk of the same saṁbhoga,
(6) Nikāye—calling another monk of the same saṁbhoga for the sake of exchange of foodstuffs, requisites, and disciples etc.
(7) Abbhuṭṭhāṇa—getting up in respect,

54. *Bhag. comm.* p. 382b.
55. *Uttar. comm.* p. 168b; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 516a.
56. *Uttar. comm.* p. 333a; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 139a.
57. *Pāiyasadda*, p. 1062.
58. *SBE*, Vol. XIV, p. 167, f.n. 1. (*Uttar*, 29, 33) ; Sambhoga mentioned in *Ācār.* II, 60, 12; II, 106, 20. 24 (See SCHÜBRING, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 160); *Ṭhāṇ.* 139a, 300a, 444a; *Svm.* p. 21b; *Uttar*, 29, 33.

JACOBI seems to be right for we do get epigraphical evidence, though of a later period, showing that bhoga was a territorial unit and the officers in charge of it were called as 'bhogikas'—See, SANKALIA, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, pp. 196-97.

(8) Kiākammassa karaṇe—saluting each other,
(9) Veyāvaccakaraṇe—attending the ill,
(10) Samosaraṇa—going to the festival in honour of the Jina, or to the latter's religious lecture,
(11) Sannisijjā—occupying the seat while discussing religious matters with another ācārya of the same sambhoga (?);
(12) Kahāë ya pabandhaṇe—pertaining to religious stories.[59]

It may be noted that breach of discipline made a monk liable for expulsion from the sambhoga. If somebody saw a monk doing a transgression, or the superiors heard about it from trustworthy person, or if the transgressor had thrice committed the offence and had again repeated the same, then at the fourth time he was driven out of the saṁbhoga (visambhogiyam karettaë).[60]

A survey of the officers of the church hierarchy and the units in the church may be said to reveal a somewhat unorganised state of Jaina Church, and no definite statements either of the qualifications or of the duties of the various officers as also the minimum number for the formation of the groups are to be found in the Aṅga texts.

Monastic Jurisprudence:

The monks were generally said to commit transgressions due to the following reasons. They did so either out of pride (dappa), or carelessness (pamāda), or inattention (aṇābhoge), or under influence of bodily pangs (āüre), under calamities (āvatī), or in a place which had a mixed group of heretics and others (saṅkiṇṇa), or due to unexpected circumstances (sahasakkāra), or out of fear (bhaya) or hatred (paösa).[61]

Under all these circumstances, and normally as well, the monks who were of good conduct, good family, good caste and self-control reported or confessed their faults before the guru (ālocanā). The person before whom this ālocanā was to be done was one who himself was of a good conduct, and was able to expose the transgressor and make him confess his fault. In case the transgressor was unable to undergo the whole prāyaścitta at one time, then the guru divided it into suitable periods. He also did not tell others the faults confessed by the transgressor before him.[62]

59. *Smv.* p. 21b.
60. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 139a; For such details, see, *Smv. comm.* pp. 22b, 23a; also p. 444a, where actions inimical to the ācārya, upādhyāya, thera, kula, gaṇa, saṅgha, and against the rules of nāṇa, daṁsaṇa and cāritta, made a monk liable for expulsion from the sambhoga.
61. *Bhag.* p. 919ab; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 484a.
62. *Ibid.*

This confession of faults was to be done not in a way as to create sympathy in the mind of the teacher so that he might give less prāyaścitta (ākaṁpaïttā). The monks were not allowed to go to another guru who was well known for his liberality in giving less punishment (aṇumāṇaïttā). Confessing only those faults which were seen by the teacher (jaṁ diṭṭhaṁ), confessing only the major faults (bāyara) or only the minor ones (suhuma), confessing in a way as was not likely to let the ācārya hear properly (channa), doing so in a very loud voice (saddāülayaṁ), confessing the same fault before different ācāryas (bahujaṇa), doing so before a person who was not well-versed (avvatta), and confessing a fault before the guru who had done the same fault himself (tassevī),—all these were deemed as faults of improper ālocanā.[63]

Besides ālocanā, there were nine kinds of prāyaścittas. They were:[64]

(1) Paḍikkamaṇa — condemnation of the transgression,

(2) Tadubhaya — confession and condemnation,

(3) Vivega — giving up transgressions,[65]

(4) Viüsagga — making kāyotsarga,

(5) Tava — undergoing fasts,

(6) Cheya—cutting of the paryāya or seniority,

(7) Mūla — re-consecration,

(8) Aṇavaṭṭhappā — temporary expulsion,

(9) Pārañciya — expulsion from the order.

Inspite of these various prāyaścittas, the texts of the Aṅgas fail to give concrete examples of the execution of these rules of monastic jurisprudence. Only in the case of the last two prāyaścittas some details are given. The eighth prāyaścitta was prescribed for committing the theft of co-religionists, or of heretics (teṇam), or striking somebody with a slap (hatthātāla).[66]

The pārāñcita was threefold:

(a) duṭṭha,

(b) pamatta,

(c) aṇṇamaṇṇaṁ karemāṇe.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, also 355b; *Bhag.* p. 920b; *comm.* pp. 920b ff.

65. The *Aup. comm.* explains it as 'aśuddhabhaktādivivecanam' (p. 78) and the *Pāiyasadda* as 'parityāga' (Giving up of transgression?) (p. 1001).

66. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 162b.

The first was committed when a monk harassed or condemned the ācārya or the gaṇadhara or the sacred canon, or had intimacy with a nun, or murdered the king or had illegal connections with the latter's queen.

The second was committed by a monk who was extremely careless regarding rules of food and sleep (pañcamanidrāpramādavān).

The third was done when the monk indulged in homo-sexuality.[67]

Besides these, masturbation, sexual intercourse, taking a night meal (rāībhoyaṇa) and accepting food from the host or from a king were deemed as major faults (aṇugghātimā).[68]

The way of dealing with the transgressor who had again committed a fault while he was undergoing a punishment for a previous one, was called 'ārovaṇā'.[69] In this case, it seems, the punishment was increased either by a month (māsiyā ārovaṇā), or by thirty-five days, (sapañcarāī māsiyā), or by forty days, or by two months, or by sixty-five days, or by three or four months. The maximum period was of six months. No details, however, regarding the faults under which this increase was made, or regarding the treatment given to the transgressor, are to be found.

The 'sañjoyaṇā pāyacchitta' was prescribed in the case of the commitment of more than one transgression pertaining to one item : as for instance, committing two different transgressions regarding food.

The 'paliūñcaṇā' was the confession of a fault with deceit, or the hiding of the real fault.[70]

The method of purifying the transgressor was called the 'parihāra-visuddhi'.[71] The *commentator*[72] explains it as follows :

In a group of nine monks, four underwent the 'parihāra', the other four waited upon them (anuparihārika) and the ninth acted as the guru.

67. *Ibid. comm.* pp. 162b-164b. It may be noted that these explanations are based on the commentaries. The texts proper do not give such details. They only refer to the various punishments.

68. *Ibid., comm.* p. 162b; 311a.

69. *Smv.* p. 47b. *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 199a-200b; 325a.

70. *Ibid.,* pp. 199a-200b..

71. *Ibid.,* p. 167b; *Bhag.* 348b, 893b, 909a ff.

72. *Bhag. comm.* pp. 351-52; *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 168ab.

The undergoing of 'parihāra' involved fasts of various magnitudes in different seasons for a total period of six months. The fasts were arranged as follows:

Season	Fasting		
	Minimum	Average	Maximum
Winter	fast upto the sixth meal		10th
Summer	4th	6th	8th
Rainy Season	8th		12th

The pārihārika took 'ācāmla' (āyambila) at the breaking of the fast, while the guru did 'ācāmla' every day. Thus, when the first four monks completed this fasting for six months, the next four undertook it, and the first four waited on them. After six months, the last—who had acted as the guru—did so for six months, and all the rest waited upon him. Thus the whole group was purified in eighteen months.

TOURING:

Bound by these rules, the monk led a touring life throughout the eight months of the year, i.e. except the rainy season. The reason behind this was the discipline of not getting attached to any particular place or family. Therefore, instead of staying at one place, he wandered from village to village (gāmāṇugāmaṁ dūījjamāṇe)[73] with a mission of preaching.

While touring, the monk was to be attentive and was not to talk much.[74] No company either of a heretic or of a householder was to be sought.[75] In order to avoid difficulties regarding requisites, the monk had to equip himself with all his requisites.[76]

73. *Vivāga*. p. 77; *Ācār*. II, 3, 1, 6.
74. *Ibid.*, I, 8, 1, 20 (p. 82).
75. *Ibid.*, II, 1, 1, 9 (p. 90).
76. *Ibid.*, II, 1, 3, 8 (p. 96).

No attempts at killing living beings, deliberately or otherwise, or harassing them, were allowed.[77] He had, therefore, to avoid watery regions, or shaky bridges or muddy places.[78] Normally, he avoided that path which was infested with robbers, Dasuga (Dasyu ?), Milakkhu or such other aṇāriya people.[79] He was to avoid such regions which were not friendly or which had no king or where anarchy prevailed,[80] or where the army was encamped. The avoidance of politically unsafe regions or army camps was advocated due to the likelihood of people suspecting the monk to be a spy.[81] With a view of not getting involved in them, the monk avoided skirmishes and playgrounds.[82]

The proper road, according to the *Sthānāṅga*, was that along which a cart, a chariot or any other vehicle generally went; or that on which elephants, horses, asses, camels, cows and buffaloes went; or that which was resorted to by men and women; or that which was scorched by the sun's heat, or lastly, that which was ploughed or worked upon (śastrapariṇata). Along such a road, the monk walked looking forward to a distance of four cubits (jugamāyaṁ).[83] In the case of forests, the monk was to avoid such as could not be crossed with certainty in one or at the most in five days.[84]

Water Travel:

No water travel was allowed to a monk or a nun in a boat bought or repaired by their host. In other cases, they were allowed to enter a boat with the permission of the owner. Then, going apart, they scanned their requisites, wiped the whole body, gave up the householder's food (sāgāraṁ bhattaṁ), and then stepped into the boat carefully. No part in either making the boat move, or piloting it, or pulling or pushing it, was to be taken by the monk. So also, he was not allowed to stop the leakage of the boat.[85]

If the boatman threw him into the water, then the monk was allowed to forego his requisites due to their weight, and was allowed to swim to the shore. Then standing on a clean spot, he waited till his body got dry. He was not allowed to wipe it or shake it for quick drying.[86]

77. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 1, 6-7 (p. 137); II, 3, 3, 13 (p. 147); *Dsv.* 5, 12.
78. *Ibid.*, 5, 65.
79. *Ācār.* II, 3, 1, 7-9 (pp. 137-38).
80. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 1, 10 (p. 138).
81. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 2, 16 (p. 144); *Stkr.* 1, 3, 1, 16 (p. 263)
82. *Dśv.* 5, 12.
83. *Ācār.* II, 3, 1, 6 (p. 137).
84. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 1, 11 (p. 138).
85. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 1, 13-21 (pp. 139-41).
86. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 2, 2-7 (pp. 141-42).

In case the monk had to cross shallow water, then wiping his whole body—so that living beings on his body might not get hurt—, he carefully crossed it without touching anybody else. If his feet got soiled due to mud, he was not to clean them by walking over the grass.[87]

Five great rivers, the Gaṅgā, Jaüṇā (Yamunā), Saraü (Śarayū), Erāvatī and Mahī, were not to be crossed by the monk either twice or thrice within a month.[88] But if there was trouble from the king, or a famine was current, or if somebody threw him into the river, in cases of floods or change of its course by the river, or due to danger from uncivilised people (aṇāriya), he was allowed to cross these rivers.[89]

Stay in Rainy Season :

It has already been noted that the mode of touring involving a stay for one night in a village and for five nights in a town came to an end during the rainy season. The reason for not undertaking any touring in the rainy season was that such a stationary mode of life was helpful in abstaining from inflicting injury to vegetation-beings which grew up immensely in this season. It may be noted that for the same season, no touring was to be done at night any time throughout the year.

Nobody was allowed to tour in the rainy season except under calamities which we have already noticed regarding the crossing of the five great rivers. Along with these, the monk was permitted to go to another place in the rainy season for the following five reasons:[90]

(1) ṇāṇaṭṭhayāë—in order to learn a particular text which was known only to an ācārya who was undertaking a fast unto death,

(2) carittaṭṭhayāë—in order to prevent one's going astray in a dangerous place,

(3) daṁsaṇaṭṭhayāë—for the spread of the faith,

(4) āyariyaüvajjhāyā vā se visumbhejjā—if the ācārya or an upādhyāya was dead,

and (5) āyariyaüvajjhāyāṇa vā bahitā veāvaccaṁ karaṇatātë—to wait upon the ācārya and the upādhyāya if they were putting up in a region where there was no rain.

87. *Ibid.*, II, 3, 2, 9-13 (p. 143).
88. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 308b; For a similar Buddhist list, see *Cullavagga* IX, 13. 4.
89. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 308b.
90. *Ibid.* See Mahāvagga III, 4, 2 ff., in the case of the Buddhist monk.

This stay at one place began when fifty days of the actual rainy season (savīsarāïë māse vaīkkante: i.e., the month of Jyeṣṭha and twenty days of Āṣāḍha) had elapsed. It ended on the fifth day of Bhādrapada.[91] Nobody was allowed to spend two rainy seasons at the same place.[92] The monks were, however, allowed to prolong their stay for five or ten days after the end of the rainy season if the road was still full of many living beings and was not as yet free from mud.[93]

RESIDENCE :

The monk had to select a residence which was free from the crowd[94] of people and hence was conducive to study and meditation. For this purpose, he normally put up in gardens or temples (ceīya) outside the city.[95] Along with these, lonely places like the cemetery, deserted houses, mountain caves and potter's workshops were also resorted to.[96]

Whatever be the nature of a lodge, the monks were not allowed to enter or occupy it without the permission of the owner. First of all he had to see whether that particular place was suitable to him or not. Then he approached the houseowner to seek permission for that particular lodge if it fulfilled his requirements.[97]

Unfit Lodgings :

The monk was not allowed to live in lodgings used by the householders, or those containing fire and water, those having a common passage both for the monks and the householders, in which acts like massaging each

91. *Smv.* p. 81a. The Buddhists began it on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha and ended it on the full-moon day of Kārttika: *Mahāvagga,* III, 2, 2.

92. *Dśv. Cū.* 2, 11.

93. *Ācār.* II, 3, 1, 4-5 (p. 137).

It may be noted here that among the Brāhmanical sources, the *Śaṅkhalikhitadharmasūtra* refers to the rule "ūrdhvaṁ vārṣikābhyāṁ naikasthānavāsī" (*ABORI*, VII, p. 128) (Date of this *Dharmasūtra*: between 300 B.C., to 100 A.D.: KANE *Ibid.*, p. 105). While commenting on the passage 'Bhikṣārthī grāmamācaret' (*Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* III. 58), the *Mitākṣarā,* remarks:

"Bhikṣāprayojanārthaṁ grāmamāśrayet praviśet na punaḥ sukhanivāsārtham. Varṣākāle tu na doṣaḥ. Ūrdhvaṁ, vārṣikābhyāṁ māsābhyāṁ naikasthānavāsīti śaṅkhasmaraṇāt. Saśaktau punarmāsacatuṣṭayaparyantamapi sthātavyāṁ na ciramekatra vasedanyatra varṣākālāt. Śrāvaṇādayaścatvāro māsā varṣākāla iti devalasmaraṇāt. 'Ekarātraṁ vasedgrāme nagare rātripañcakaṁ. Varṣābhyo'nyatra varṣāsu māsāṁstu caturo vased' iti kāṇvasmaraṇāt." For Buddhist rules about Vassa, see *Mahāvagga* III.

94. *Ācār.* II, 2, 2, 6 (p. 126).

95. *Vivāga,* p. 77; *Antg.*, p. 41; *Anttr.* p. 67; *Uttar.* 9, 4; 18, 4; 23, 4. 8; *Nāyā.* p. 69.

96. *Ācār.* I, 7, 2, 1 (p. 64).

97. *Ibid.,* II, 7, 2, 1-14 (pp. 173-77).

other's body either with ghee or with perfumes, or sprinkling the body with water, or the practice of sexual acts were done by the householder and his wife.[98] Places visited by women, beasts and eunuchs,[99] those frequented by heretics,[100] containing cobwebs and eggs,[101] appropriated by force or stolen from somebody else by the present owner,[102] specially white-washed, decorated, besmeared with cow-dung or built for use solely by the monks,[103] where seeds, flowers and other articles containing life were scattered,—all these were deemed unfit for the monks.

Reasons Behind These :

It may be noted that the reasoning behind the justification of the non-use of such places was based on the fundamental rules of ethical conduct of the monks, as will be clear from the following discussion.

The house containing seeds, cobwebs, eggs, etc., if occupied, offered a ground for hiṁsā which was the major fault to be avoided by the monk.

The place which was raised up from the ground level, and accesss to which could be had only by resorting to a platform or a ladder, was likely to be the cause of a serious fall for the monk which crushed the living beings on the ground.

The monk living with the members of the family of a householder, if nursed by them in his illness, was likely to get attached to them and go astray. Moreover, the daughters and other ladies in the house were likely to force him to have sexual intercourse with a view to have a healthy child.[104]

In the case of the places where worldly activities or actions pertaining to fire and water were carried on, the monk was likely to get interested in such activities which were unbecoming for him.

In their zeal to furnish the monks with lodging, the householders were likely to do all sorts of major injuries to the living beings (mahāsāvadya-kriyā). Hence, such places were not to be accepted by the monks. Moreover, such specially made lodgings were likely to create a feeling of gratitude and attachment towards the houseowner in the mind of the monks.

98. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 3, 5-12 (pp. 131-32).
99. *Nāyā.* p. 76; *Bhag.* p. 758b.
100. *Ācāra.* II, 2, 2, 2, 8 (p. 127).
101. *Ibid.*, II, 1, 1 (p. 120).
102. *Ibid.*,
103. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 1, 3 ff (pp. 121 ff).
104. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 1, 12 (p. 124).

Lonely Life :

In order, therefore, to avoid all these faults which were against the spirit of monk life, the monk was advised to stay in deserted houses, or burial places or under the cover of a tree.[105] It was said that by living alone, the monk was able to practise concentration (samāhic) and avoid quarrels (kalaha), passions (kasāya), and anger (tumantume), and was able to acquire a high standard of self-control.[106]

In spite of the mention of the 'uvassaya'[107] (monastery), and the 'vihāra',[108] the general tone of opinion favoured a lonely mode of life free from the contact with the society around.

CLOTHING AND NUDITY :

The question of clothing and nudity may be said to have centred round the ideas connected with nirgranthatva (bondlessness) and aparigrahatva (non-possession).

Early texts like the *Ācārāṅga*[109] mention the fact that it was Mahāvīra who started the practice of nudity after a period of thirteen months after his renunciation. The *Sthānāṅga*[110] also refers to the fact, and puts it in the mouth of Mahāvīra who is said to have remarked, 'maë samaṇāṇaṁ .... acelate dhamme paṇṇatte .....' The same view is expressed by the *Daśavaikālika*[111] which disallows all efforts of bodily decoration to the monk as he is 'nagiṇa' (naked) and tonsured (muṇḍa). The *Uttarādhyayana*[112] also lays down nakedness as the sixth parīsaha.

Inspite of such constant references to nakedness, it may be noted that the rules about clothing did not seem to make it a compulsory item as will be clear from the following citations :

"They are called naked, (nagiṇā) who in this world, never return (to worldly state), (follow) my religion according to the commandment."

—*Ācār.* I, 6, 2, 3 (Transl., p. 56).[113]

105. *Uttar.* 2, 19-20; 32, 16; *Stkr.* 1, 4, 1, 1 (p. 271).
106. *Ibid.*, 29, 39.
107. *Ācār.* II, 1, 2, 7; II, 1, 10, 6; II, 2, 2, 6; *Nāyā.* p. 175, 225.
108. *Uttar.* 30, 17.
109. I, 8, 1, 3 (p. 79).
110. p. 460b.
111. 6, 65; 4, 2, 1.
112. *SBE*, XLV, p. 9.
113. All translations given from JACOBI, *SBE*, XXII.

"To a mendicant who is little clothed (acela),[114] and firm in control (parivusiē), it will not occur (to think): My clothes are torn (parijuṇṇe), I shall beg for (new) clothes, I shall beg for the thread (suttaṁ); I shall beg for a needle (sūīṁ), I shall repair them or stitch them; I shall put them on (parihissāmi); I shall wrap myself in them (pāüṇissāmi)."

—*Ibid.*, I, 6, 3, 1 (JACOBI, p. 57).

"Know further, that after winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used-up (garment of the three), being clad with an upper (santaruttare) and an under garment, or with the undermost garment (omacelaë), or with one gown (egasāḍe), or with no clothes (acele)—*aspiring to freedom from bonds...*"

—*Ibid.*, I, 7, 4, 1 (p. 69); I, 7, 6, 1 (p. 71).
—Also, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2, 1, 56 (p. 354).

"To a naked (acela) monk, the thought occurs ... I cannot leave off the covering of the privities. Then he may cover his privities with a piece of cloth (kaḍibandhaṇaṁ dhārittaë)."

Ācār. I, 7, 7, 1 (p. 73).

"The various outward marks (liṅga) (of religious men) have been introduced in order that people might recognise them as such .... Now the opinion (of the Tīrthaṅkaras) is that knowledge, faith and right conduct (nāṇa, daṁsaṇa, cāritta) are the true causes of final liberation (and not the outward marks)."

—*Uttar.* 23, 32-33.

"'My clothes being torn, I shall (soon) go naked', or 'I shall get a new suit', such thoughts should not be entertained by a monk. At one time he will have no clothes, at another he will have some; knowing this to be a salutary rule, a wise (monk) should not complain about it."

—*Uttar.* 2, 12-13.

From all these citations it is clear that the monk was asked not to be very particular about the use of clothes. The chief motive behind his use of clothes was to cover the privities or to protect himself from severe cold

114. It is interesting to note that later commentators explain 'acelatva' as the use of a few and used clothes, and not as complete nudity—See *Ṭhāṇ.* comm. pp. 467b-468b: "Just as a man wearing a tattered and old garment is called naked in the popular sense of the term, in the same way, a monk wearing less garment, which is old and tattered is called Acela. A beggar also uses such clothes, but the monk uses them on account of religious considerations."

'Īṣat cela acela'—*JSB*, Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 31.

etc. Under no circumstances was he allowed to get attached to or to aspire for new clothes. Thus 'freedom from bonds' was the main idea behind the practice of nudity.[115]

This non-attachment could, therefore, be followed even with the use of clothes without getting attached to them.[116] Therefore, the *Ācārāṅga* lays down that "(the monk) should beg for (clothes) which he wants, and which are permitted by the religious code (ahesaṇijja); he should wear the clothes in the same state in which they are given him; he should neither wash them nor dye them...."[117] The same idea is manifested by the rule which did not permit a monk to lodge a complaint in case his clothes were torn off by thieves.[118]

Why to Wear Clothes?

Once this attitude of non-attachment towards clothing was adopted by the monk, he could use clothes for three reasons :

(1) to avoid shame (hiripattitaṁ),

(2) to avoid disregard from the people if they feel so on seeing the monk's distorted limbs (duguñchāpattitaṁ),

and (3) to put up with the various parīṣahas (parīsahavattiyaṁ).[119]

Number of Clothes:

In all, three clothes[120] were to be used by the monk. Out of these three, two were to be of linen which were used as under-garments (antarijjagaṁ), and the third, made of wool, as an upper garment (uttarijjagaṁ). The stouter and the younger elements in the community wore only one garment, while the older ones used two.[121] Under any circumstances, limita-

115. The *Ṭhāṇāṅga* gives five advantages of nudity: (1) no trouble of examining the clothes (appā paḍilehaṇā); (2) lightness in movement (lāghaviē pasatthe); (3) naked appearance creates faith in others (rūve vesāsite); (4) thus he can carry into practice the law of the Jina which prescribes less requisites (tave aṇunnāte), and (5) he can have complete self-control (viūle indiyaṇiggahe)—pp. 342b, 343a: The Commentator attributes it to the Jinakalpikas.

116. 'Mucchā pariggaho vutto'—*Dśv.* 6, 21.

117. I, 7, 4, 1 (p. 68); See *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*, Vol. 1, pp. 188-89.

118. *Ācār.* II, 3, 3, 16 (p. 148).

119. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 138a.

120. *Ācār.* I, 7, 4, 1 (pp. 67-69) : See f.n. 3, p. 67; the 'Tecīvara' of the Buddhists: Saṅghāṭī, Uttarāsaṅga and Antarāvāsaka: *Mahāvaggā*, VIII, 14, 2.

121. *Ācār.* I, 7, 4, 1; *Bhag.* p. 374b ref. to the Colapaṭṭaga also.

tion to the number of clothes was binding, and no lavishness or stock-piling of clothes was ever allowed. In the hot season, the monk was to give up the used-up clothes and had to put on either one or no garment.[122]

Material, Proper and Improper :

The monk was allowed to accept clothes which were made of wool (jaṅgiya), silk (bhaṅgiyaṁ), hemp (sāṇayaṁ), palm-leaves (pottagaṁ), cotton (khomiyaṁ), of arhatūla (tūlakaḍam), or any other of such types (tahappāraṃ).[123] The *Sthānāṅga*,[124] however, gives the fifth type as that which is made of tirīḍa bark. The commentator remarks that even though these five kinds were allowed, only those of cotton and wool were to be used normally. In case, these two were not available, then, only the other types of clothes could be used.[125]

Clothes which were bought, (kītaṁ) washed, (dhoyaṁ) dyed (rattaṁ), cleaned or perfumed for the sake of the monk, or those which were made of fur (āiṇāṇi), fine ones (sahiṇāṇi), beautiful ones (sahiṇakallāṇi), prepared out of goat's hair (ayāṇi), of blue cotton (kāyagāṇi), of ordinary cotton (khomiya), of finer cotton (dugullāṇi), made of paṭṭa, made of malaya fibre (malayāṇi), of bark fibres (pattuṇṇāṇi), of muslin (aṁsuyāṇi), of silk (cīṇaṁsuyāṇi), or those which were known as Desarāga, Amila, Gajjala, Phāliya and Kāyaha; blankets (kaṁbala), cloaks (pāvarāṇi); plaids (āiṇapāüraṇāṇi) of Udda. Pesa, embroidered with Pesa fur (pesalesāṇi), made of the skin of black (kiṇha), blue (ṇīla) or white (gora) deer; golden plaids (kaṇagāṇi), plaids glittering like gold (kaṇagakantāṇi), interwoven with gold (kaṇagapaṭṭāṇi), strewn with gold (kaṇagakhaïyāṇi), touched or shaded with gold (kaṇagaphusiyāṇi); tiger skins (vagghāṇi), or ornamental clothes (ābharaṇāṇi), or such as were set with ornaments (ābharaṇacittāṇi)—all these were deemed unfit for the monk.[126]

122. *Ācār.* I, 7, 6, 1 (p. 71). The Buddhist monk was allowed to put off his saṅghāṭī only when ill, or when crossing a deep river: *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 23.

123. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 1 (p. 157).

124. p. 338ab.

125. The text also prescribes these three: *Ibid.* p. 138a.

126. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 3-5 (pp. 157-58): Cf. Buddhist: Pāṁsukūlika (made up of rags) and Gahapatika (given by the house-holders): Durga BHAGWAT remarks: "As the bounty of the laity increased, the Pāṁsukulika fell into the background and soon it was made a rule that no Bhikkhu was to take a vow of wearing Pāṁsukulika alone"—*Early Buddhist Jurisprudence,* p. 146.

Where to Obtain Proper Clothes:

The monks had to seek proper clothing from the householders only within a distance of half a yojana, and nobody was allowed to go beyond this limit normally.[127]

How to Get Them?

After seeking the permission of the guru, the monks went in search of proper clothing. The main source for them was the devoted householders. Going to them, they told the householder the specific type of clothing they wanted. When such a clothing was obtained, they scanned it to see whether it contained living beings or any other impurities. They were allowed to get such clothes as were not needed by the householder.[128]

Whatever was offered was to be accepted there and then after inspecting it. No future promises regarding clothing were to be accepted.[129] The monks were also allowed to reject such clothes as were not fit for them, or as were not likely to last long.[130]

Under particular vows, the monk put restrictions on himself regarding either the quality of the cloth, or the nature of the donor, or the way in which it was offered, and so on.[131] In this case it may be noted that many of the rules regarding clothing were identical with those of food.

Using the Clothes:

No washing or cleaning of clothes either with ground drugs or with water was allowed. The monks, however, were allowed to dry their clothes on a heap of ash or of bones after carefully examining them.[132] The monk was neither allowed to dye his clothes nor use coloured clothes. In case, however, he did not get proper clothing then he was permitted to sew different pieces together.[133]

Jiṇakappiyas and Therakappiyas:

The monks either followed the Jiṇakappa (or the mode of life resembling that of the Jina), or the Therakappa (corporate or group life).[134] Even

127. *Ācār*, II, 5, 1, 2 (p. 157).
128. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 6-9 (pp. 158-59).
129. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 10 (p. 159).
130. *Ibid.* II, 5, 1, 11-15 (pp. 160-61).
131. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 251b.
132. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 17-23 (pp. 162-63).
133. *Ibid.* II, 5, 1, 1 (p. 157).
134. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 167b.

though these terms are not expressly referred to at all places in the Aṅgas, yet the commentators explain certain references pertaining to nudity, etc. as peculiar to the Jiṇakappiyas.

The Jinakalpika monk had less requisites with him, inasmuch as he ate food in the hollow of his hand, carried a broom, led a life secluded from the rest of the members of his group, and wore no clothing.[135]

OTHER REQUISITES:

Besides clothing, the monk used other articles like alms-bowl (pāya), blanket (kaṁbala), and broom (pāyapuñchaṇa) for the sake of the proper practice of self-control or out of a sense of shame (sañjamalajjaṭṭhā).[136]

The set of these requisites was called 'bhaṇḍaga'[137] which was divided into 'aupagrāhika' (supplementary) and 'ogha' (of general use). Inspite of such division the monk had to restrict himself to a limited number of requisites and had to wander as light as the wind (laghubhūtavihārin)[138] without any attachment for such requisites.

The oft-repeated set of requisites in the text of the Aṅgas[139] is 'vattha, pāya, kaṁbala and pāyapuñchaṇa'. Out of these, we have already seen the details regarding the vattha or clothes.

Pāya: (*Bhāyaṇa*[140] or *Paḍiggaha*[141])

The pātra or the alms-bowl was made either of gourd (lāü), or of wood (dāru), or of clay (maṭṭiyā).[142] Along with the pots which were used or owned by the householders,[143] the pots bought for the monk, or those made of iron (aya), tin (taü), lead (sīsaga), silver (hiraṇṇa), gold (suvaṇṇa), brass (rīriya), an alloy of gold, silver and copper (hārapuḍa), pearl (maṇi), glass (kāya), mother of pearl (kaṁsa), shell (saṅkha), horn (siṅga), ivory (danta), cloth (cela), stone (sela) or leather (camma), or those which were specially polished, etc. for the monk,—were not allowed for use by the monks.[144]

135. See Jacobi's note, *SBE*. XXII, p. 57, f.n. 2: But as we shall see later on, even the Jinakalpikas wore clothes.
136. *Dśv*. 6, 20.
137. *Uttar*, 24, 13; *Bhag*. 749b.
138. *Dśv*. 3, 10: Also *Stkr*. I, 1, 1. 2 (p 235).
139. *Ācār*. I, 2, 5, 3 (p. 23); I, 6, 2, 1 (p. 55); *Dśv*. 6, 20; *Bhag*. p. 291a, 309b, 689a.
140. *Ibid*. 139a.
141. *Nāyā*. p. 29; *Dśv*. 5, ii, 1.
142. *Ācār*. II, 6, 1, 1 (p. 166); *Ṭhāṇ*. 138a.
143. *Stkr*. 1, 9, 20 (p. 304); *Dśv*. 6, 53.
144. *Ācār*. II, 6, 1, 1-3 (pp. 166-67); *Dśv*. 6, 51-53.

Those who were young and stout (thirasaṅghayaṇe) were allowed to use only one pot. In order to acquire such a pot, nobody was allowed to go beyond a distance of half a yojana (addhajoyaṇamerāö).[145]

Other rules regarding the seeking of pot, the unfit bowl and the way of approaching the householder were the same as in the case of clothes.[146]

As in the case of clothes, so in accepting a pot the monk imposed limits on himself under special vows which restricted his choice of the bowl pertaining either to the donor, or to the type of the bowl or the way in which it was given.[147]

It seems that the pots which were used at the time of renunciation were sold in shops (kuttiyāvaṇa).[148]

Kambala :

This was a blanket used by the monks to cover themselves either as a protection from cold, or as a cover while sleeping.[149] No other details are to be found about it.

Pāyapuñchaṇa :

This was a broom and is equated by the commentators with the rajoharaṇa.[150] It was used in wiping lightly the places over which the monk wanted to sit, stand or lie down, so that living beings may not get killed.[151]

Its bristles were made out of five kinds of material—either of the hair of a goat (uṇṇiċ), or that of the camel (uṭṭite), or of hemp (sāṇate), or of pounded grass (paccāpicciyate), or of the pounded muñja grass (muñjāpiccite).[152] Its handle was made of wood (dāru),[153]

Other articles, besides these principal four, were the following:

145. *Ācār*. II, 6, 1, 1.
146. *Ibid*. II, 6, 1, 1-9 (pp. 166-68).
147. *Ṭhāṇ*. 251b.
148. *Nāyā*. p. 29.
149. *Ṭhāṇ*. *comm*. p. 339a: but more than that it was an article with which the internal and external dirt was wiped. Internal in the sense that with the rajoharaṇa the monk showed kindness to beings and was thus free from the dirt of the thoughts of hiṁsā.
150. *Bhag*. p. 374b.
151. *Ṭhāṇ comm*. p. 305a; *Nāyā*. p. 29 (text); *Bhag*. p. 374b.
152. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 338b.
153. *Ibid. comm*. p. 339a, v. 3.

Muhapattī :

It was a piece of cloth[154] tied over the mouth and nose by the monks to prevent small insects from entering their mouth and getting killed.

It may be noted that this article gets reference frequently in somewhat later texts of the Aṅga series. Its subsidiary importance is hinted by its absence in the fourfold list of the principal articles used by the monks.[155]

Gocchaga :

The 'gocchaga'[156] was a piece of cloth used in cleaning the alms-bowl. No other details regarding this can be had.

Besides this, the *Bhagavatī* also mentions the laṭṭhi or the stick used by the monks.[157]

The articles which the monk had to keep with him, have been noted above. Besides these, we come across a number of others which he used for a temporary period and returned to the owner when his job was done.

Bedding and Seats :

In the texts we frequently come across the phrase 'pāḍihāriyaṁ pīḍhaphalagasejjāsanthāragaṁ'.[158] The meaning of the phrase is 'returnable stool, plank, bedding and mat'.

These articles were to be obtained from the householder and were to be returned to him after the monk had finished his work with these.

The actual bedding of a monk consisted either of grass, stone or a wooden plank. On the bed of grass the monk lay down after carefully inspecting the absence of any living beings. Then wiping his body he slept over it keeping such a distance from others as was not likely to make his limbs touch those of others.[159]

154. *Nāyā.* p. 164; *Bhag.* 139a; *Uttar.* 26, 23; *Vivāga.* p. 8.

155. SCHÜBRING remarks: "It is characteristic of the dependence of the Jainas on Brāhmanical model, that the mouthpiece that they (Brahmins) did not know, is not mentioned in the series of articles"—*Die Lehre der Jainas,* article 145, (Tr. by MARATHE for me).

156. *Uttar.* 26, 23; *comm.*: pātrakoparivarcyupakaraṇaṁ. *Bhag.* p. 374b.

157. p. 374b.

158. *Nāyā.* p. 76; *Bhag.* 134b; *Ācār.* II, 3, 1, 2 (p. 136); II, 7, 1, 4 (p. 172); *Stkr.* 2, 2, 76 (p. 383).

159. *Ācār.* II, 2, 3, 25-27 (pp. 134-35); *Uttar.* XVII, 14; *Bhag.* 126b; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 157a.

While accepting bedding from the householder, the monk had to be careful in taking only such articles as were free from eggs or living beings. *Under peculiar vows he could restrict his choice regarding the quality of* the bedding (santhāraga) to be accepted.[160] The plank of wood was used in the rainy season. Otherwise, high beds were strictly forbidden.[161]

Such articles as the 'sūī' (needle), 'pippalaga' (razor?), 'kaṇṇasohaṇaga' (ear-picker), 'nahacchedaṇaä' (nail-parer) were to be returned to the owner immediately and no exchange of these with other monks was allowed without the permission of the owner.[162] Articles like umbrellas, chowries and shoes were not allowed.[163]

BEGGING AND FOOD:

The practice of ideal conduct being dependent on pure food begged in a pure way, the monk had to be very careful regarding its acquisition. Out of the Aṅgas, the *Ācārāṅga*, and among the Mūlasūtras, the *Daśavaikālika*, give a number of rules for begging food.

How to go out?

Taking with him his complete outfit, the monk started at a proper time to beg alms.[164] Along the tour, he did not keep company either with householders or heretics,[165] and walked in a quiet and unexcited way,[166] looking to a distance of a yuga before him.[167]

When not to go?

If there was heavy rain, thick mist, high gale or a crowd of insects flying in the air, then the monk was not allowed to go for begging.[168] So also, he was not to choose such a time when the food was either not prepared or was already distributed, or when the people were engaged in milching the cow.[169]

160. *Ācār.* II, 2, 3, 13-21 (pp. 132-4).
161. *Uttar.* XV, 4; XXI, 22; *Dśv.* 6, 55-56.
162. *Ācār.* II, 7, 1, 4-5 (p. 172).
163. *Stkṛ.* 1, 9, 18 (p. 303); *Dśv.* 3, 4; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 233a and *comm.* p. 234a forbid five kinds of skins: that of a goat, ram, buffalo, deer and cow. It may be noted, however, that a certain merchant called Dhaṇa (*Nāyā.* p. 158) is said to have given shoes (ovāhaṇāö), umbrellas (chattaga) even to the Nigganthas.
164. *Ācār.* II, 1, 3, 6 (p. 96).
165. *Ibid.* II, 1, 1, 7 (p. 90).
166. *Ibid.* II, 1, 5, 1 (p. 99).
167. *Dśv.* 5, i, 2-3.
168. *Ibid.* 5, i, 8; *Ācār.* II, 1, 3,9 (pp. 96-97).
169. *Ibid.* II, 1, 4, 3 (p. 98).

The Way of Begging:

Normally, he was to beg at all houses irrespective of the status of the occupants. Yet, he was advised to prefer noble families in order to get pure food.[170]

Under special vows which the monk undertook, he begged in peculiar ways. Besides restricting his choice to a particular type of food, or to a peculiar donor, or to a special odd time,[171] he went at different houses in the following ways:

(a) He went begging food successively at four houses forming the corners of an imaginary box (peṭā),

or (b) he did so, so that the houses begged at, formed the shape of a half-cut box (ardhapeṭā),

or (c) he went in a zigzag way (gomūtrikā),

or (d) to houses at great distances from one another so that his begging resembled the unregulated flying of a gnat (pataṅgavīthikā),

or (e) he visited the houses in a spiral line like the turn of a conch (śambūkāvarta), either from the centre outwards, or towards the centre,

or (f) he went straight on and then returned a-begging (āyataṁ-gatvā-pratyāgata).[172]

The road he chose was to be devoid of mud, living beings, wild animals, pits, uneven ditches, embers, ash, pillars, bridges and cowdung.[173] Houses of courtesans, scenes of quarrels and fights, playgrounds, the lodgings of officers and kings were to be avoided at all cost.[174] So also he was not allowed to visit the houses of his relatives before undertaking the begging tour with a view to acquire specially prepared dishes.[175] If a house was closed, then he was not to open or peep through the doors or crevices of bath-rooms.[176] He was not to transgress the limits set up by the householder to the monk's entry (aībhūmi), and within that limit also he was not to jump over or drive aside a goat or a child.[177] He was not to hurry up

170. *Ibid.* II, 1, 2 (p. 92); *Dśv.* 5, i. 14.
171. *Uttar.* 26, 32; 30, 20-21.
172. *Ibid.* 30, 19; *Ṭhāṇ.* 365b.
173. *Dśv.* 5, i, 3-7; *Ācār.* II, 1, 5, 2-4 (pp. 99-101).
174. *Dśv.* 5, i, 9, 12, 16.
175. *Ācār.* II, 1, 4, 4 (p. 98).
176. *Ibid.* II, 1, 6, 2 (p. 103); *Dśv.* 5, i, 22-25.
177. *Ibid.* 5, i, 22-25.

in order to overtake others to get food but was to wait till the rest had their turn.[178]

Proper and Improper Food:

It may be noted that even though the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[179] refers to the forty-six faults pertaining to improper begging of food, nowhere, either in the Aṅgas or in the Mūlasūtras, they are given at one place under systematic categories. It may only be noted that these were grouped into the faults pertaining to —

(a) udgama — preparation of food,

(b) utpādana — the ways adopted in obtaining food,

(c) eṣaṇā — pertaining to the method of accepting food,

and (d) paribhoga — way of eating food, its quantity, etc.

These divisions were not watertight and in many cases these divisions contained faults of varying nature.

The following ways of offering food to the monk were improper:

(1) food given after upsetting the eatables or other things on the ground (parisāḍejja bhoyaṇaṁ),[180]

(2) given by the donor by crushing living beings under his or her feet (sammaddamāṇī pāṇāṇī),[181]

(3) given after pouring the articles in another pot, or mixing them with 'sacitta' things, or after taking bath (ogāhaïttā),[182]

(4) food given with a ladle, hand or pot soiled with previous injurious activity (purekamma), or wet with water, or covered with dust, salt, hariyālā, hiṅgulaä, maṇosilā, añjaṇa, red earth (geruä), vaṇṇiya (yellow earth), seḍiya, soraṭṭhiya,[183] and piṭṭha (floor),

(5) food offered after the consent of only one out of its many owners,[184]

178. *Ācār*. II, 1, 5, 5 (p. 101); *Dśv*. 5, ii, 10-11.
179. 2, 2, 13 (p. 364); *Uttar*. 24, 12.
180. *Dśv*. 5, i, 28.
181. *Ibid*. 5, i, 29.
182. *Ibid*. 5, i, 31.
183. These are various kinds of earth, *Dśv*. 5, i, 32-34; *Ācār*. II, 1, 6, 4-6 (pp. 103-04).
184. *Dśv*. 5, i, 37.

(6) food offered by a lady who keeps aside the sucking child,[185]

(7) food given after setting aside the lid or breaking the seal,[186]

(8) food given after taking the pot down from the oven at the sight of the monk, or after doing any other fire activity like kindling the fire, extinguishing it, inserting or taking out fuel, fanning the fire, etc.,[187]

(9) food given after climbing the terrace or a high place by means of the ladder,[188]

(10) food offered after plucking a lily or any other flower.[189]

The following types of articles were not allowed to the monk:

(1) food specially prepared for him (uddesiya),[190]
(2) cold unboiled water,[191]
(3) articles meant to be given away in charity (dāṇaṭṭhā),[192]
(4) articles given away to acquire merit (puṇṇaṭṭhā),[193]
(5) meant to be given to beggars (vaṇīmaṭṭhā),[194]
(6) food meant only for the monks (samaṇaṭṭhā),[195]
(7) food involving sinful activity (āhākamma),[196]
(8) food purchased specially for the monks (kīyagaḍa),
(9) food which was a mixture of pure and impure things (pūī),
(10) food brought from a distance (āhaḍa),
(11) supplemented (ajjhoyara),
(12) brought on credit (pāmicca),
(13) mixed with unacceptable things (mīsa),[197]
(14) mixed with flowers and fresh seeds,[198]
(15) placed on living beings, or on water, or anthill (uttingapaṇaga),[199]

(16) Bulbs (kanda), roots (mūla), fruits (palamba), cut vegetables, fresh cucumber (tumbāga) and jinger (siṅgabera), barley powder (sattu-

185. *Ibid.* 5, i, 43.
186. *Ibid.* 5, i, 45-46.
187. *Ibid.* 5, 8, 61-64.
188. *Ibid.* 5, i, 65-69.
189. *Ibid.* 5, ii, 14-15.
190. *Ācār.* II, 1, 6, 8 (p. 104); *Dśv.* 5, i, 55.
191. *Ācār.* II, 6, 2, 1, 2 (pp. 169-170); II, 1, 7, 7 (p. 107).
192. *Dśv.* 5, i, 47-48.
193. *Ibid.* 5, i, 49.
194. *Ibid.* 5, i, 51.
195. *Ibid.* 5, i, 53.
196. *Ācār.* II, 1, 9 (p. 111).
197. *Dśv.* 5, i, 55.
198. *Ibid.* 5, i, 57-58.
199. *Ibid.* 5, i, 59-60.

cuṇṇa), sesamum cake (sakkuli) and treacle (phāṇiya) or such other food kept for sale and covered with dust (raëṇa pariphāsiya); various fruits, sugar cane (ucchu), rice-wash (cāülodaga);[200] lotus-roots or any part of a fresh lotus, sprouts of trees (pavāla), green vegetables, tilaparpaṭikā, sprouts of Neem tree, rice-cake, cold water (viyaḍa) or imperfectly boiled water (tattaṇivvuḍa), fruits like Kaviṭṭha, Māüluṅga or Citron, Bihelaga, and such other raw articles,[201]

(17) imperfectly pounded and cooked food,[202]

(18) food given out of respect or prepared out of material forcibly stolen and bought by the householder; prepared for a fixed number of people; offered in a festival in honour of the dead; articles kept on a high place; of doubtful purity; prepared for the guests and the sick; cooked by the person who had given lodging to the monk (sejjāyara), and cooled down by means of a fan,[203]

(19) juice of raw fruits, blossoms of anything, raw rice, honey, liquor, ghee, curds, molasses, oil, etc., pulp of plantain or coconut, etc.,[204]

(20) royal food (rāyapiṇḍa),[205]

(21) food dripping with ghee, etc.,[206]

(22) food from a festival (saṅkhaḍi).[207]

The *Ācārāṅga*, the *Daśavaikālika* and the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* mention certain phrases, the meaning and interpretation of which has created difference of opinion among a few scholars. For instance, the first[208] refers to "bahuäṭṭhiëṇa maṁsena vā maccheṇa vā", the second[209] mentions "bahuäṭṭhiyaṁ poggalaṁ aṇimisaṁ vā bahukaṇṭayaṁ", and the third[210] cites the incidence of Mahāvīra asking Revaï Gāhāvaïṇī to offer him the 'kukkuḍamaṁsa' and not the 'duve kavoyasaīrā'.

200. *Ibid.* 5, i, 70-75.
201. *Ibid.* 5, ii, 18-24.
202. *Ācār.* II, 1, 1, 1-6 (pp. 88-89); also II, 1, 8 (pp. 108-110). See *Bhag.* p. 300a for similar amplified list.
203. *Ācār.* II, 1, 1, 11-14 (pp. 90-91); II, 1, 6, 9 (p. 104); II, 1, 3, 5 (p. 96); II, 1, 6, 10 (p. 105); II, 1, 7, 1 (p. 105); II, 1, 7, 5 (p. 107); II, 1, 9, 3 (p. 112).
204. *Ibid.* II, 1, 8, 1-15 (pp. 108-110).
205. *Dśv.* 3, 3.
206. *Ibid.* 8, 57.
207. *Ācār.* II, 1, 2, 3 (p. 92).
208. II, 1, 10, 6.
209. 5, i, 73.
210. p. 686b.

Some scholars, ignoring the explanation of the commentators, hold the view that these phrases refer to the eating of flesh. The commentators, on the other hand, explain the words 'pudgala' and 'animiṣa' as varieties of fruits,[211] the 'kapotaka' as 'kūṣmāṇḍa' or a pumpkin, the 'mārjāra' as a kind of gas (vāyuviśeṣa)[212] or a vegetable called 'virālikā' and the 'kukkuṭamāṁsa' as 'bījapūraka kaṭāha'.[213]

The question can be rightly solved if one takes into consideration the fact that Mahāvīra was the principal advocate of Ahiṁsā. It was he who denounced the sacrificial practices of contemporary society and declared that all beings, great and small, desire to live. In the light of the role of Mahāvīra, therefore, it is correct to fall in line with the commentators.

Right since the times of Mahāvīra todate — all these 2500 years — the Jainas have been known for their scrupulous practice of Ahiṁsā. No other sect — nor even the Buddhists — has been so vigilant about non-violence. This tradition which has been a matter of everyday practice with the Jainas suggests that the words should be interpreted in the way the commentators have done.

Even apart from considerations of the traditional advocacy of Ahiṁsā by the Jainas, one has to admit that a word is likely to have two meanings and hence we may not be wrong if we accept as correct the explanations by the commentators.

Proper and Improper Donors:

As we have already seen, the monk visited all the houses irrespective of the status of the families residing in them. He went to beg food to such places where he was not known.[214] If he frequented the same houses, then the people were likely to remark 'that (men become monks) because they will not work and are wretched.'[215]

He was, therefore, to approach only "unblamed (äduguñchiä), uncensured (ägarahiä) families, to wit, noble families (uggakula), distinguished families (bhogakula), royal families (räiṇṇakula), or kṣatriya families, or families of the Ikṣvākus and Hari, those of cowherds, barbers, merchants,

211. See *Dśv.* (Ed. ABHYANKAR), p. 28 (Notes).
212. *Ibid., Bhag.* p. 691a.
213. *Ibid.*
214. *Stkṛ.* 1, 7, 27 (p. 296).
215. *Ibid.* 1, 3, 1, 6 (*SBE*, XIV, p. 262).

carpenters and weavers."[216] At another place, however, the same text disallows a monk to accept food from kṣatriyas, kings, messengers and those born in royal families, whether the members of such families were either inside or outside the house, or when they invited the monks for food.[217]

Along with these, he was not allowed to accept food from those who had given him a lodging[218] as there was a likelihood of the latter preparing special food for the monk and thus creating ties of obligation.

The Return:

With these rules of food in his mind, the monk sought alms within an area covered by half a yojana.[219] Within this limit he begged food without creating intimacy with the householders by telling them stories,[220] or taking shelter of a pillar,[221] etc.

Thus he returned to the monastery with the food and showed it to his guru. Then he reported and confessed his transgressions, if any, before the guru, and inquiring whether anybobdy else was in need of food he ate that food which remained after giving to the needy. No food was to be wasted on the ground, and the monk consumed all food in the company of other monks without having any clothing.[222]

In case, the monk became hungry while on the begging tour, then finding out a lonely and desolate place or the shelter of a wall, he cleaned the place well. Then washing his hands well, he consumed food there with due permission of the owner of that place.[223]

In case he came across certain impurities in the food, or accepted impure food through inadvertance, he found out a place free from living beings and deposited the food on that place.[224] For the same purpose, he was allowed to question the nature of the food of which he was doubtful, to the donor, and in some cases, was permitted to taste a little amount of sour articles to see whether they are fit or unfit for him.[225]

216. *Ācār.* II, 1, 2, 2.
217. *Ibid.* II, 1, 3, 10 (p. 97); Does it signify that the text makes a distinction between ordinary kṣatriyas and royal families?
218. *Ibid.* II, 2, 3, 4 (p. 131); *Bhag.* 231a; *Dśv.* 3, 5: 'sāgāriyapiṇḍa'.
219. *Ācār.* II, 1, 2, 5 (p. 93); *Bhag.* p. 291b, 292a.
220. *Dśv.* 5, ii, 9.
221. *Ibid.* 6, 57-60.
222. *Uttar.* 1, 35; *Dśv.* 5, i, 84-97; 5, ii, 1; *Ācār.* II, 1, 10 (pp. 113 ff).
223. *Dśv.* 5, i, 82-83.
224. *Ibid.* 5, i, 82-83; *Ācār.* II, 1, 10, 6; *Nāyā.* p. 164.
225. *Dśv.* 5, i, 56. 76. 78. 79.

If the food obtained in a single round was not sufficient for his maintenance, then the monk was allowed to undertake a second round.[226]

Ideal Quantity:

The ideal quantity of food to be consumed by the monk was thirty-two morsels (kavala), each of the size of a hen's egg (kukkuḍiāṇḍapamāṇa). Besides this, eating such eight morsels was called 'appāhāra'; consuming twelve morsels was termed as 'avaḍḍha'; sixteen morsels, 'dubhāga'; twenty-four morsels 'patta', and thirty-one morsels as 'kiñcūṇa.' Any monk who ate less than the normal quantity of thirty-two morsels was not called pakāmarasabhoī (excessive eater).[227]

The Time for Eating:

Generally the monks took food in the third porisī (i.e., roughly a prahara) of the day. He could change the time if he had undertaken a vow to eat food at an odd time in the day.[228] Nobody was allowed to eat food at night (rāībhoyaṇa), as also to preserve food overnight or accept such, or make a store of food.[229]

The Mode of Eating:

The monk consumed food in the begging pot. He was not allowed to make use of the householder's pots. While eating food, he was not to combine various articles for enriching its taste, or eat only the good one, or shift the morsel from one side to another for extracting a better taste.

He was not to be greedy or attached to any food, but was expected to eat food only for the maintenance of his body.[230]

The Purpose of Eating:

On account of six reasons, the monk was supposed to take food. They were:[231]

(1) veyaṇa — to lessen the pangs of hunger,

(2) veyāvacca — to be able to wait upon the elders and the sick,

226. *Ibid.* 5, i, 22.
227. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 149a; *Bhag.* 292a; Sufficient to maintain oneself: *Uttar.* 6, 7; 8, 11.
228. *Ibid.* 26, 32. For various vows regarding this: *Stkṛ.* 2, 2, 72 (p. 379).
229. *Bhag.* 291b; *Stkṛ.* 1, 2, 220 (p. 255); 1, 6, 28 (p. 291); 1, 7, 21 (p. 295); *Uttar.* 16, 7-8; 17, 15-16; 19, 30; *Dśv.* 3, 2-3.
230. *Ācār.* 1, 7, 6, 2 (p. 71).
231. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 359a.

(3) iriyaṭṭhāë — to maintain a proper mode of walking,

(4) sañjamaṭṭhāë — to maintain self-control,

(5) pāṇavattiyāë — to maintain life,

and (6) dhammacintāë — to practise religion.

For six reasons, he was to give up food :

(1) ātaṅke — in illness,

(2) uvasagge — in case of trouble from the king or divine trouble,

(3) titikkhaṇe—for the practice of bearing bodily pangs,

(4) bambhaceraguttīte — for the maintenance of celibacy,

(5) pāṇidayātavaheuṁ — for the protection of living being, and for undergoing a penance,

and (6) sarīravuccheyaṇaṭṭhāë — for the giving up of the body.

In short, the whole set of these rules was reduced to three categories. According to those, a monk was to accept such food as was 'navakoḍīparisuddha'—i.e., free from the acts of killing beings, cooking or buying the food oneself, or causing others to do so, or consenting to others doing so—; 'dasadosavivajjiya' — free from the tenfold faults like doubting the purity of food, etc.; 'uggamuppāyaṇesaṇāsuparisuddha' — free from the faults of preparation, acceptance and begging.[232]

General Evaluation of The Rules :

The survey of these different rules may be said to reveal the ethical basis of the whole superstructure of rules. The sole aim of these rules was the non-injury to living beings and the non-attachment either to food or to a particular family or house.

The *Daśavaikālika*[233] describes beautifully the mode to be adopted by the monk while begging. It is said that a monk should obtain food in the same way as the bees do without getting attached to a particular flower or without causing harm to it. While extracting juice from the flower the bee not only maintains itself but also sees that the flower does not wither. Thus the monk also should see that he gets food without getting attached to the food or without troubling the householder. Hence the monk was asked to visit all places where he was not known. The various peculiar

232. *Bhag.* 293a: *comm.* p. 294a; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 452a; Such stray references to a few of these 42 faults occur also in *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 159a, 320a, 460b, 487a; *Bhag.* p. 231a 291ab.
233. 1, 2-3.

modes of begging, like choosing a particular method of begging, or a particular time, or a peculiar type of food, or donor, may be said to imply the factor of non-attachment which a monk was not normally likely to develop in the event of his regular visits to particular houses.

The element of ahiṁsā was foremost in these rules which made a monk forego not only raw, powdered and vegetable food, but even that which was given with a wet hand or pot, or with a ladle besmeared with other impure articles. Not accepting cold unboiled water, not traversing over mud or bridge or rain-water or ash, etc., implied the effort in the strict practice of Ahiṁsā. The rule of not taking food at night was also adopted due to these considerations.

A keen foresight was shown regarding hiṁsā in such rules as not accepting food from pregnant women, or that given from a high place. In such cases the donor was likely to get bodily trouble. The food specially done for the monk was also likely to involve hiṁsā and it was likely to contain foodstuffs full of condiments which were harmful to the controlled mode of monklife. With the same view, the monk was not allowed to visit the places of his relatives beforehand.

It is indeed remarkable to note that inspite of the prevalence of non-vegetarian practices of the then contemporary society, Jaina monks advocated and practised vegetarian habits. In this case, the instance of Ariṣṭanemi,[234] who renounced the world knowing that several animals would be killed in the marriage feast, would remain unique for all times to come.

The description of a normal size of the morsel of food in terms of a hen's egg need not be taken to mean anything more. Trying to seek more significance in that than necessary would be against the very traditions of Jainism.[235] Similar references from other texts have already been discussed.[236] It is a tribute to the Jaina monks that they had to undergo strict discipline regarding food even under abnormal circumstances like famine or illness.[237]

Contemporary rival sects like the Buddhists also were not strict about the vegetarian habits. In this connection, Durga BHAGVAT remarks, "The

234. *Uttar*. Chapt. 22.
235. See *Die Lehre der Jainas*, art. 154 for a different view.
236. See pp. 172-73 above .
237. For deviations of the rule, see *Nāyā*. p. 80, where Selaga is said to have taken wine and flesh in illness; *Vivāgasuya* (p. 53) mentions a doctor who prescribed meat-eating to all including the samaṇas; *Ācār*. II, 1, 4, 1 (p. 97) forbids monks to go to such festivals where meat is served.

Buddhists had, like their contemporaries, strong notions about the purity and impurity of food. However, like other Titthiyas they had no objection in receiving food from outcastes, pregnant women, etc., neither did they refuse things like fish, rice-gruel etc., as other ascetics did. They could take animal food as well. The only precaution taken was that a Bhikkhu was *forbidden to eat flesh of a beast purposely killed for his sake, and the flesh of useful animals as horses, elephants etc., and of other animals like dogs etc."*[238]

Parallel practices in Brāhmanical system also are to be found. In this connection, the instances of Bhāradvāja and Viśvāmitra,[239] who saved their life by eating animal flesh, may be noted. From such instances, "it seems pretty clear that in earlier days there was no restraint upon eating meat, though in the time of Manu it was not considered lawful to eat any flesh which had not been sacrificed".[240]

ITEMS OF DAILY ROUTINE :

Before entering upon a detailed discussion of every item of the daily routine of a monk, we shall first note down the general programme of his daily life as given in the *Uttarādhyayana*.[241]

After sunrise, during the first quarter (of the first porisī), he inspected and cleaned his requisites and paid respect to the superiors. Then asking the ācārya whether there was any work for him, the monk did the thing which his ācārya asked him to do. Otherwise, he indulged in studies.

In the second porisī he did meditation, in the third he begged and ate food, and in the fourth he again studied.[242] Then paying reverence to the elders, and doing the 'pratikramaṇa', he inspected the lodging. Then he did 'kāyotsarga', and reflected upon the transgressions he happened to do on that day.

In the first quarter of the night he studied, in the second he meditated, in the third he took to sleep and in the fourth he again studied.

238. *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence*, pp. 147-48.
239. *Manu*. 10, 106 ff.
240. Phear, *I.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 130.
241. Chapt. 26.
242. Goyama at the time of breaking the fast upto the sixth meal (chaṭṭhakkhamaṇapāraṇagaṁsi) studied in the first porisī, in the second he meditated (jhāṇaṁ jhiyāyaï), and in the third, 'aturiyamacavalamasambhante muhapottiyaṁ paḍileheī, bhāyaṇāïṁ vaṭṭhāïṁ paḍileheī, bhāyaṇāïṁ pamajjaī, bhāyaṇāïṁ uggaheī......'—*Bhag*. p. 139a.

Thus, it seems that the chief items of his daily routine were 'paḍilehaṇa' (scanning of requisites), study (sajjhāya), 'āloyaṇā' (confession of faults), 'goyarī' (begging food), 'kāüssagga' and 'paḍikkamaṇa' (condemnation of transgressions).

Paḍilehaṇa :

All articles which a monk used were scanned by him in order to see whether there were any living beings.

He inspected first his alms-bowl, then mouthpiece (muhapattī), then his duster (gocchaga). Taking the broom in his hand, he then scanned his clothing. Standing erect, he held his cloth firmly and inspected it first leisurely (aturiya), then spread it, and at last wiped it (pamajjījja). Then without shaking it (aṇaccāviya) or crushing it (avaliya), he spread it, in such a way as to make the folds disappear and to avoid friction of its parts against each other (aṇāṇubandhimamosali). Then, folding it in nine flaps breadthwise and in six flaps lengthwise (chappurimā nava khoḍā), he removed living beings, if any, by spreading the cloth on the palm of his hand (pāṇivisohaṇaṁ).

Carelessness in the beginning (ārabhaḍā), in joining the corners of the cloth (sammaddā), in folding it (mosalī), in shaking out the dust (papphoḍaṇā), in spreading it out (vikkhitta) or in sitting upon the haunches (veïyā), was not allowed. So also, holding the cloth loosely (pasiḍhila), or at one corner (palaṁba), letting it flap (lola) or come in contact with another thing (mosā) or shaking it in many ways (aṇegarūvadhuṇā) or committing a mistake in counting the folds,—all these were deemed as faults.[243]

'Paḍilehaṇa' was not to be too lengthy or too short (aṇūṇāïritta). The monk was not permitted to do it while talking with others, or while gossiping, or while taking or giving instructions.

As the period of the 'pādas' of the 'porisī' differed with different months, "in the quarter of year comprising the three months Jyeṣṭhāmūla, Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa, the (morning) inspection is to last six digits (beyond ¼ pauruṣī); in the second quarter, eight; in the third, ten; in the fourth, eight",[244] (or 30, 40, 50 and forty minutes respectively).[245]

243. See also *Thāṇ*. p. 361b.
244. *Uttar*. 26, 13-29: Transl. based on JACOBI, *SBE*. XLV. pp. 143 ff.
245. *Ibid*., JACOBI, f.n. 1, p. 144.

Āloyaṇā :

We have already noted the details regarding ālocanā under 'monastic jurisprudence'.

Paḍikkamaṇa :

Pratikramaṇa was the condemnation of one's transgression before the guru. It was done either daily (devasiya), nightly, (rāïya) fortnightly (pakkhiya), four-monthly (cāümmāsiya), or yearly (saṁvacchariya).

The *Sthānāṅga* gives sixfold pratikramaṇa, which was done either after easing nature (uccāra), or after removing bodily dirt like cough etc. (pāsavaṇa), or done at day or at night (ittariya), or at the time of undertaking a fast unto death (āvakahië), or regarding particular transgressions (jaṁkincimicchā), or at the end of sleep (somaṇantite).[246]

Begging :

We have already seen the rules regarding begging of food. The *Uttarādhyayana*[247] refers to six reasons of abstaining from begging which, it may be noted, are the same as given in the *Sthānāṅga*.

Kāüssagga :

Kāyotsarga was a bodily posture in which the monk stood motionless for some period, reflecting on the transgressions he had committed, or else he meditated upon auspicious types of reflections. This was deemed essential for the proper training of the mind, with a view to develop an attitude of non-attachment for the body and its comforts.

Jhāṇa (Meditation or mental attitude):

Meditation was fourfold. It was ārta, raudra, dharma-, and śukla.[248] The first two types were considered inauspicious, while the last two auspicious.

The 'ārta dhyāna' was of four types according as it was based on ideas of taking revenge, or the yearning for non-separation from pet persons or things, or that in which a person desired that other people should also suffer (āyaṅka)—or bad thoughts under illness—, and 'nidāna' or remunerative hankering, like thoughts about enjoying sexual pleasures.

246. p. 379b; *Nāyā*. p. 81, 'devasiya paḍikkamana'.
247. 26, 35.
248. *Ṭhāṇ*. 188a; Bhag. p. 923a.

The four lakṣaṇas of ārta dhyāna were, 'kaṁdanatā' (lamenting), 'sotaṇatā' (meekness under contact with unfavourable things), 'tippaṇatā' (to be so sorry as to shed tears in illness), and 'paridevaṇatā' (to give out harsh words indicative of pain).

The 'raudra meditation' was fourfold, according as it pertained to thoughts regarding hiṁsā, untruth, theft, or the protection of worldly property.

It was distinguished by the severity of passions (osaṇṇa) or by the thoughts pertaining to injury of all kinds, or by the inclination towards hiṁsā due to ignorance of the proper tenets of religion, or by constant, lifelong thoughts about hiṁsā (āmaranaṇta).

The 'dharma-dhyāna' was also fourfold. It pertained to the proper understanding of the thoughts about proper religious conduct (āṇāvijate), or thoughts regarding calamities in this and the next world (avāya), or reflections about the result of karman (vivāga), or thoughts pertaining to the nature of the world in general.

The four lakṣaṇas of 'dharma-dhyāna' were the liking for religion, the inborn affinity for it (ṇisaggaruī), liking for the study of scriptures (sutta), or liking for contact with pious people (ogāḍharuī).

The four 'ālambaṇas' (or supports) of this kind of meditation were reading the scriptures (vāyaṇā), asking the difficulties (paḍipucchaṇā), reading the text again and again (pariyaṭṭaṇā) and reflections about it (aṇuppehā).

The four 'aṇuppehās' (reflections) concerning this dhyāna were the thoughts about the lonely nature of an individual in this world, the transitoriness of the world, the feeling of no refuge except in religion, and the reflections about the real nature of the world (saṁsārāṇuppehā).

The 'śukla dhyāna' was also fourfold. It consisted either of reflections regarding the origin, existence and destruction of various matters according to the Nayas (puhuttavitakke saviyārī), or the oneness of the soul (egattavitakke aviyārī), or the state of the stoppage of mental, vocal or physical action (? suhumakirite aṇiyaṭṭī), or the attainment of the state called 'śaileśī' in which all activity is stopped (samucchinnakiriē appaḍivātī).

The four lakṣaṇas of this dhyāna were the stability or the unperturbed state of mind inspite of alluring efforts by divine beings (avvahe), non-infatuation (asammohe), the intellectual insight into the real nature of the soul (vivega), and the attitude of non-attachment to the body or to anything else (viüssagga).

The four 'ālambaṇas' of this meditation were forgiveness (khantī), non-attachment (muttī), non-deceit (ajjava) and modesty (maddava).

The four 'aṇuppehās' of this dhyanā were as follows :

(1) *not to think that saṁsāra is eternal or that there are no chances for liberation (aṇantavattiyāṇuppehā)*

(2) such thoughts as 'everything has a change of state' (vippariṇāmāṇuppehā),

(3) to think that worldly life is inauspicious (asubhāṇuppehā), and

(4) thoughts pertaining to the nature of the kaṣāyas or passions (avāyāṇuppehā).

Samāhi (Concentration) :

For the proper practice of the auspicious types of meditation a good concentration was essential. Hence, efforts for developing such concentration[249] were to be done by the monk.

Samāhi was based either on viṇaya (modesty), or on suya (scriptural study), or on tava (penance), or on āyāra (proper conduct).

The first was revealed in listening to the instructions of the guru wholeheartedly (aṇusāsijjanto sussūsaï), grasping the rules completely (sammaṁ sampaḍivajjaï), devotedly following the scriptural injunctions (veyamārāhayaï), and in not being proud of oneself (attasampaggahië).

The second consisted in studying the texts with a view to get mastery over them (suyaṁ me bhavissaïttī ajjhāïyavvaṁ bhavaï), or with a view to develop concentration (egaggacitta), or with the intention of establishing oneself in religion (appāṇaṁ ṭhāvaïssāmi), or, lastly, to stabilise others in religion (ṭhiö paraṁ ṭhāvaïssāmi).

The tapaḥsamādhi consisted in doing penance not for any worldly aim (ihalogaṭṭhayāë), or for securing other-worldly aim, or for fame or repute (kittivaṇṇasaddasilogaṭṭhayāë). The principal aim of penance was to be the destruction of karman (nijjaraṭṭhayāë).

The 'āyārasamāhi' was the perfect carrying-out of monastic conduct not for any worldly aim, or for any other-worldly aim or for fame. The sole purpose behind it was to be the annihilation of karman.

There were supposed to be twenty causes that led to the disturbance of proper concentration. They were quick walking, not wiping the place of

249. *Dśv.* 9, IV, 3-11.

occupation or the apparatus, or wiping them badly, using big residences and seats, humiliating the elders, being inimical to the elders, killing living beings, getting angry frequently and quickly, backbiting, giving out doubtful statements, raising pacified quarrels, accepting food from the besmeared hands of the donor, not cleaning the hands and the feet after returning from easing nature, studying at odd times, creating new quarrels, studying loudly at night or using the language of the householder, bringing about a rift in the gaṇa, taking food frequently, and not properly following the rules of begging.[250]

The avoidance of these faults was essential for proper concentration and proper meditation which a monk had to practise daily.

Sajjhāya (study) :

Out of all the rest of the items of daily routine, study formed a very important article of routine in the life of the monk.

We constantly get references to various monks and nuns who had studied the eleven Aṅgas (ekkārasa aṅgāiṁ ahijjaï).[251] That there were debates between the monks of rival sects is also proved by the debate between Śuka and Sthāpatyāputra.[252] It is remarkable to note that a wide latitude was allowed to the disciples regarding asking difficulties as is attested by the question-and-answer form of the *Bhagavatī* which depicts the conversation between Mahāvīra and Goyama Indabhūï.

Proper Time for Study :

It has already been seen that the first and the fourth porisī of the day were deemed fit for study.[253]

But on some occasions study was not allowed. The following were such occasions[254] :

(1) ukkāvāte — the fall of meteors,
(2) disidāghe — when the quarters are ablaze,
(3) gajjite — when there is thunder,
(4) vijjute — when there are flashes of lightning,

250. *Smv.* p. 37b.
251. *Niryā.* p. 32; *Vivāga.* p. 80; *Nāyā.* p. 42, etc.
252. *Nāyā.* pp. 76 ff.
253. *Uttar.* 26, 12.
254. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 475b; some of these in *Ācār.* II, 1, 3, 9 (pp. 96-97) "On the appearance of a beast used in agriculture, a frog, a cat, a dog, a snake, an ichneumon, or a rat, the reading of the Veda must be intermitted for a day and a night"—PHEAR, *India According to Manu, I.A.*, Vol. IV, (1875), p. 132.

(5) nigghate — when there are thunder-roars of supernatural beings in a cloudless or cloudy sky,

(6) jūyate — when moonlight and twilight appear simultaneously,

(7) jakkhālitte — when goblin-lights appear in the sky,

(8) dhūmitā — when the sky is smoky,

(9) mahitā — when there is mist,

(10) rataügghāte — when the sky is full of dusty gale,

(11) candovarāte — eclipse of the moon,

(12) sūrovarāte — eclipse of the sun,

(13) paḍaṇe — if the king or any other prominent person dies,

and (14) rāyavuggahe — if there is warfare, or divine trouble.

Besides these occasions, the first days (pratipadā) of Āṣāḍha and Kārttika, and full-moon-days of Āśvina and Caitra, were improper days. Study before sunrise or after sunset, at mid-day or at midnight was not allowed.[255]

Ten nakṣatras were said to be conducive to the increase of knowledge. They were, migasira, addā, pussa, the three puvvā nakṣatras, mūla, assesā, hattha and cittā.[256]

The Place of Study:

The place of study was called nisīhiyā.[257] It was to be devoid of living beings, eggs and cobwebs.[258] Besides these, such places where there were pieces of bones (aṭṭhi), or of flesh (maṁsa), or blood (soṇite) or any such other impurities (asutisāmante), or the place which was close to the funeral ground (susāṇasāmante),[259]—all these were unfit for study.

The Method of Study:

Generally the upādhyāya or the elderly monk (thera)[260] gave instructions to the younger monks. They sat before him at a respectable distance.[261]

255. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 213b.
256. *Ibid.*, 525b.
257. *Ācār*. II, 9 (p. 179).
258. *Ibid.*, II, 2, 1, 1 (p. 120).
259. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 475b-476a.
260. "Therāṇaṁ antiē ... ahijjaï' *Anttr*. p. 63.
261. *Ācār*. II, 9, 2 (p. 180).

The main items of study were recital of the sacred texts (vāyaṇā), questioning about the difficulties (pucchaṇā), repetition of the text (pariyaṭṭaṇā), thinking over it (aṇuppehā), and indulging in religious discourses (dhammakahā).[262]

For five reasons the sacred texts were to be read:

(1) to equip the students with scriptural knowledge,

(2) to increase students or followers,

(3) for the dissipation of karman (nijjarā),

(4) for the clear knowledge of the culture and traditions (?),

and (5) to save the knowledge of the texts from extinction (avocchittinayaṭṭhayāte).[263]

For five reasons, sūtra was to be taught:

(1) for the sake of knowledge (ṇāṇa),

(2) for the sake of faith (daṁsaṇa),

(3) for good conduct (caritta),

(4) in order to free others from mithyātva (wrong belief),

and (5) in order to expose the real nature of things.[264]

The *Sthānāṅga* refers to six types of debates (vivāya),[265] ten ways of exposition of a sūtra,[266] and the *Samavāyāṅga*[267] refers to the eighteen livīs (scripts) and seventy-two arts. It may, however, be remarked that the latter were more of a popular nature, and the monk was not concerned with these. Therefore, many of the popular sciences like reading of dreams (sumiṇa), the science of planets (bhauma), magic spells and witchcrafts (manta and vijjā), the science of interpreting the throbbing of the limbs (aṅga) physiognomy or reading the marks on the body etc., were called as 'pāpaśruta' or sinful sciences, and hence deemed unfit for the monk.[268]

Relations of The Guru-Śiṣya:

The relations between the teacher and the taught were to be cordial and modest. To maintain such relations, therefore, those who were immodest (avinīta), attached to forbidden food or to dainty dishes (vikṛtipratibaddha),

262. *Uttar.* 30, 34; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 349a; *Nāyā.* p. 34.
263. This is not clear.
264. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 350b.
265. *Ibid.*, p. 364b.
266. *Ibid.*, p. 481a.
267. Also referred to by WEBER in *I.A.*, Vol. 18, pp. 372-73.
268. *Smv.* p. 49a.

those who were not of a calm nature (avyavasita),[269] those who were wicked by nature (duṣṭa), dullards (mūḍha), and firm in heretical belief (vuggāhiya)[270] were deemed unfit to be students.

For the proper guidance the śiṣya as well as the guru were to be of pure tendencies. A disciple without a guru was like a needle without the thread which was likely to be lost easily.[271] The obligations of the guru could be repaid by bringing him on the right path if he went astray.[272]

A good disciple was expected to show implicit faith in and respect to the ācārya. He was, therefore, not to sit too close, or at the back, or at the sides, or in front of the guru, but was to sit at a distance from him.[273] He was not to speak unasked, or to interrupt the sermon of the guru, or indulge in back-biting (piṭṭhimaṁsaṁ na khāëjjā). He was not to laugh at the faltering or the slip of the tongue of the learned superior.[274] Showing contempt to the guru out of pride, anger, deceit or mistake, taking the ācārya to be raw and dull, and remain sitting while he was speaking to the disciple, were deemed as acts of an unworthy disciple.[275] Along with these, going ahead of the teacher, or along with him, eating good food without showing it to the ācārya, saying, 'Do you not remember?' while the ācārya was giving a sermon, breaking the assembly to which the guru was lecturing by saying, 'it is time for begging now', kicking the bed of the guru or sitting upon it, or occupying a higher seat than that of the guru, and not answering the calls of the superior at night,—all these were qualities of an unfit novice.[276]

Bad company led to the development of bad tendencies. Hence the monk was disallowed to go to the place of study along with the heretics, householders and with such monks as were not careful about food.[277] Devoid of such contacts, the novice developed modesty and faith, and he always honoured the guru by bowing him with folded hands and begging his pardon in case a transgression was done.[278]

This observance, it may be noted, was not onesided. The guru had also to see that his student was not going astray. In cases of illness, the

269. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 165b.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 165b: *Comm.* p. 166a.
271 *Uttar*, 29, 59.
272. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 118a.
273. *Uttar.* 1, 18.
274. *Dśv.* 8, 44-50; *Uttar.* 1, 40-41.
275. *Dśv.* 9, i, 1-2; 9, ii, 20; *Uttar.* 1, 20-21.
276. *Smv.* p. 59ab.
277. *Ācār.* II, 1, 1, 8 (p. 90).
278. *Dśv.* 9, i, 12; 9, ii, 17-20.

ācārya took fatherly care of his student. Thus both of them were bound to one another by ties of obedience and affection.

The Āvaśyakas:

Besides these, other items referred to are the six essential duties. It may, however, be noted that the Aṅga texts do not give details about it, and they are to be found in the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, which belongs to the Mūlasūtra category.

These six āvaśyakas[279] were:

(1) sāmāyika—moral and mental equanimity of mind,

(2) caturviṁśatistava—offering prayers to twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras,

(3) vandanā—paying respect to the superiors,

(4) pratikramaṇa—condemnation of transgressions,

(5) kāyotsarga—motionless posture of and non-attachment for the body,

and (6) pratyākhyāna—self-denial.

Thus the whole day of the monk was spent in various duties which were of a rigorous nature and no possibility was afforded to him to go astray if he led his daily routine in a normal manner.

PENANCE AND FASTING:

Penance mainly consisted of fasts of various magnitudes. It was divided into two main types.

One of these types was called external (bāhira) penance, and the other internal (abbhintara). These were further divided, each into six subdivisions, which were as follows.[280]

(a) *External Penance*:

(1) aṇasaṇa—fasting,

(2) ūṇoyariyā—eating less than the normal,

(3) bhikkhāyariyā—begging food (in a peculiar way),

(4) rasapariccāya—giving up dainty food,

(5) kāyakilesa—mortifying the body,

279. *Uttar.* 26, 2-4; 29, 8-13.
280. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 364b; *Smv.* 11b; *Uttar.* 28, 34; 30, 8. *Bhag.* 292a, 921a.

and (6) saṁlīṇayā—control over the senses, or using a lonely place of stay, devoid of women, eunuchs and animals.

'Aṇasaṇa' was either temporary (itvara), or that ending in death. The former consisted of fasts either upto the fourth (caüttha, i.e., one day's fast), or sixth (chaṭṭha i.e., two days' fast), or eighth (aṭṭhama), or tenth (dasama), or twelfth (duvālasa) meal etc., or the fast for six months (chammāsa).[281]

'Ūṇoyariyā' consisted of refraining from all sorts of spicy food as also from eating more than 32 morsels each of the size of the hen's egg. Eating less than the normal or one's fill was the motto.

'Bhikkhāyariyā'—It consisted of imposing certain restrictions upon oneself regarding the mode of begging, or the nature of the donor, or the quality of food, or the way in which food was offered.

'Rasapariccāga'—Giving up spicy food, or things like milk etc., (kshīrādayastatparityāgo).

'Kāyakilesa'—It consisted of the practice of various bodily postures like 'ṭhāṇātite' (kāyotsarga), 'ukkuḍuyāsaṇite' (sitting in a squatting position), 'vīrāsaṇite' (sitting as if one is occupying a chair), 'ṇesajjite' (sitting in a way in which the soles and the buttocks touch the ground), 'daṇḍātite' (lying like the staff), 'laṅgaḍasātī' (lying without letting the back touch the ground), 'godohitā' (sitting as when milching the cow), 'palitaṅkā' (sitting in a padmāsana posture), 'addhapalitaṅkā' (placing one foot on the thigh), and standing facing the sun with arms held up.[282]

'Saṁlīṇayā'—Living with perfect self-control in a pure and lonely residence, which is in all likelihood devoid of any temptations.

The internal penance was as follows:

(1) pāyacchitta—punishment for transgressions,

(2) viṇaya—modesty,

(3) veāvacca—service to others.

281. *Stkṛ*. 1, 2, 1, 14 (p. 251); 2, 2, 72 (p. 379).

282. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 300b, 397b; *Stkṛ*. (transl.) pp. 251, 397; *Bhag*. 367a, 433a; *Dśv*. 3, 12; *Nāyā*. pp. 42, 146, 163, 173, 199.

(4) sajjhāya—study,

(5) jhāṇa—meditation,

and (6) viüssagga—indifference or non-attachment to the body.

'Pāyacchitta' was tenfold, consisting of āloyaṇā, paḍikkamaṇa, tadubhaya, vivega, viüssagga, tava, cheya, mūla, aṇavaṭṭhappā, and pārañciyā. All these have been explained elsewhere.

'Viṇaya' consisted of perfect self-control, and purifying the mind by means of proper knowledge etc.

'Veāvacca' made it compulsory for the monk to wait upon and go to the help of the āyariya, uvajjhāya, thera, tavassī, gilāṇa, seha, sāhammiya, kula, gaṇa and the saṅgha.

'Sajjhāya'—study.
'Jhāṇa'—Meditation.

'Viüssagga'—It consisted either of giving up food, or the care of the body, or the four passions.

Fasting:

Out of all these, it may be noted, fasting had a prominent place in the life of the monk. Various instances are referred to of persons who were "emaciated like the joint of a crow's leg and covered with a network of veins".[283]

Besides restricting oneself to the articles begged (dravya), or to the place (kṣetra), or time (kāla), or the mental state (bhāva),[284] various fasts of different magnitude were practised either in the form of a line (seḍhitava), or a square (paryāyatava), or a cube (ghana).[285] No deceit in the practice of these was allowed,[286] and the monks were disallowed to undertake improper types of penance without knowing full well the effects of these (bālatava).[287]

283. *Uttar.* 2, 3; Mṛgāputra, Harikeśa Bala and Jayaghoṣa fasted for a month: *Ibid.* 12, 35; 19, 25; 25, 5; Fasting of Mahāvīra: *Ācār.* II, 15, 22 (p. 199); I, 8, 4, 4 and 7 (p. 86) etc.

284. *Uttar.* 30, 14-24.

285. *Ibid.*, 30, 10-11.

286. *Dśv.* 5, ii, 46-49.

287. *Bhag.* p. 164a.

Proper Diet:

The following system prevailed in the case of those who did shorter fasts throughout their life:[288]

Fast	No. of Liquids allowed	Explanation
Caüttha	3	1. Ussetime[289]—water used in fermenting wheat etc. (?). 2. Saṁsetime—wash of vegetables. 3. Cāüladhovaṇe—wash of rice.
Chaṭṭha	3	1. Tilodaë—wash of sesamum. 2. Tusodaë—wash of chaff. 3. Javodaë—wash of barley.
Aṭṭhama	3	1. Āyāmate—rice-liquid. 2. Sovīrate—Gruel. 3. Suddhaviyaḍe—Boiled water.

Proper Places:

The proper places for the performance of fasting and religious postures were to be such as were free from eggs, living beings, women, children, beasts, or householders; also those which did not contain fire or water; places like the playground, etc.,—in short, such as were not likely to distract the mind or were not the favourite places for worldly activities.[290]

The Paḍimās:

The pratimās were long-term practices of bodily mortification which were based on fasting, meditation and peculiar bodily postures.

The following pratimās are mentioned in the Aṅga texts:[291]

(1) Bhaddā,

(2) Subhaddā,

(3) Mahābhaddā,

(4) Savvaöbhaddā,

(5) Bhadduttarā,

(6) Javamajjhā } Candapaḍimā,

(7) Vaïramajjhā }

288. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 147a.
289. Liberty is not taken with the 'ta-śruti' which occurs in many canonical texts.
290. *Ācār.* II, 2, 1 ff. (pp. 120 ff). *Uttar.* 32, 4.
291. *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 64b, 195a, 292a, 385b, 453a, 518b, etc., *Smv.* 21b, 96a; *Bhag.* 123ab.

(8) Moyapaḍimā — (a) Kuḍḍiyā
(b) Mahalliyā

(9) The twelve Bhikkhu paḍimās: māsiyā, domāsiyā, ti°, caü°, pañca°, cha°, satta°, paḍhamā sattarāïndiyā, doccā satto°, taccā satta°, ahorāïyā, and egarāïyā.

(10) Sattasattamiyā, Aṭṭhaṭṭhamiyā, Navanavamiyā, Dasadasāmiyā.

(1) Bhaddā—It consisted of the practice of kāyotsarga for four praharas facing every direction. It was thus completed in two days and two nights.

(2) Subhaddā—The commentator is unable to explain this, and he remarks 'adṛṣṭatvena tu noktā'.

(3) Mahābhaddā—Practising kāyotsarga for a day and a night facing each of the four directions. It was completed in four days and four nights.

(4) Savvaöbhaddā—Practising kāyotsarga for a day and a night facing each of the ten quarters. It was finished in ten days and ten nights.

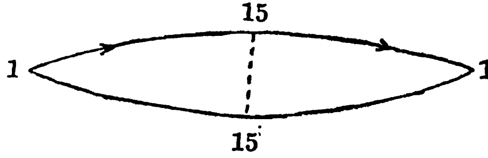
(5) Moyapaḍimā—It was either lesser (khuḍḍiyā) or greater (mahalliyā). It pertained to bodily excreta or dirt (praśravaṇaviṣayā), and was practised outside the village either in autumn or in summer. If a monk started it after taking food, then he had to perform a fast upto the fourteenth meal (caturdaśabhaktena samāpyate). If he started it without taking meals, then it was completed by a fast upto the sixteenth meal. This was the practice adopted in the lesser type of moya.

The greater moyapaḍimā resembled the lesser one in all details except that the monk made a fast upto the sixteenth meal if he started it after taking his meals. Otherwise, he made a fast upto the eighteenth meal.

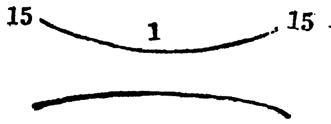
(6) Candapaḍimā—In this, the monk either increased or decreased the number of morsels of food according to the increasing or decreasing digits of the moon. It was of two types: Javamajjhā and Vaïramajjhā.

The former was that in which the monk took only one morsel of food on the first day of the bright fortnight, and went on increasing the morsels so that he took fifteen morsels on the full moon day. Then taking the same number of morsels on the first day of the dark fortnight, he decreased the number by one morsel every day, and took only one morsel on the new moon day. Thus it resembled the following figure:

The vaïramajjhā was quite the reverse of the previous one. In this, the monk took fifteen morsels on the first day of the dark fortnight and went on decreasing the number so that he took only one horsel on the new moon day. Then taking the same quantity on the next day, he increased it, and ate fifteen morsels on the full-moon day. It was, therefore, like the following figure:[292]



Javamajjhā



Vaïramajjhā

Another way of practising these pratimās was the carrying out of fasts of various magnitudes in a particular period. According to this method the following pratimās were carried out in the following way:[293]

Savvaöbhaddā:

(a) Khuḍḍiyā—Fasting: 1st to 5th meal complete in: 75 days.

1	2	3	4	5
3	4	5	1	2
5	1	2	3	4
2	3	4	5	1
4	5	1	2	3

Arrangement of fasts.

(b) Mahalliyā—1st to 7th meal : 96 days.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	5	6	7	1	2	3
7	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	4	5	6	7	1	2
6	7	1	2	3	4	5
2	3	4	5	6	7	1
5	6	7	1	2	3	4

Arrangement of fasts.

292. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 65b.

293. *Ibid.*, pp. 293ab.

Bhaddottarā:

	Fasting	Period
(a)	Khuḍḍā—5th to 9th	175 days

5	6	7	8	9
7	8	9	5	6
9	5	6	7	8
6	7	8	9	5
8	9	5	6	7

Arrangement of fasts.

(b) Mahatī—5th to 11th meal: 392 days.

5	6	7	8	9	10	11
8	9	10	11	5	6	7
11	5	6	7	8	9	10
7	8	9	10	11	5	6
10	11	5	6	7	8	9
6	7	8	9	10	11	5
9	10	11	5	6	7	8

Arrangement of fasts.

The Twelve Bhikkhu Paḍimās:

(1) Māsikī

(a) Period—one month;

(b) Food—one datti of food and one of drink;

(c) Begging Time—either in the first, middle or the last porisī, but never twice a day;

(d) Mode of Begging—according as chosen by oneself; not the normal one;

(e) Mode of Life—complete control over the senses and putting up with bodily troubles.

(2-7) Domāsiyā upto Sattamāsiyā:

In the practice of these pratimās, the period of the previous pratimā was taken into consideration, and the number of the dattis of food and drink increased by one each, and in the 'sattamāsiyā paḍimā,' the monk took seven dattis of food and seven of drink. This set of the first seven pratimās was completed in seven months.

(8) Paḍhamā Sattarāïndiyā :

(a) Period—one week;

(b) Food—one datti of food and one of drink;

(c) Place—outside the village;

(d) Postures—'uttānāsana' (facing the sun), 'pārśvāsana' (lying on one side), 'niṣadyāsana' (sitting with closed legs).

(9) Doccā Sattarāïndiyā :

It was the same as above in period—i.e., the week of the previous sattarāïndiyā was counted. In this, the monk took two dattis of food and two of drink. Bodily postures were the 'daṇḍāsana' (lying straight like the staff), 'lakuṭāsana' (hands and feet touching the ground but the rest of the body above it), 'utkuṭukāsana' (sitting in a squatting position).

(10) The Taccā Sattarāïndiyā :

Period was the same as above, but the āsanas were the 'godohanikāsana', vīrāsana, 'āmrakubjāsana' (remaining in a curved position like the mango).

(11) The Eleventh Pratimā:

Lasted for a night and a day.

(12) The Twelfth Pratimā:

It lasted only for a night.

The Precautions:

In carrying out these pratimās, the monk had to choose a suitable place free from living beings or a crowd of people. Such places were the 'āgamagiha' (halls and water-places: *comm*: 'sabhāprapādi') 'viyaḍagiha' (open houses) and 'rukkhamūlagiha' (places under the tree). He was also allowed to do these in a secluded region in the monastery.[294]

294. *Ibid.*, 157a; *Antg.* mentions the burial ground (susāṇa) as the place for egarāïyā paḍimā: p. 18.

The practice of the pratimās was to be done with perfect care. Any mistake in the last pratimā was said to lead to long illness or hysteria.[295]

The monk intending to practise the pratimās separated himself from the other members of his group (egallavihāra). He could speak with them only on four occasions, to wit, to ask for something (yācaṇī), to ask the proper road (pucchaṇī), to give consent to something (aṇuṇṇavaṇī), and to give reply to a question (puṭṭhassa vāgaraṇī).[296]

Total Period:

As the period of the previous pratimā was taken into consideration when practising the next one, the whole group of twelve pratimās was finished in seven months, three weeks, one day (i.e., night and day), and one night.

Other Paḍimās:

Besides these, there were four other paḍimās. They were:

Name	Period	No. of alms	No. of dattis
Sattasattamiyā	49 days	196	One on first day and seven (each of drink and food), on the seventh day. The same procedure for 7 weeks.
Aṭṭhaṭṭhamiyā	64 days	288	One to eight.
Navanavamiyā	81 days	405	One to nine.
Dasadasamiyā	100 days	550	One to ten.

Major Fasts:

There are mentioned a number of fasts of various designations which were as follows:

(a) *Āyambilavaḍḍhamāṇa* :

This was a penance in which a single āyambila food was taken once a day. Āyambila meant pure food like boiled rice which was not mixed with anything else. The āyambila was followed by a caüttha fast, then the monk took two āyambila meals, then again the caüttha and so on, till he attained the hundredth āyambila meal. The whole penance was completed in fourteen years, three months and twenty days.[297]

295. *Ṭhāṇ*. p. 147b.
296. *Ibid.*, p. 183b.
297. *Antg.* p. 52.

(b) *Guṇarayaṇa*:

It was a penance in which various fasts were done as given in the following order:[298]

Month		Magnitude of the fast	Bodily posture
1st	. . . . .	4th fast	At day, looking at the sun with a squatting posture; at night, vīrāsana.
2nd	. . . . .	6th fast	
3rd	. . . . .	8th fast	
4th	. . . . .	10th fast	
5th	. . . . .	12th fast	
6th	. . . . .	14th fast	
7th	. . . . .	16th fast	
8th	. . . . .	18th fast	
9th	. . . . .	20th fast	
10th	. . . . .	22nd fast	
11th	. . . . .	24th fast	
12fth	. . . . .	26th fast	
13th	. . . . .	28th fast	
14th	. . . . .	30th fast	
15th	. . . . .	32nd fast	
16th	. . . . .	34th fast	(i.e., fast upto the 34th meal).

(c) *Kaṇagāvalī*:

It was similar to the 'Rayaṇāvalī' given below, with the difference that this penance replaced the sixth fast with the eighth. The total period required for completing it was five years, nine months and eighteen days.[299]

(d) *Muttāvalī*:

This consisted "of a series of fasts from fourth upto thirty-fourth, but from a fast until sixth meal, there (was) an intervening caüttha in each case." The total duration was three years and ten months.[300]

298. *Bhag.* pp. 123b-125b; *Antg.* p. 31; *Nāyā.* p. 42; *Anttr.* p. 58.
299. *Antg.* p. 47.
300. *Ibid.*, p. 52: See Edition by P. L. Vaidya, Notes, p. 154.

(e) *Rayaṇāvalī* :

This penance contained four series (parivāḍī). The breaking of the fast in the first series was done by accepting all flavours (savvakāmaguṇiyaṁ); in the second, the monk was allowed to do so with food devoid of ghee etc., (vigaïvajjaṁ) ; in the third, food without articles like gram etc., (alevāḍaṁ); in the fourth, he broke the fast with āyambila (i.e., simple, unmixed, boiled rice).

All the four series were completed in five years, two months and twenty-eight days.[301]

(f) *Savvaöbhadda* :

(i) *Khuḍḍāga (Lesser)*

It had also four series, each requiring hundred days to finish. The four series were completed in one year, one month and ten days.

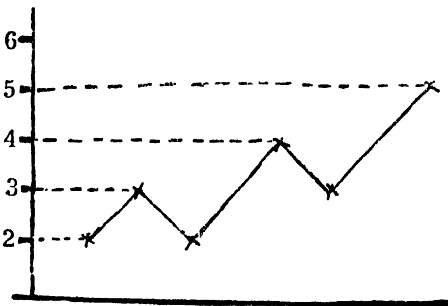
1	2	3	4	5
3	4	5	1	2
5	1	2	3	4
2	3	4	5	1
4	5	1	2	3

Arrangement of fasts.

(ii) *Mahālayaṁ (Greater)* :

It was similar to the previous one but was more extensive (1-7). The whole, consisting of four series, required two years, eight months and twenty days to complete.[302]

(g) *Sīhanikkīliya* :



The name of this penance was said to resemble the mode of walking of a lion. It is characteristic of the lion that he looks back often while going ahead. (Hence the term 'Siṁhāvalokana'). In the same way, the monk practising this penance, undertook the practice of the previous fast again, before undertaking a fast of the next higher magnitude: for instance, 2, 3, 2, 4, 3, 5, and so on.

301. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
302. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

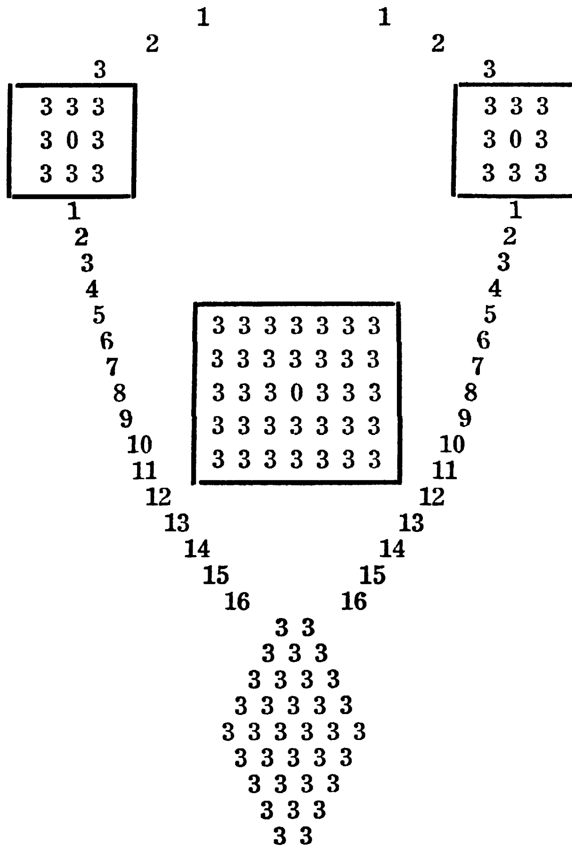
(i) *Greater* :

In this series the fasts were from one to seventeen. The period required for one series was one year, six months and eighteen days. The whole was completed in six years, two months and twelve days.

(ii) *Lesser* :

The fasts were restricted to the magnitude of two to ten. The whole was completed in two years and twenty-eight days.[303]

The Kaṇagāvalī :



SUPERNATURAL POWERS :

The monks were forbidden to make use of supernatural powers, or to indulge in the practice of popular sciences based on omens and superstitions.

303. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* lays down the following practices as unworthy of monkhood :

"Interpretation of the marks of women, men, elephants, cows, patridges, cocks, ducks, quails, of wheels, parasols, jewels; the art to make one happy or miserable, to make a woman pregnant, to deprive one of his wits; incantations, conjuring; oblations of substances; the martial acts; the course of the moon, sun, venus and jupiter; the falling of the meteors; great conflagration; divination from wild animals, the flight of crows, showers or dust, rain of blood, the vaitālī and ardhavaitālī arts, the art of casting people asleep, of opening doors, the art of Cāṇḍālas, Śabaras, Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Gāndhāras; the spells for making somebody fall down, rise, yawn, for making him immovable, or cling to something; for making him sick, or sound; for making somebody go forth, disappear (or come).[304]

The above view is supported by the *Uttarādhyayana*[305] also when it forbids the use of spells, roots, fortune-telling and superstitious rites in monk life.

Inspite of this, however, it seems that in a society which was full of such practices, monks could hardly remain aloof from these. This may be proved from the references to the leśyās. The *Bhagavatī* refers to Gosāla who was well-versed in the science of omens and who could foretell the prosperity or otherwise of the people.[306] That Mahāvīra himself knew the tejoleśyā (power to burn others which is the result of penance), is evident from the incident in which he saved Gosāla when the latter teased a certain ascetic Vesiyāyaṇa who tried to burn him.

It was said that if one accepted the kummāsapiṇḍa for a period of six months, and practised during that period fasts upto the sixth meal and exerted himself by standing facing the sun with arms held aloft, then one could acquire tejoleśyā.[307] The *Sthānāṅga*[308] however, describes three ways of acquiring this power : by mortifying the body (āyāvaṇatāte), by restraint of anger (khantikhamāte), and by fasting without taking water (apāṇageṇaṁ tavokammeṇaṁ).

Besides this, the threefold transformation of the physical body 'viüvvaṇā),[309] the jakkhāvesa[310] (being possessed by the supernatural beings like

304. *Stkṛ.* 2, 2, 27 (p. 366).
305. 8, 13; 15, 7-8; 17. 18; 20, 45.
306. Chapt. 15, also *Nāyā.* p. 1 'saṅkhittaviülateüllese'.
307. *Bhag.* p. 666b; Gosāla burnt Mahāvīra's two disciples, *Ibid.*, pp. 678a, 687b.
308. p. 147b.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 104b.
310. *Ibid.*, p. 47b; *Bhag.* pp. 190a.

the yakṣa), flying up into the air,[311] and similar *other practices are also referred to. An element of legendary supernaturalism and popular superstition can be detected in the thirty-four excellences* (aïsesa) of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the interpretation of the ten great dreams of Mahāvīra.[312]

It may also be noted that the three out of the five kinds of knowledge (nāṇa), endowed the monk with superhuman powers. The 'ohināṇa' endowed him with clairvoyance, the 'manaḥparyāya' with thought-reading and the 'kevala' made him omniscient.[313]

The acquisition of such and other supernatural powers was termed labdhis.[314]

DEATH :

The monk always yearned to escape from the cycle of births and rebirths, and the sooner he reached the end of worldly existence the more he was glad. The whole outlook of life being that of non-attachment, the monk put the body to the rigour of mortificatory practices, sustaining it so far as it served his purpose of a religious life: in fact, he was more particular about minor living beings than himself. That is why CHARPENTIER remarks that Mahāvīra "seems in reality often to care much more for the security of animals and plants than for that of human beings".[315] A monk took recourse to voluntary death with the permission of his teachers when he found that he could no more sustain his body.

Various forms of death are to be found in the Aṅgas. They are as follows :

(a) *Bhaktapratyākhyāna* :

It consisted of total abstinence from food and drink. In this form of death, the monk scanned a proper place free from living beings either in a village or in a forest. Then he spread the bed of straw over it and, by giving up food and drink, he put up bravely with all the pangs of the body, at the same time keeping his mind free from worldly thoughts. Even though insects, mosquitoes and ants bit him, he lay down quietly. He was not allowed to

311. *Ibid.*, pp. 793-94 ref. to Vijjācāraṇas and Jaṅghācāraṇas who could fly up in the air. The former power could be acquired by fasting upto the 6th meal incessantly, and the latter by fasting upto the 8th.

312. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 60ab, 499ab; *Bhag.* 710ab.

313. *Smv.* 66a, 73b, 145b, etc.; *Rāya.*, p. 30; *Antg.*, p. 25; *Vivāga.*, pp. 6, 17, 25, 77; 78; *Niryā.* pp. 3, 35 etc.; *Nāyā.* p. 44 where Mahāvīra knows the thoughts of Mehakumāra; Seeing things in another city: *Bhag.* pp. 191-92.

314. *Ibid.*, pp. 348ab.

315. *CHI.*, Vol. 1, p. 162.

move his limbs under any circumstances. Thus, "after the āsravas have ceased, he should bear (pains) as if he rejoiced in them. When the bonds fall off, then he has accomplished his life".[316]

(b) *Iṅgitamaraṇa* :

In this form of death, the monk did not lie on a bed of grass, but on a bare piece of ground free from living beings. Moreover, he was allowed to make movements of his limbs only according to the rules of 'samitis' and 'guptis.' He was allowed to walk when he was tired of lying, sitting or standing. But, he did all these activities without taking food with the noble intention of meeting such an 'uncommon death'.[317]

(c) *Pāövagamaṇa* :

This consisted in standing motionless like a tree without any food till death overtook the monk. On a place free from the living beings, he stood bearing the pangs of hunger or thirst.[318]

(d) *Saṁlehaṇā* :

The *Uttarādhyayana*[319] refers to 'sakāma' or the wise man's death (paṇḍita-maraṇa) as it was met with one's will for it. Death against one's will (akāma) was that of an ignorant man (bāla). The former consisted of the three types described above.[320]

Besides these, there was a mode of death going under the name 'saṁlehaṇā'. This was quite a planned scheme of mortification as a prelude to fast unto death.

The maximum period of mortification was twelve years, the average one year and the minimum of six months.

The period of twelve years was subdivided into various periods. In the first four years the monk abstained from dainties (vigaï-nijjūhaṇaṁ kare). In the second phase of four years, he practised various kinds (vicitta) of fasts. In the ninth and the tenth year, he ate 'ācāmla' at the end of every second fast (egantaramāyāmaṁ). In the first half of the eleventh year, he

316. *Ācār.* I, 7, 8, 7-10 (p. 75-76) ; The following order is given in the *Nāyā.* pp. 164-65, and the *Bhag.* p. 321a—(1) Scanning the place, (2) Spreading the grass bed, (3) Facing the east, (4) Salute to the Arhat, (5) Decision to give up food.

317. *Ācār.* I, 7, 8, 11-18 (pp. 76-77).

318. *Ibid.*, I, 7, 8, 19-23 (p. 77). On the rendering of the Prākṛt term 'pāövagamaṇa' as 'pādapopagamana' by commentators, JACOBI (*Ibid.* p. 77, f.n. 1) remarks, "This etymology, which is generally adopted by the Jainas, is evidently wrong; for the Sanskrit prototype is the Brāhmanical prāyopagamana"; *Nāyā.* pp. 44-45; *Bhag.* p. 126b, 685a.

319. 5, 2-3; also *Bhag.* p. 118a, 624ab; *Ṭhāṇ.* 93b, 175a; *Stkr.* 2, 7, 18 (p. 429).

320. *Ibid.*, 5, 32.

did not practise very long fasts (nāïvigiṭṭhaṁ), while in the latter half of the same year he practised severe fasts (vigiṭṭha tava). During the whole of the eleventh year, however, he maintained himself only on a measured quantity of 'ācāmla'. In the last, i.e. the twelfth year, the monk either fasted for a day and then took 'ācāmla' on the next day, or abstained from 'ācāmla' even on the second day, and broke his fast only after a fortnight or a month. Thus he went on till his death.[321]

Improper Types of Death:

A number of other types of death are referred to in the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga*. The former[322] cites as many as twelve kinds of death condemned by Mahāvīra and hence unfit for ideal monks. These forms were:

(1) valāyamaraṇa — death by falling a prey to the parīsahas and thus going astray, (saṁyamānnivartamānānāṁ pariṣahādibādhitatvāt maraṇaṁ);

(2) vasaṭṭamaraṇa — death by going under the influence of the sense-organs (indriyāṇāṁ adhīnatāṁ .... gatānāṁ .... maraṇaṁ);[323]

(3) niyāṇamaraṇa — death[324] with the desire of achieving some worldly aim in the next birth (ṛddhibhogādiprārthanānidānaṁ, tatpūrvakaṁ maraṇaṁ);

(4) tabbhavamaraṇa — that death at the time of which the person does a karman due to which he gets the same rebirth;

(5) giripaḍaṇa — fall from a mountain;

(6) tarupaḍaṇa — jumping from a tree;

(7) jalappavesa — drowning oneself;

(8) jalaṇappavesa — entering fire;

(9) visabhakkhaṇa — eating poison;

(10) satthovāḍaṇe — stabbing oneself to death;

(11) vehāṇasa — death by hanging; and

(12) giddhapaṭṭhe — exposing oneself to the vultures, etc.

321. *Uttar.* 36, 249-54; See *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* pp. 95ab, 96a; *Nāyā.* pp. 46, 157, 200.

322. pp. 93b, 94ab; some of these in *Ācār.* II, 10, 13 (p. 182): In Brāhmanism also the penitents who have attained the highest state of asceticism are recommended starvation: *Āpastaṁba Dharmasūtra* (*SBE*, Vol. 2, pp. 154, 156) quoted by BÜHLER, *Indian Sect. of the Jainas*, p. 16, f.n. 5; See also *Uttar.* 36, 266; *Nāyā.* p. 171.

323. *Ibid.*, p. 206; See also *Bhag.*, pp. 624a ff. p. 118b.

324. *Nāyā.* p. 174.

It may be noted, that the last two were permitted only on rare occasions under which one found it hard to maintain one's celibacy (śīlarakṣaṇādau).

The same text says that Mahāvīra had laid down only two forms of death as proper for the monks. They were the 'bhattapaccakkhāṇa' and the 'pāövagamaṇa.' Both these were divided into 'ṇīhārima' and 'aṇīhārima.' The former denoted death in a place of habitation, while the latter in a cave etc., (girikandarādau).

Another classification[325] was threefold: the 'bālamaraṇa', 'paṇḍiyamaraṇa' and 'bālapaṇḍiyamaraṇa.' The first was the death of the fool, i.e., one who was not self-controlled; the second that of an enlightened and self-controlled person, and the last that of the partially controlled (saṁyatāsaṁyata). These three were subdivided each into three types according as the leśyās (soul-tints) were in an impure state (ṭhita), or were not working out a bad effect (asaṅkiliṭṭha), or were undergoing purification (appajjavajātalese).

The same list is continued in the *Samavāyāṅga*[326] which gives as many as seventeen types of death. Besides the above types, the following kinds of death are mentioned:

(1) avīi (frequent death),

(2) āyantiya[327]

(3) ohi-maraṇa

(4) antosalla maraṇa (death with an inner dart of sin unconfessed),

(5) kevali-maraṇa (death of an omniscient one),

and (6) chaümattha-maraṇa (death of a person devoid of omniscience).

It may be noted here that such division was perhaps not based on a scientific basis as it could be increased on any scale by including many other types of death in it.

Peculiar enough, the texts do not mention the funeral rites of the monk anywhere in detail. Instead of that, they merely give examples of different persons who met death by the approved modes of death for a Jaina monk.[328]

325. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 175a.
326. p. 33a.
327. Not clear.
328. Mahāvīra's parents died by fasting unto death: *Ācār.* II, 15, 16 (p. 194); Meha does pāövagamaṇa: *Nāyā.* pp. 44-46; Mallī, *Ibid.* p. 120; khaṇḍaga: fast unto death: *Bhag.* pp. 126b. The oft-used phrase is:
'apacchimamāraṇantitasaṁlehaṇājhūsaṇajhūsite
bhattapāṇapaḍiyākkhitte pāövagate'—*Ṭhāṇ.* 171a.
On the death of Meha, other monks performed kāyotsarga and took his requisites to the guru. It is not stated how the body was disposed of.—*Nāyā.* pp. 45, 165.

Moral Discipline and Self-Control:

The fundamental vows which formed the very basis of monk life were a group of five vows (mahavvaya) which were as follows:

(a) *Savvāö pāṇāïvāyāö veramaṇaṁ*

Abstaining from injury to living beings, either small (suhuma) or great (bāyara), mobile (tasa) or immobile (thāvara).

For the perfect practice of this vow, the monk had to take precautions pertaining to his movement (iriyā samite), mental thoughts (maṇaṁ parijāṇaï), speech (vaïṃ), deposition of his requisites (āyāṇabhaṇḍanikkhevaṇāsamite), and inspection of his food and drink (āloïyapāṇabhoyaṇabhoï).

(b) *Savvāö musāvāyāö veramaṇaṁ:*

The renunciation of all types of lies either in anger, greed, fear or in jest (hāsā).

This was properly followed by speaking after deliberation (aṇu viï bhāsī), knowing and giving up anger, greed, fear and mirth.

(c) *Savvāö adinnādāṇāö veramaṇaṁ:*

Giving up stealing (lit., that which is not given), of any article at any place.

This was properly carried out by restricting to limited alms (aṇuviï miöggahajāī), asking the permission of the superior before consuming food or drink (aṇunnaviya pāṇabhoyaṇabhoï), taking possession of a part of a ground for a fixed period (ettāvatāva oggahaṇisīlaë), renewing the permission after the period of the previous one had elapsed (abhikkhaṇaṁ abhikkhaṇaṁ oggahaṇasīlaë), and begging for a limited ground for one's co-religionists (mitoggahajātī ..... sāhammiësu).

(d) *Savvāö mehuṇāö veramaṇaṁ:*

Abstaining from sexual intercourse either with divine beings, human beings or with lower animals.

It was properly followed by not discussing matters concerning women (itthīṇaṁ kahaṁkahaïttaë), not contemplating over forms of women (itthīṇaṁ ... indiyāiṁ), not recalling to mind former sexual pleasures (puvvarayāiṁ puvvakīliyāiṁ sumarittaë), not drinking or eating too much, or taking spicy dishes (atimattapāṇabhoyaṇabhoī ..... paṇīyarasabhoyaṇabhoï), and by not accepting a bed used by women, animals and eunuchs (itthīpasupaṇḍagasaṁsattiṁ sayaṇāsaṇāïṁ sevittaë).

(e) *Savvāö pariggahāö veramaṇaṁ:*

The renunciation of all possession and attachment, little or much, small or great, pertaining to either living beings or to lifeless things.

This vow was properly followed when the monk refrained from enjoying the pleasures of hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and feeling.[329]

The *Daśavaikālika*[330] adds the sixth vow to this list:

(f) *Savvāö rāïbhoyaṇāö veramaṇaṁ* : ....

Abstaining from taking a night meal.

All these vows were to be practised in the thrice threefold way, inasmuch as, the monk was not to transgress these himself, or cause somebody else to do so, or consent to others doing so, either mentally (maṇeṇa), vocally (vāëṇa) or bodily (kāëṇa).

Ahiṁsā:

We have already noted that the whole basis of the rules of begging and food was ahiṁsā. For its practice, monks and nuns were not allowed either in sleep or otherwise, to touch, or break, or scratch, or shake by means of anything either a lump of earth, or a wall (bhitti), or a stone, or a clod, or a dusty garment, or the body.[331] For the same reason, the monk cleaned his requisites,[332] did not tour in the rainy season,[333] examined his requisites (paḍilehaṇa),[334] scanned the places of easing nature (uccārapāsavaṇa)[335] used boiled and strained water,[336] did not do any fire activity,[337] did not fan anything,[338] walked carefully, avoided watery regions,[339] and covered his face or the place where his sneezing, or yawning, or vomitting was likely to spread.[340] Not only that, he had to be careful in not hurting the feelings of others by his speech or behaviour.[341]

329. *Ācār.* II, 15; (pp. 202 ff); *Smv.* p. 44a; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 290a; *Antg.* p. 36.
330. Chapt. 4; *Uttar.* 30, 2; *Ṭhāṇ.* 460ab; *Smv.* 46a; *Nāyā.* pp. 45, 74; *Bhag.* 571a; See also *Dśv.* Chapt. 6.
331. *Ibid.*, Chapt. 4; 8, 4-5.
332. *Ibid.*, 8, 17.
333. *Ibid.*, 6, 27-46.
334. *Bhag.* 139a; *Uttar.* 26, 22-31; *Ṭhāṇ.* 361b.
335. *Dśv.* 8, 18; *Ṭhāṇ.* 380a; *Uttar.* 24, 17-18; *Ācār.* II, 10, 1-22 (pp. 180-83); *Stkṛ.* 1, 9, 12 (p. 302); 1, 9, 19 (p. 303); 2, 2, 23 (p. 364).
336. *Dśv.* 8, 6-7.
337. *Ibid.* Chapt. 4.
338. *Ibid.* 4, 10.
339. *Ibid.* 8, 10-11; also Chapt. 4.
340. *Ācār.* II, 2, 3, 28 (p. 135).
341. *Dśv.* Chapt. 7.

The reason behind that was that "all living beings desire to live and not to die. Therefore, the nigganthas give up killing of living beings".[342] This generous outlook led not only to mere justice but to equanimity or samatā i.e., the control of one's passions towards all. The same note of identity of the individual soul with others is beautifully expressed by the commentary to the *Daśavaikālika:*[343]

'Eka eva hi bhūtātmā bhūte bhūte vyavasthitaḥ /

Ekadhā bahudhā caiva dṛśyante jalacandravat //

'Soul is one even though it resides in many living beings. It is just like the single (reflection of) the moon in a (quiet) pond which becomes manifold (when the water is disturbed).'

Guttis and Samiïs :

The proper channels of acquiring such equanimity which was the basis of ahiṁsā, was the practice of five samitis and three guptis.[344]

The five samitis were those which prescribed carefulness regarding movement (iriyā), speech (bhāsā), begging (esaṇā), receiving and keeping the things necessary for religious purposes (āyāṇabhaṇḍanikkhevaṇa) and deposition of bodily excreta (uccārapāsavaṇakhelasiṅghāṇajallaparitṭhāvaṇa).

The three guptis[345] consisted of control over the mind (mana), speech (vāk) and body (kāya). Endowed with these, the monk controlled his passions (kaṣāya) like anger, pride, deceit and greed, and put up with all sorts of troubles.

The tenfold religion of the monk consisting of forbearance (khanti), non-attachment (mutti), non-deceit (ajjava), modesty (maddava), carefulness in actions (lāghava), truth (sacca), self-control (sañjama), penance (tava), non-possession (citāta) and celibacy (bambhacera),[346] made a monk fit to put up with the twenty-two troubles (parīsahas).

342. *Ibid.* 6, 11.
343. p. 41.
344. *Bhag.* 121a, 775b; *Ṭhāṇ* 343a; *Smv.* 10a, *Uttar.* 24, 1-2; 20, 40; *Vivāga.* pp. 15, 80; *Antg.* p. 17; *Stkr.* 2, 2, 13 (p. 364).
345. *Ṭhāṇ.* 111b; *Smv.* 8a; *Dśv.* 3, 10; *Uttar.* IX, 20-22; 34, 40; 11, 4-9. For a detailed description about proper and improper speech: *Dśv.* Chapter VII; *Ācār.* II, 4, 1, 1 (pp. 149 ff); Seven kinds of bad speech: *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 403b; Condemnation of the five great personalities leads to rebirth and no liberation: *Ibid.* p. 321a.
346. Same ideas repeated elsewhere: Seventeenfold saṁyama: *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 279b; *Smv.* p. 31: twenty-seven qualities of a monk: five great vows, fivefold sense-control, control of four passions, verbal control, physical and mental control, knowledge, conduct, faith, putting up with trouble and bearing the pangs of death: *Ibid.* p. 46a; sixfold pramāda or faults: *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 360b.

Self-control:

The twenty-two parīsahas pertained to the troubles to which a monk was often subjected to.[347] They were the troubles due to hunger (digañchā), thirst (pivāsā), cold (sīya), heat (usiṇa), mosquitoes and flies (daṁsa-masaya), nakedness (acela), dissatisfaction with the objects of control (arati), women (itthi), wandering life (cariyā), places of study (nisīhiyā), lodging (sejjā), abuse (akkosa), death (vaha), asking for something (jāyaṇā), not to get what is wanted (alābha), illness (roga), pricking of grass (taṇaphāsa), bodily dirt (jalla), kind and honourable treatment (sakkārapurakkāra), knowledge and reason (paṇṇā), ignorance (annāṇa), and equanimity (sammatta).

Śabalas (Major Faults):

The following were supposed to be the major transgressions of monk life: (1) masturbation, (2) sexual intercourse, (3) taking food at night (rāī-bhoyaṇa), (4) eating food prepared for the monk by committing hiṁsā (āhākamma), (5) accepting food from him who has given residence (sejjāya-ra), (6) accepting specially made (uddesiya) and bought (kiyagaḍa) food, (7) violating the vow of pratyākhyāna[348] again and again, (8) changing the gaṇa within six months, (9) crossing navel-deep water thrice in a month, (10) practising deceit thrice in a month, (11) accepting royal food (rāyapiṇḍa), (12) doing injury to living beings deliberately, (13) stealing, (14) telling a lie deliberately, (15) doing study or kāyotsarga in an unfit place, (16) deliberately stepping over a stone-slab or a clod of earth or a piece of wood containing living beings, (17) sitting over a piece of ground containing seeds etc., (18) deliberately eating roots and bulbs, (19) crossing navel-deep water ten times in a year, (20) practising deceit ten times in a year, and (21) eating food with a hand wet with cold water.[349]

Celibacy:

A well-controlled mind led to the practice of ideal celibacy. The monk was asked not to look at females or walk along with them. He was not allowed to be alone with a woman, or to use beds slept over by them, or tell stories regarding them, or to look at them, or to remember former enjoyments, or to eat spicy food, or eat too much, or gaze at wall-paintings of women. He

347. *Uttar.* Chapt. 2; *Smv.* p. 40b.

348. Pratyākhyāna was ten-fold: anāgaya, aïkkanta, koḍisahiya, niyantiya, sāgāra, aṇagāra, parimāṇakaḍa, niravasesa, sākeya and addhāya; pertaining to the period or the quantity of a particular item given up.

349. *Smv.* p. 39ab.

was asked to remain aloof from a woman even if she was disfigured and hundred years old for "they are to monks what a cat is to a chicken".[350]

All efforts of bodily toiletting and decoration were to be avoided. Therefore, the monk was not allowed to take bath, or clean his teeth, or use flowers and scents, or fan his body.[351] He was to carry the dirt on his body life-long and no attempts of external purity were encouraged.[352] Use of purgatives[353] or of enema, applying collyrium, playing dice,[354] and going to all sorts of recreation like dramas etc.,[355] were the forbidden items of monk life.

To repeat, in short, for the maintenance of celibacy the monk was asked to avoid the following things:

(1) Using beds and seats enjoyed by women, eunuchs, and beasts,

(2) to tell stories only to women,

(3) to look at the forms of women and contemplate over them,

(4) to sit together with a woman on one seat,

(5) listening to the singing, laughing or any other sounds of women by remaining behind a curtain or a wall,

(6) recalling to memory past enjoyments,

(7) eating well-dressed food,

(8) eat or drink excessively,

(9) to get attached to sounds, colours, tastes, smells or touches,

and (10) to put on ornaments.[356]

The monk was forbidden to use for religious postures places used by the householders with the reason that the women in the house were likely to force him to have sexual intercourse.[357] In cases of emergencies, however, he was allowed to enter the royal harem for protection. These cases were:

(1) If the city gates were closed, or encircled on all sides and the samaṇas were unable to go out for food or water,

350. *Stkṛ.* 1, 4, 1, 5 (p. 272); *Uttar.* 16, 1-10; *Ṭhāṇ.* 444a; *Smv.* 151; *Dśv.* 2, 4. 7-11; 8, 54-58; Eighteenfold celibacy: *Smv. p.* 33.

351. *Dśv.* 3, 2-3; 61-64; *Smv.* 35b; *Ṭhāṇ.* 460b; *Stkṛ* 1, 9, 13 (p. 303), 2, 2, 73 (p. 380), etc. (transl. pp. 295 ff, 302-03, 380, 405).

352. *Uttar.* 2 37; *Ācār.* II, 13, 1-23 (pp. 286-88), forbids nailcutting, washing the body, dressing the hair, etc.

353. *Dśv.* 3, 9.

354. *Ibid.* 3, 4; *Stkṛ. SBE.*, XIV. p. 303.

355. *Ācār.* II, 11, 1, 18 (pp. 183-85); *Stkṛ.* (transl.) p. 305.

356. *Uttar.* XVI, 1-10; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 444a; *Smv.* p. 15a; Some of these in *Stkṛ.* 1, 4, 1, 5 and 13 (pp. 272-73).

357. *Ācār.* II, 2, 1, 12 (p. 124); *Stkṛ.* 1, 4, 1, 30 (p. 275).

(2) If articles like a plank, a stool etc., were to be returned;

(3) If the monk was afraid of a horse, elephant or a wicked fellow,

(4) If somebody held him by the hand and took him there by force,

and (5) If the gardens and other places were occupied by the people belonging to the royal harem.[358]

Loya :

One aspect of the non-decoration of the body and of self-control was the peculiar practice of loya, or the uprooting of the hair on the head and beard in five handfuls. The typical phrases used in this connection were 'muṇḍe bhavittā agārāö aṇagāriyaṁ pavvaïö'[359] or 'pañcamuṭṭhiyaṁ loyaṁ kareï'.[360]

From the description of Meha's renunciation as given in the *Jñātādharmakathāṅga*[361], however, it is gathered that Meha's head was shaved by a barber, and only four-finger high (or over a space measuring four aṅgulas?) (caüraṅgulavajje) hair were left on his head (nikkhamaṇapāügge aggakese). Then he uprooted these in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra.

This loya was done either after two, three or four months, and was carried on at daytime, preceded by a fast.[362]

Illness :

The proper control over the sense-organs led to proper conduct regarding food and other items. Any excess was said to lead to illness, and the ten causes of illness as given in the *Sthānāṅga*[363] may be said to imply the same. It is said there that constant sitting (accāsaṇāte), frequently sitting on an uncomfortable seat, improper food (ahiyāsaṇayāë), excessive sleeping (atiṇiddāë), constantly keeping late hours (atijāgaraṇeṇa), checking the calls of nature or not letting out cough, etc. (uccāraṇiroha and pāsavaṇaṇiroha), long journey (addhāṇagamaṇa), improper food (bhoyaṇapaḍikūlatāte) and excitation of passion (indiyatthavikovaṇayāte) generally lead to illness.

358. *Ṭhāṇ*. pp. 311b-312a.

359. *Smv*. 37a; *Ṭhāṇ*. 46a, 176b, 307a, 400b; *Uttar*. 19, 13; 20, 41; 22, 24; *Antg*. p. 37; *Dśv*. 4, 18; *Ācār*. II, 15, (p. 189) ; *Stkr*. 2, 2, 73 (p. 380) ; *Vivāga*. pp. 15, 78; *Anttr*. pp. 62, 68, etc.

360. *Nāyā*. p. 218; *Bhag*. 430b, 620a.

361. Chapt. 1.

362. *Smv*. 57; It may be noted that the Brāhmanical and the Buddhist ascetics did shave their heads, but they did not uproot their hair: See Har Dutt SHARMA, *Hist. of Brāhmanical Asceticism, P.O.*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 76.

363. P. 446a.

The *Acārāṅga*[364] says that Mahāvīra did not take medicine when he was ill. The *Sthānāṅga,*[365], however, refers, along with other details, to aüveya which had the following eight branches:

(1) kumārabhicce — pertaining to the diseases of children,

(2) kāyatigicchā — diagnosis of the body,

(3) sālātī — pertaining to the treatment by means of a small śalākā,

(4) sallahattā — surgery,

(5) jaṅgolī — pertaining to snake-bite and poisoning,

(6) bhūtavejjā — science of quelling the trouble of semi-divine beings,

(7) khāratanta — pertaining to making a person sexually fit,

(8) rasātaṇe — medicines and elixirs for longevity.

Inspite of these details and such others pertaining to the fourfold disease, fourfold diagnosis, and fourfold doctors,[366] it is not clear whether they implied popular practices, or were those allowed to the monks. On the contrary we find that an ill monk was allowed to take three dattis (unbroken offerings) of the vikṛtis (like ghee, etc.)[367] We have already noted the case of the royal monk Selaga who took wine as medicine.[368] But it may be noted here, that such cases were exceptions rather than the rule. The normal course was to put up bravely with the pangs of disease if it was beyond cure.

Service:

Not only the ill but even the superiors were to be waited upon by the monks. In this respect it may be noted that the monks were asked to serve the ācārya, upādhyāya, sthavira, tapasvin, glāna, śaikṣa, sādharmika, kula, gaṇa and saṅgha.[369]

Thus, the life of the monk was to be a dedication not only to his co-monks but also for the needs of the Saṅgha. Hence, it expected him to be meek and devoid of any pride for his caste, knowledge or penance. However, he was not allowed to do worldly service to the householders or even salute them.[370]

364. I, 8, 4, 1 (p. 86).
365. P. 427b.
366. *Ibid.* p. 265a; also *Nāyā.* p. 144 for similar description of the physicians.
367. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 138a.
368. *Nāyā.* p. 80.
369. *Uttar.* 30, 33; *Bhag.* pp. 558ab; *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 473b; for a somewhat different list, *Ibid.* p. 408b.
370. *Dśv.* 3, 6; 8, 30; *Dśv. cū* . 2, v. 9.

Sāmāyārī :

Sāmācārī was the correct mode of behaviour by the monks under ten categories. They were[371] :

(1) āvaśyaka, it was done when the monk wanted to leave a place or a person's company due to some work,

(2) naiṣedhikī, same as above, but when entering a place,

(3) āpṛcchanā, asking the permission of the elders before doing anything,

(4) pratipṛcchanā, permission for that which is to be done by some other person,

(5) chandanā, offering whatever others need,

(6) icchākāra, carrying out one's own duty,

(7) mithyākāra, condemning oneself for transgressions,

(8) tathākāra, giving consent at the time of a promise,

(9) abhyutthāna, getting up in respect to the elders.

(10) upasampad, remaining under the control of a teacher.

Summary :

In short, the monk had to lead a very rigorous life set within limits of various rules of moral conduct.[372] The typical ideal placed before him was that of the tortoise[373] which kept within control all its limbs. He was, therefore, to be unattached (amama), propertyless (akiñcaṇa), bondless (chinnagantha), unaffected by passions like a copper or brazen vessel which does not retain water, uninfatuated or pure like the conch, going ahead in self-control like the pure soul which goes up, unattached to any place like the wind, independent like the sky which has no support, well-controlled like the bhāruṇḍa bird, brave like the elephant, full of fortitude like a bull, unexcited like the sea, lustrous like the sun (due to penance and knowledge), unaffected like pure gold, possessing forbearance like the earth, and unattached like the lotus petal which does not retain water.[374]

It was no wonder, therefore, that mothers tried to prevent their sons from taking to monk life which was dry like the morsels of sand, uncrossable like the Ganges when tried to be crossed against the current, or like the sea which is difficult to be crossed with the help of human arms. In short, it was

371. *Uttar.* 26, 2-7; *Ṭhāṇ.* 499a; *Bhag.* 920b.

372. These are often referred to as 'mūla-guṇas' and 'uttara-guṇas' (*Bhag.* p. 893b), or by the phrase : 'caraṇakaraṇa.'

373. *Nāyā.* Chapt. 4.

374. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 459b.

as sharp as the blade of a sword, the improper use or carelessness in the handling of which led to grievous results.[375]

GENERAL REMARKS :

A survey of the rules of monastic conduct as given in the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras, reveals the following characteristics of early Jaina monachism.

Church :

(1) Even though various officers are mentioned, no details regarding their qualifications, standing in monkhood, duties and mutual relations are to be found. Though seniority is expressed by words like 'ahārāiṇīya' and 'omarāiṇīya', the texts fail to give further details about them.

(2) The set of the ten prāyaścittas, though mentioned alike in all these texts, is seldom seen to take a clear shape, inasmuch as no concrete examples of the application of all these punishments is found. The texts do not give details about the way in which these punishments were undergone.

(3) Similar is the case regarding the church units. The exact relation between the gaṇa and other units like the kula and sambhoga is not very clear. The quorum necessary to form these and the qualifications of the members joining these, etc. are not exhaustively dealt with. It may, however, be noted that the gaṇa and the sambhoga are equipped with many rules. It may, therefore, be said that these were two important units. The absence of the gaccha — which later on wiped out the gaṇa — is remarkable.

(4) People from all ranks joined the church.

Moral Discipline :

From the various minute rules about moral discipline like the five great vows, the rules about speech, celibacy, bodily mortification, etc. these texts seem to provide a firm moral basis for the church in its infancy. Upon this firm foundation of moral discipline and equality of caste and of status, the church seemed, as we shall see in the next chapter, to spread out its activities. It is, therefore, due to this creation of a foundation that the rules of moral discipline predominate in the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras.

375. *Nāyā.* p. 28; The non-attachment of the monk has been very beautifully expressed by the parable of the dry gourd (*Ibid.* Chapt. 6). When it is coated with mud (karman), it goes down to the bottom of the water (hell); devoid of it (karma-nirjarā), it comes up (= attains liberation). The gourd represents the jīva.

This process of coming up gradually due to the disintegration of the mud-coating has its parallel in the 'kṣapakaśreṇi' which is the progress of the soul from the bad to the ideal stage : *Dśv.* 4, 14-25.

Food :

Purity of food being essential for a perfect body with pure mind, several rules about it are to be found in these texts. It may, however, be noted that the famous forty-six rules, even though mentioned, are not found treated systematically at one place. The treatment though exhaustive in the *Daśavaikālika* is in no way an effort of a systematic grouping of various rules.

It may, however, be noted that even though considerations of ahiṁsā were predominant, some of the rules reveal a knowledge of social etiquette as well.

Penance :

From the various penances, it seems that practices of bodily mortification were held in high esteem. These reveal a high standard of asceticism and self-control.

Requisites :

The rules about clothing in these texts do not seem to be particular either about nudity or about clothing. The sole principle behind the wearing of clothes was the unattached attitude towards all sorts of clothing and the body.

Other requisites were the alms-bowl, broom and blanket. No details of their measurements, etc. are found.

Study and Daily Routine :

Study formed an important part in the monk's life, hence numerous rules pertaining to it are to be found in the texts. It may, however, be noted that no curriculum was fixed.

Among the other items of daily routine, the āvaśyakas are seldom given as much importance in the Aṅgas as they possess in the Mūlasūtras.

If at all a distinction is to be made between the earlier Aṅgas (*Acārāṅga* and *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*) and the later Aṅgas, it may be noted that these two Aṅgas possibly reveal an earlier stage than the rest of the Aṅgas do. For, the former seldom reveal a system of the prāyaścittas or the rules regarding church hierarchy and other items of church life. The *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga* give such rules, while the rest of the Aṅga texts reveal a sociological background to Jaina monachism for they give stories about people embracing Jaina monk life, the various sects, the actual tours of Mahāvīra and his occasions of contact with the mass of the people. Thus we see that if the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* furnish details of the rules of monastic discipline, the other texts reveal the actual working of these in relation to the society.

On the whole, we may say that the Aṅgas reveal the Jaina church in its infancy, though trying to organise itself gradually. The picture of an organised and a widely spread church will be revealed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE CHEDASŪTRAS, NIRYUKTIS AND THE REST OF THE TEXTS OF THE CANON

Introduction

After the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras come the rest of the texts of the Canon. Among these, the Chedasūtras may be taken to be the oldest portions. Then come the Niryuktis and the remaining texts of the groups called the Upāṅgas and the Prakīrṇakas.

Our task will be to note down the information regarding various aspects of monastic life as revealed in these texts.

THE CHURCH :

The religious zeal of Mahāvīra, his gaṇadharas and followers must have led, in a short time, to the spread of Jainism, not only in Magadha but outside the birth-place of Jainism itself. The more the monks went out, the more they came in contact with new people, new customs and peculiar local atmosphere, and a necessity of organising the Church on a solid basis, was perhaps felt. The following details as revealed in the Chedasūtras and later on by the Niryuktis, may be said to support the observation made above. But before making any other general observations, it would be better to take a glimpse of the Jaina Church as depicted in these texts.

Initiation : *Persons Fit to Enter Order* :

The list of eighteen persons[1] disqualified for the Church seems to have remained unchanged, and the same persons were disallowed entry to the Church.

The Chedasūtras refer here and there to persons not allowed to enter monkhood, as for instance, the *Bṛhatkalpa*[2] which lays down that the impotent (paṇḍaä), the timid (kīva) and the sexually defective persons (vāïä) should be initiated. Among the persons who were deemed difficult to convert were the wicked-minded (duṭṭha), the ignorant (mūḍha) and persons of un-

1. *Ṭhāṇ*. 3, 202
2. 4, 4.

sound mind (vuggāhiya).[3] The persons devoid of these defects were said to be easy to convert (sussannappā). The minimum limit of the completion of eight years for entry to monkhood is to be found in the *Vyavahāra Sūtra* also.[4]

Nobody was allowed to initiate or confirm (uvaṭṭhāveï) unfit persons, and if one did so, he had to undergo a punishment for that.[5] The monk was also forbidden to initiate a man or a woman in order to exploit service out of him or her later on.[6]

No doubt, the rule did exist that an auspicious day and time was to be selected for the ceremony of initiation (pavvajjā), but no exact details are to be found in the Chedasūtras as are available in the later texts like the Prakīrṇakas.

The *Gaṇividyāprakīrṇaka*[7] lays down the following rules[8] regarding the renunciation ceremony (niṣkramaṇa) of a person:

	Proper	*Improper*
Days:	Monday, Thursday and Friday.	The rest.
Muhūrtas:	Pratipadā, Pañcamī, Daśamī, Pūrṇimā, Ekādaśī.	
Nakṣatras:	Uttarā, Bhādrapadā, Uttarāṣaḍhā, Rohiṇī.	Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā Punarvasu.
Karaṇa:	Bava, Bālava, Kaulava, Vaṇija Nāga and Catuṣpada.	
Śakuna:	Puruṣa	
Lagna:	When the lagna is of calarāśi (moving sign); or lagna of Mithuna rāśi, or when the candra or moon is in conjunction with the nakṣatra at one's birth.	

3. *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 7: *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 264 where 'vuggāhiya' is rendered as 'who has a fixed idea.' It may be translated as 'quarrelsome persons' (from 'vyudgraha', quarrel).
4. 10, 16f.
5. *Nis.* 11, 84-85.
6. *Vav.* 7, 4.
7. *Vs.* 8-10, 22, 26, 44, 46, 48-54, 61, 63, 66.
8. No proper historical study of astronomy and astrology is yet made. But it seems from references in inscriptions that details as given above probably came into existence at a much later period.

Besides this, it lays down that the decorating and the procession of the person wanting to enter order should be done on the days expressed as 'nandā' and 'bhadrā.'

Such and other details which are perhaps the peculiarity of later texts are found to be absent in the Chedasūtras, even though the fundamental rules regarding this ceremony seem to have remained unchanged.

Normally, no person was allowed to enter order in the rainy season. But in case he was found to be of exceptional abilities and knowledge, then such a person was initiated even in the rainy season.[9]

The Confirmation:

The distinction between pavajjā and uvaṭṭhāvaṇā was that the former simply enlisted the candidate into the order, and after a reasonable period of probation in which his conduct was noticed, he was confirmed into the order (upasthāpanā) by giving him the five great vows and other rules of monastic conduct.[10] This period of pupilship or probation lasted for six months at the maximum, four months on an average, and the minimum was a week.[11]

If a candidate proved himself fit for confirmation then the ācārya and the upādhyāya were not to make delay. In case they did so deliberately or out of inadvertance, then they had to undergo either 'cheda' or 'parihāra'.[12] Obtaining initiation in one group and going to another ācārya for confirmation was also allowed to monks.[13]

No details regarding the actual process either of initiation or of confirmation pertaining to the ceremonial aspect of it can be had in the Chedasūtras or the Niryuktis. It may be, therefore, that those items remained unchanged, and perhaps were the same as given in the Aṅgas.

Church Hierarchy:

Once confirmed the candidate became a recognised member of the Church and had to conform to the rigorous discipline of the Church in general and to that of his immediate superior in particular.

9. *Daśāśruta-N.* 86.
10. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-N.* refers to the 'pavvāvaṇa' and 'sikkhāvaṇa'—*v.* 127.
11. *Vav.* 10, 15.
12. *Ibid.*, 4, 16; see Appendix 1.
13. *Ibid.*, 7, 6-7.

Before his final consecration and perhaps after it, the newly-entered candidate had to go through an intense course of study, and had to carry out the orders of his guru.

Seha, Antevāsī and Khuḍḍaga :

These three words stood for the person who was undergoing a period of studentship. As has already been seen, the period of candidature or noviciate (seha) lasted for either six months or four months or a week. (chammāsiya, cāümmāsiya and sattarāïndiya respectively).

The disciple was to reveal his devotion to the guru, by helping him to acquire new requisites or looking after the old ones, or lending requisites to those who were in need of them (upakaraṇotpādanatā). He behaved with his guru in perfect modesty and waited upon him (sahāyatāvinaya). If somebody condemned the guru, then it was the duty of the disciple to refute the person and establish the proper position of his guru (varṇasañjvalanatā). He behaved so as to keep the morale of the company and tried his best to acquire new candidates for the Church, to help the newly-initiated ones, to help the sick and to pacify quarrels.[14]

The *Vyavahārasūtra* refers to the four types of antevāsī (associate, one living near the guru).[15] It seems that a distinction was made between them on the basis of 'uddesaṇā' (instructions or explanation), and 'vāyaṇā' (reading), for some of them were 'uddesaṇantevāsī' but were not 'vāyaṇantevāsī,' others were 'vāyaṇantevāsī' but not 'uddesaṇantevāsī.' There were some, on the other hand, who belonged to both of these categories, i.e. they received the reading as well as the explanation thereof from the guru. The fourth category consisted of 'dhammantevāsī.'

Another word denoting the studentship was khuḍḍaga.[16]

Thera :

As the word itself suggests, the thera was an elderly monk who had enough standing in monk life. That the thera was not simply an old monk but had also other qualifications is clear from his three categories referred to in the *Vyavahārasūtra*.[17] According to it, a monk of sixty years was called 'jāïthera,' one well-versed in the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga*

14. *Daśāśruta*. 4th Daśā; the qualities of an ideal pupil are described by various illustrations in *Āvaśyaka—N. v.* 749.

15. *Vav.* 10, 13.

16. *Ibid.*, 10, 16-17.

17. 10, 14.

was termed 'suyathera,' and he who had twenty years of monk life was designated 'pariyāyathera.' Thus, considerations of age, learning and standing as a monk may be said to be at the basis of this classification. The word 'therabhūmī' perhaps shows that the position of a thera was not only based on age but also on qualifications. Another rule which says that 'if the monks have forgotten the 'āyārapakappa' (rules of monastic conduct) then they should be allowed to restudy it and then should be installed in a higher office',[18] goes well with the above observation.

The theras occupied a position of respect. That they played an important part in the group of monks is revealed by the fact that the junior monks had to seek permission of the theras before doing important activities of daily routine, as we shall notice. Along with these responsibilities, they enjoyed certain privileges also. They were allowed to take rest while others begged for them, and to use skins if on account of old age their limbs brushed with each other. They were also permitted to deposit their requisites with a house-holder or a companion in case they were unable to carry these.[19]

Uvajjhāya:

The upādhyāya was a person who had at least three years' standing in monkhood to his credit (tivāsapariyāya). He was a person who knew the etiquettes of monastic conduct (āyārakusala), who was well-controlled, expert in the sacred lore and its exposition (pavayaṇakusala, paṇṇattikusala), and knew how to induce people to the fold (saṅgahakusala).

The minimum academic qualification of this officer consisted of at least the knowledge of āyārapakappa. Nobody who did not possess these qualifications was appointed to this office only because he had completed three years' standing in monkhood.[20]

The chief duty of an upādhyāya was to give instructions to the younger monks in the group. It seems that he had no other administrative work and he was the head of the educational side of a group of monks as well as of nuns.[21]

The Niryuktis give fanciful derivations of the words uvajjhāya and ujjhā. According to one niryukti,[22] the letter 'u' stood for 'upayoga-

18. *Ibid.*, 5, 17.
19. *Ibid.*, 8, 5.
20. *Ibid.*, 3, 3-4.
21. *Ibid.*, 3, 12, lays down uvajjhāya as one of the three protectors of nuns.
22. *Āvaśyaka—N.* 1002.

karaṇaṁ', while the letter 'jjhā' denoted 'dhyānakaraṇaṁ'. Thus according to this explanation the word 'ujjhā' signified a person who did meditation with perfect consciousness. In the same way the word 'uvajjhāya' implied a person who dissipated the karman by means of abstaining from sin by the practice of conscious meditation.[23]

The work of teaching, so peculiar to the upādhyāya, is also stressed by the niryuktis which say that the upādhyāyas were so called because of their instructions to others.[24] Such being the noble duty of an upādhyāya, a salutation to him was said to lead to enlightenment.[25]

Another division of the duties of a teacher ('sikkhaga', perhaps the same as upādhyāya) was based on the basis of his being either a teacher of lore or a teacher of practice.[26] The teacher giving instructions either gave the reading of the text, or explained it or did both these duties. The other category consisted of one who taught, not only in precept but in practice, the mūlaguṇas and the uttaraguṇas (the principal and subsidiary rules of monastic conduct).

Āyariyaüvajjhāya :

The next officer in the Church hierarchy, superior to the upādhyāya, was an ācāryopādhyāya.

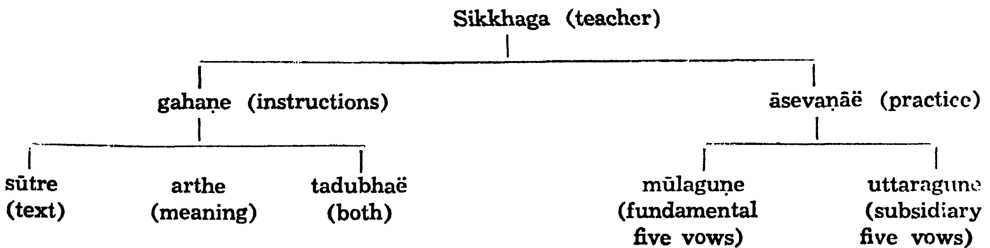
The main difficulty regarding this post is that it is very difficult to say whether these were two separate persons as ācārya and upādhyāya, or a single person carrying the whole designation. In this connection SCHUBRING[27] remarks, "Between the āyariya and the uvajjhāya stands this person. The commentaries (*Vav.* 4, 11 f) understand by this mostly two persons (com-

23. *Ibid.*, 1003: 'upayogapūrvakaṁ pāpaparivarjjanato dhyānārohaṇena karmāpanayantītyupādhyāyāḥ'.

24. 'uvaïsanti jamhā uvajjhāyā teṇa vuccanti', *Ibid., v.* 1001.

25. *Ibid.*, 1004.

26. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga—N.vs.* 128-129:



27. *Die Lehre der Jainas*, article 141.

pare *Ṭhaṇ* 329b; *Bhagavatī* 232a) and in few cases where the word is used in the plural, perhaps this view is correct (*Vav.* 1, 34). But there is no room for any doubt when we take into consideration the fact that according to *Vav.* 7, 15f. 3, 3-7, for becoming an uvajjhāya, a man with special qualities must have at least three years' experience as a monk, and on the basis of the plan of studies given in *Vav.* 10, 20 ff. he must at least have the knowledge of āyārapakappa; for an āyariyaüvajjhāya five years experience and the knowledge of the *suyakkhandha* and dasā-kappa-vavahāra".

Thus the *Vyavahārasūtra* treats him as a single person, superior to the uvajjhāya in point of standing in monkhood (paryāya), as well as in study, as he was expected to have studied the three Chedasūtras—*Dasā* (*Daśāśrutaskandha*), *Kappa* (*Bṛhatkalpa*), and *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahara-sūtra*).[28]

In case, a person had forgotten these texts, then he was asked to relearn the 'āyărapakappa', and then he was installed in the office of the ācāryopādhyāya.[29] If no other proper person was available, then a person who was fit for that office but whose standing in monkhood was cut short (nivuddhavāsapariyāë) due to some transgression committed by him, was reinitiated the same day, and made the ācāryopādhyāya. But he had to show good conduct and had to earn the confidence of other monks.[30] Thus conduct by the person as well as confidence in him by others were the chief items that were taken into consideration, and the principle of not imposing an officer unpopular to the rest of the members of the Church was very wisely carried out.

It is difficult to say what were the duties of this officer. It is possible that he acted as an ācārya when the latter was absent, and as an upādhyāya when the real upādhyāya was busy with something else. Thus he seems to have served as a link between the ācārya and the upādhyāya.

Along with these duties he had five privileges (aïsesa) on account of his important position. They allowed him to clean his feet in the monastery, or ease nature in the monastery, or ask the disciples to do service to him, or stay either in or out of the monastery for one or two nights.[31] He was not taken to be a transgressor of ideal conduct if he did these five acts, while others were taken to be so.

28. *Vav.* 3, 5.
29. *Ibid.*, 3, 10.
30. *Ibid.*, 3, 9,
31. *Ibid.*, 6, 2.

Great moral qualifications were attached to this post, and it was seen that the person did not take undue advantage of his privileges. Thus, if the ācāryopādhyāya broke the vow of celibacy while holding the office, he was debarred from accepting any post throughout his life. If, however, after leaving his office he acted thus,[32] he was suspended for three years.[33] If he became worldly (avadhāvaï) without leaving his office, then he was not allowed to hold office again throughout his life. If he happened to do so, after leaving his office, he was suspended for three years.[34] Another disqualification that made him unfit throughout his life for that post, inspite of his being well-versed, was his being always a liar (musāvāï), deceitful (maï), impure (asuï) and sinful (pāvajīvī).[35]

Gaṇāvaccheïya :

After the ācāryopādhyāya came the gaṇāvacchedaka as is clear from the fact that he was a person having eight years' standing. Besides this, he was expected to be conversant with the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga.*[36]

The designation makes it clear that this person was the head of a part of the gaṇa, and was perhaps the immediate subordinate to the ācārya.[37] It is not very clear as to what were the duties assigned to this person.

Along with the duties, he had some privileges also, and he was allowed to remain either inside or outside the monastery either for a night or two.[38]

These privileges, it seems, were the outcome of the confidence placed in him regarding his moral behaviour. If he proved to be unworthy of it and committed an offence against celibacy while holding the office, then he was dismissed and barred from holding office throughout his life (jāvaj-

32. 'gaṇāvaccheïyattaṁ aṇikkhivittā'.

33. *Vav.* 3, 16-17. The wording is 'tiṇṇi saṁvaccharāṇi tassa tappattiyaṁ no kappaï āyariyaüvajjhāyattaṁ uddisittaë va dhārettaë vā'.

34. *Ibid.,* 3, 21-22

35. *Ibid.,* 3, 25.

36. *Ibid.,* 3, 7.

37. SCHUBRING remarks, "*Gaṇivijjā* 40, 76 also deals with gaṇahara and gaṇāvaccheïya. The latter is lower in rank, but according to his name he is superior to a part of the gaṇa". (Footnote 2, p. 161: 'But *Ācārāṅga* II, 79, 3 describes something to the contrary because according to it gaṇadhara is the leader of a group living separately from the gaṇa, and in this group gaṇadhara represents the gaṇin. Gaṇāvaccheïya is described here as the gacchakāryacintaka').—*Die Lehre der Jainas,* article 140 (Transl. by Mr. MARATHE).

38. *Vav.* 6, 3.

jīvāë). If, on the other hand, he did so after leaving his office then he was suspended for three years.[39] It was for the purpose of checking his conduct as also for safety that he had always to live in the company of two others normally, and with three others during the rainy season.[40]

In case a gaṇāvacchedaka while holding the office became worldly (ohāëjjā), then he was disallowed to hold a position of authority throughout his life. But if he did so after leaving the reins of his power, then he had to face suspension for three years.[41] Persons who were liars, of deceitful nature, or of sinful or impure tendencies were deemed unfit for this post even though they were well-versed.[42]

Great care was taken in appointing a person to this office. Persons who had forgotten the āyārapakappa owing to idleness were disqualified for office. Those, on the other hand, who had forgotten it owing to illness, were asked to restudy the text and then were re-appointed to the post. In the case of old monks who had forgotten the text, they were asked to take lessons even from younger monks for making themselves qualified for the post and were given the concession of studying while lying down if they were unable to learn it in a sitting posture due to weakness or age.[43]

Āyariya :

In line with that of the gaṇāvacchedaka, the qualifications required for becoming an ācārya were eight years' standing in monkhood and the knowledge of *Sthānāṅga* and *Samavāyāṅga*.[44] Besides these, an ideal moral conduct was expected the more in this person as compared with others, as he was the supreme head possessing over-riding powers.

The moral aspect of this office is seen stressed in practically all the texts whenever they happen to refer to the qualifications of this person. The *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[45] described an ācārya as one who exhibited the proper fivefold conduct (āyāra) consisting of knowledge (nāṇa), faith (darisaṇa), good behaviour (cāritta), penance (tava), and fortitude (viriya). At other place, the ācārya is compared to a lamp which, while shining by itself, gives light to others.[46]

39. *Ibid.*, 3, 14-15.
40. *Ibid.*, 4, 3; 4, 8.
41. *Ibid.*, 3, 19-20.
42. *Ibid.*, 3, 24.
43 *Ibid.*, 5, 17-18.
44. *Ibid.*, 3, 7.
45. *V.* 998.
46. *Daśav—N.* 31: 'Dīvasamā āyariyā dippanti paraṁ ca dīvanti'.

The *Vyavahārasūtra*[47] refers to not less than eight types of āyariyas. It appears from that that the following were the types :

(1) Those who only initiated a monk but did not confirm the candidate (pavvāvaṇāyariya, and uvaṭṭhāvaṇāyariya),

(2) Those who simply confirmed the candidate but did not initiate him into the order,

(3) Those who did both the above two duties,

(4) Those who did not do either of the activities,

(5) Those who explained the text to the student (uddesaṇāyariya), but did not give reading of the text to him,

(6) Those who did only the work of giving reading (vāyaṇāyariya),

(7) Those who did both these jobs,

and (8) Those who did not do any of the above two activities.

It seems, therefore, that the ācārya had not only to look to the spiritual aspect of the Church but also to the work of instructing the younger monks, which was perhaps the fundamental duty of the upādhyāya. The same view may be said to be revealed in the classification of the ācārya in two categories as given in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅganiryukti*[48] which differentiates between the ācārya who initiated a candidate to the order (pavvāvanto), and one who gave instructions to him (sikkhāvanto). The latter is further divided into two divisions: one who gave instructions in theory (gahaṇe) and another who taught how to put these rules into practice (āsevaṇe).

Besides these duties, the ācārya, it seems, was looked upon as the sole responsible person who had to take utmost care regarding the maintenance of ideal conduct by the disciple-monks. Not only the monks, but the nuns also were under his supervision and he was looked upon as one of the three protectors of the nuns.[49] All the important items of daily routine were to be done only after the permission of the ācārya.

It should be noted that the qualifications required for the post of an ācārya as well as for that of the gaṇāvaccedaka were the same. Not only that, but the conditions for suspension and debarring the person from office[50] were also identical. In spite of this, in reality, the ācārya seems to have been superior to the gaṇāvacchedaka and the latter had equal qualifications

47. 10, 11-12.
48. *V.* 130.
49. *Vav.* 3, 12.
50. *Ibid.*, 3, 9, 13, 23-29.

on the merits of which he could perhaps succeed the ācārya, if need arose. It is, however, difficult to say, what exactly the relations between these two persons were.

Other Officers :

Besides these oft-mentioned officers the Cheda-sūtras refer to others also, and we get different lists put in different orders or sequence.

Vāyaga :

The *Bṛhatkalpa*[51] refers to the vācaka.

Three persons were deemed unfit for this office. They were, firstly, persons devoid of manners (aviṇīë), secondly, those who were fond of dainties (vigaïpaḍibaddha),[52] and lastly those who refused to make atonement for their offence or transgression (aviosaviyapāhuḍe).

From the designation attributed to this person, it seems probable that his duty was to give reading (vāyaṇa) to the younger monks. The dictionary,[53] however, equates him with an upādhyāya. But we have already seen that even among the ācāryas, there was a class which was termed 'vāyaṇāyariya', and there were also the 'gahaṇasikkhagas'. Hence the position of this officer in the Church hierarchy is not clear.

Pavatti :

The *Bṛhatkalpa*[54] mentions him next to upādhyāya.

The name pravartin suggests that this officer looked after the proper management of a group of monks. It seems, therefore, probable that the ācārya looked to the spiritual aspect, the upādhyāya (and perhaps the vācaka) to the educational aspect, and the 'pāvatti' to the administrative aspect of the group of monks.

Gaṇahara :

As the name suggests, he was the head of a group (gaṇa) of monks.

It is not possible to say whether the ācārya and the gaṇadhara were the same persons or not. If he were to be a separate officer in the Church, then

51. 4, 5-6.

52. Translated in *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 264, as 'one easily excited'; see also footnote 36 on the same page.

53. *Pāïasadda*, p. 944.

54. 4, 15.

the *Vyavaharasūtra,* which gives the qualifications of other officers, would have also given the same regarding the gaṇadhara. But, if on account of this absence of the statement of qualifications of a gaṇadhara we take him to be identical with the ācārya, then we cannot account for the separate mention of gaṇadhara along with the ācārya and others in the list as given in the *Bṛhatkalpa.*[55] The *Vṛtti*[56] by Malayagiri on the *Āvaśyaka* also fails to give the difference between the gaṇadhara and ācārya when it explains the former as the head of a group of monks and nuns.

Gaṇi :

The same difficulty as in the case of the gaṇadhara is to be found regarding the gaṇin. The *Bṛhatkalpa*[57] mentions him separate from the ācārya, but the duties ascribed to him do not seem to have been different from that of either the gaṇadhara or the ācārya. In this connection SCHUBRING remarks that the *Gaṇividyā* is connected with the duties of the gaṇin on the horoscopic and calender basis. We see him here calling the members of the gaṇa together for this or that activity (gaṇasangahaṇaṁ kujjā), the sehaṇikkhamaṇa vratopasthāpana, and we also see him fulfilling the task of āyariya.[58]

The qualifications expected of a gaṇin are dealt with exhaustively in the *Daśāśrutaskandha.*[59] These, it should be noted, are the same as given in the *Sthānāṅga,* and which we have already noticed. These expected a high standard of morality together with bodily and mental fitness blended with administrative skill.

It may be noted that even among the gaṇins, a sort of seniority existed as is perhaps denoted by the word 'jiṭṭhagaṇi'[60] (Sk. jyeṣṭha-ganin) used to specify Indabhūï, the chief gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra. It is also possible that the term was used simply to show honour to him as the Chedasūtras do not seem to refer to any such gaṇin, either jyeṣṭha or kaniṣṭha.

55. 4, 15.

56. P. 311a where it is stated: 'gaṇaṁ—sādhvādisamudāyalakṣaṇaṁ dhārayituṁ śīlamasyeti gaṇadhārī'.

57. 3, 14; 'gaṇi' in *Piṇḍa—N.v.* 315, equated with ācārya by Malayagiri, *Vritti,* p. 98a.

58. For details see, *Die Lehre der Jainas,* article 140, transl. by Mr. MARATHE; The *Daśāśrutaskandha—N.* equates him with gaṇadhara :

'Āyārammi ahīë jaṁ nāö hoï samaṇadhammo ü /
Tamhā āyāradharo bhaṇṇaï paḍhamaṁ gaṇiṭṭhāṇaṁ// 27
Gaṇasaṅgahuvaggahakāraö gaṇī jo pahū gaṇadharo ü / ... 28.

The *Niśītha,* 14, 5 and 18, 25 ascribes the duties of an āyariya to the gaṇi.

59. Fourth daśā.

60. *Āvaśyyaka—N.* 556.

Vasaha :

Another officer designated by this term is to be found in the *Ogha-Niryukti*.[61]

He is not to be found in the Chedasūtras like the *Niśītha, Kalpa* or *Vyavahāra.*

The niryukti refers to him next to the thera, and the explanation given of the term 'Vṛṣabha' by the commentary is 'vaiyāvṛtyakaraṇasamarthaḥ.' Thus from this explanation, it seems that this person was stout enough and his duty was to wait upon the ill. It may be that this post was not equivalent to that of any other administrative one, and was purely honorific (vṛṣabha = bull) designation.

The Problems of Seniority and Succession :

These officers in the Church heirarchy were bound by explicit rules of seniority and succession, and the various groups of monks had to abide by these.

The term used to denote seniority, as we have already noted in the Aṅgas, was rāïṇiä, and the same term is to be found in the Chedasūtras also.[62] This seniority (paryāya) was based on the number of years spent in the Church as a monk. Those who were juniors were termed 'omarāïṇiya'. Considerations of learning rather than of age were also taken into view in assigning seniority to some persons.[63] Another expression that denoted subordination was 'puraö kaṭṭu' which meant that a monk or a nun lived under the authority of somebody else.[64]

In order to avoid the conflict between age and seniority, certain rules had to be framed to avoid bad feeling between different members of the Church. With a view, therefore, to put this into practice, the 'āyariyaüvajjhāya' waited for four or five days if during that period another monk older in age completed his studies. Then he first confirmed the elder and then the younger even though the latter had completed his studies earlier. It may, however, be noted that the margin left for the completion of studies was not much as that would otherwise have made him not very eager in

61. *V.* 125.
62. *Vav.* 4, 24; *Bṛh. kalp.* 3, 19-21; cf. *Ṭhāṇ.* 240a; also in *Ogha—N.* 414; *Āvaśyaka —N.* 671.
63. *Ibid.*, 713.
'Jaïvi vayamāïëṁ lahuö suttatthadhāraṇāpaḍuö /
Vakkhāṇaladdhimaṁ jo sacciya iha ghippaë jiṭṭho //
64. *Vav.* 4, 11.

completing his studies. At the same time due consideration was shown to age by this rule, and the superiors who deliberately confirmed (uvaṭṭhāvaṇa) the younger person earlier than the older, even though both had completed their studies, had to undergo the punishment of 'cheda' or 'parihāra.'[65]

If two monks of different 'paryāyas' wandered together and if the monk with greater paryāya had no disciples while the other with less paryāya had, then the latter with his disciples had to remain under the control of the former who had greater paryāya to his credit.[66]

If both had disciples, then also, those of less paryāya had to remain under the authority of him who had greater paryāya. In the case of the disciples of the monk of greater paryāya, however, remaining under the authority of another guru of lesser paryāya than their own was not compulsory.[67]

No two monks or officers of the Church, of equal paryāya were allowed to stay together as equals or as companions. The difference between authority based on paryāya was to be observed compulsorily by a pair of either monks or officers,[68] in order to facilitate the smooth working of the Church and in order to avoid the conflict of age and learning regarding seniority, and the Church showed keen foresight, knowledge of psychological factors and wisdom in these rules.

Inspite of these rules of seniority, the ācārya was allowed to appoint his successor if the former was seriously ill, or had entered householdship again. But in order to have no occasion for favouritism by which there was a chance of unfit persons stepping into the office, the rest of the monks were given supreme powers to ask the newly appointed successor to quit office if they thought that he was unfit for the post. If he relinquished the office, well and good; then he was not to undergo any punishment for that. But, if inspite of the request of the rest of the monks, he persisted to hold on, then that person had to undergo 'cheda' or 'parihāra'.[69] Thus, it may be said that the working of the Church was based on purely democratic lines even in the modern sense of the term.

Beside such cases of compelling a person to quit office, normally also various officers had to undergo suspension for transgressions committed. We have already seen that if a monk after leaving his gaṇa committed an offence against celibacy, then he was suspended for three years and he was

65. *Ibid.*, 4, 15; also see Appendix 1.
66. *Ibid.*, 4, 24.
67. *Ibid.*, 4, 25.
68. Ibid., 4, 26-32.
69. *Ibid.*, 4, 13-14.

debarred from holding any office like that of the ācārya or the gaṇāvac-chedaka. If, after these three years of suspension, he behaved well and was well-controlled in the fourth year then only he was deemed fit for the office. If a gaṇāvacchedaka did the same offence while remaining in the office, then he was debarred from holding any office throughout the rest of the life. The same was the case regarding the ācāryopādhyāya. But if he did so after first laying down his authority, then he was suspended for three years and was deemed fit for office if in the fourth year he was found to be of a cooled and normal behaviour.[70]

That was regarding the violation of celibacy. But if a monk became a worldly person (ohāyaï) after leaving the gaṇa, then he was suspended and was taken to be qualified for any office three years after his re-entry to monkhood, and that too if his behaviour was normal in the fourth year. If, however, the gaṇāvacchedaka and the ācāryopādhyāya did the same fault without leaving their office, then they were disqualified for any office throughout their life. If, on the other hand, they did so after leaving the office, then they were suspended for three years.[71]

Suspension (cheya: cheda) was also carried out in the case of a monk who wanted to join another gaṇa in order to avoid atonement for an offence committed by him. In this case, the monk had to undergo five days' suspension (pañcarāïndiyāiṁ cheyaṁ kaṭṭu) and then was readmitted to the same gaṇa if the latter consented to it (gaṇassa pattiyaṁ siyā).[72]

The Church Groups:

Bounded by these rules of seniority and suspension, the monks were divided into different groups under various ācāryas.

Gaṇa:

The gaṇa was the biggest group in the Church, and according to the *Bṛhatkalpa*, it seems to have comprised several sambhogas.[73] It was under the leadership of an ācārya or gaṇin.

Changing the Gaṇa:

We have already seen that the *Sthānāṅga*[74] allowed a monk to change his gaṇa for all sorts of subjective reasons, and that a person changing his

70. *Ibid.*, 3, 13-17.
71. *Ibid.*, 3, 18-22.
72. *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 5.
73. *Ibid.*, 4, 18-20; sambhoga, not a new term as it is found, as we have already seen, in the Mūlasūtra: *Uttar°*. 29, 33.
74. P. 381a.

gaṇa often within a period of six months was called 'gāṇaṅgaṇiya.' The Chedasūtras repeat the same rule and changing one's gaṇa within six months was looked upon as a 'śabala' or a major fault.[75]

Besides this periodical limit to the change of the gaṇa, another check to the tendency of changing it was that the monk had to secure the free consent of his superior before doing so. This rule was compulsory for all and even the officers of the Church hierarchy who wanted to do so had first to lay down their office in the present gaṇa and then go to another gaṇa.[76]

One of the reasons of changing the gaṇa was the obtaining of alms jointly with members of another gaṇa (aṇṇaṁ gaṇaṁ sambhogapaḍiyāë uvasampajjittāṇaṁ viharittaë). In this case also, the monk had to seek permission of his superior and he had to see that he was going to the other gaṇa which had strong faith in the Dharma (jatthuttariyaṁ dhammaviṇayaṁ labhejjā). The same was the rule in the case of the officers who wanted to change the gaṇa for the same reason.[77]

On the grounds of making an advanced study also, it seems, a monk was allowed to change the gaṇa and go to another gaṇa. But he was allowed to do so only after giving proper reasons for it; otherwise he could not change his teacher.[78]

A monk, who had committed an offence and refusing to atone for it wanted to go to another gaṇa, had to undergo five days' suspension (pañcarāïndiyāiṁ cheyaṁ),[79] as has been noted. Confession of faults before the superior was compulsory and the monk had to undergo a penance as "imposed by tradition" (suëṇa paṭṭhavië). The monk who failed to carry out such an expiatory penance was not admitted back to the gaṇa.[80]

Nobody was allowed to go to a gaṇa of less standing from that of a greater standing (vusarāïyāö gaṇāö avusarāïyaṁ gaṇaṁ ?);[81] and in case somebody did it, then he had to undergo a punishment for that (cāümmāsiyaṁ parihāraṭṭāṇaṁ ugghāïyaṁ).[82]

If after entering some other gaṇa, the monk was asked by somebody regarding his superior then he was to tell the name of that superior who

75. *Daśāśruta.*, 2nd Daśā.
76. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 15-17.
77. *Ibid.*, 4, 18-20.
78. *Ibid.*, 4, 21-24.
79. *Ibid.*, 5, 5.
80. *Ibid.*, 4, 25.
81. The Dictionary meaning of 'vusirāïya' is 'well-controlled' *Pāïyasadda*, p. 1019.
82. *Nis.* 16, 15.

had the greatest standing (paryāya) to his credit. If he was asked regarding the 'kappa', then he told the name of the well-versed one in the group, or else he said that he was ready to remain under the control of him to whom he would be handed over.[83]

Besides the change of a gaṇa, monks were allowed to withdraw for some period their membership of a particular gaṇa. In case a monk wanted to practise the 'egalavihārapaḍimā' (the paḍimā or monastic standard in which a monk lived alone for performing a penance), then he ceased to take part in the daily affairs of the gaṇa, after taking the permission of the guru. On his completing the paḍimā, he was allowed re-entry only after confession (āloëjjā) of faults, if any.[84] In case a majority of monks wanted to live separately (egayaö abhinicāriyaṁ cāraë), then they could do so only after the permission of the elders (thera), otherwise they had to undergo suspension (cheya) or isolation (parihāra).[85]

Those who wanted re-entry or had come from another gaṇa after committing moral faults, were first to undergo confession and condemnation of faults, had to determine not to repeat those faults again, to undergo a prāyaścitta for it, and then be the members of their old gaṇa or a new one.[86]

The person who was punished with either the 'aṇavaṭṭhappā' or the 'pārañciya' could be consecrated again at the express desire of the gaṇa (gaṇassa pattiyaṁ siyā), irrespective of the fact whether that punished person had followed the life of a householder or not after his dismissal. Thus a vote of confidence in him by the rest of the members of the gaṇa was taken to be a sufficient qualification of that person for his claim to re-entry to his old group.

Along with this power of re-admitting a person to the gaṇa, the right of driving out (nijjūhaṇa) a person from the gaṇa was also exercised by the members of a gaṇa. Those who refused to atone for their offence or were of loose character were expelled from the gaṇa. Consideration, however, was shown to those who were ill, and they were not expelled till they were free from disease.[87]

Kula :

The kulas formed a gaṇa (gaṇaḥ kulānāṁ samudāyaḥ),[88] and it seems that it was under the authority of some junior ācārya who was in turn under

83. *Vav.* 4, 18. Transl. as suggested by Muni KEVALAVIJAYA.
84. *Ibid.*, 1, 25-27; 6, 10-11; 7, 1.
85. *Ibid.*, 4, 19.
86. *Ibid.*, 6, 10-11.
87. *Ibid.*, 2, 6-17.
88. *Aup. Comm.* p. 81; according to the *Bṛh.kalpa.*, a gaṇa comprises several sambhogas

the control of the chief ācārya who was the head of the gaṇa consisting of several kulas. Every monk was expected to do service (veāvacca) to his kula.[89] Comparatively later texts, like the *Saṁstārakaprakīrṇaka,*[90] lay down the rule which makes it compulsory for every monk to beg pardon of the members of a kula and a gaṇa before lying over the 'Santhāra' for undertaking a fast unto death. No further details are available regarding the kula.

The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, some portions of which are later than the Chedasūtras, mentions a number of Śākhās. It may be noted that the Chedasūtras do not mention anything regarding the Śākhās; so also the Niryuktis.

From the *Kalpasūtra*. it appears that, the Śākhās were "the lines which branch off from each teacher". JACOBI says, "It is not quite clear what is meant by Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā. Gaṇa designates the school which is derived from one teacher; Kula the succession of teachers in one line; Śākhā the lines which branch off from each teacher".[91]

It seems that such branches not only adopted the names of persons from whom they started but also the names of places where they originated.[92]

Gaccha :

As compared with the Aṅgas. the gaccha comes to more prominence than the gaṇa in the Niryukti period,[93] and it should be noted that the commentators always explain the 'gaṇa' as the 'gaccha', in later days.[94] Not only in the commentaries, but even in the later parts of the Canon consisting of the Prakīrṇakas,[95] the gaccha has found its way.

From the explanation given of a gaccha by the commentator in the *Aupapātika*,[96] it is not clear whether there was any limit to the member-

89. *Vav*. 10, 34.
90. 4 *v*. 104.
91. *Kalpasūtra, SBE*., XXII, p. 288, fn. 2.
92. See end of this chapter.
93. *Ogha-N. Comp*. p. 211a; Gaṇin, head of a gaccha, equated with ācārya in *Āvaśyaka-N*. pp. 353ab.
94. *Thāṇ Comm*. pp. 241b, 331b, 353a, 381a.
95. As for instance, the *Gacchācāvaprakīrṇaka* deals with the good and bad gacchas. It should be noted that the *Kalpasūtra* does not mention the gaccha.
96. P. 86.

ship of a gaccha, for it is explained there as the 'ekācāryaparivāraḥ' i.e. *the following of one ācārya.* The same is the case in one of the Prakīrṇakas,[97] *which explains a gaccha as consisting of monks of different age* (sabālavṛddhākulaṁ gacchaṁ). The Chedasūtras like *Vyavahāra, Niśītha* and *Bṛhatkalpa* seldom speak of a gaccha, and it may be, that with the spread of Jainism, smaller groups than the gaṇa were found to be more convenient both for Church administration and for the purpose of touring life.

That every monk had to owe allegiance to a particular gaccha is clear from some verses in the *Oghaniryukti* which compare the monks, living outside the gaccha, with fish out of water. The corporate life was essential for the maintenance of and mutual control over perfect moral behaviour, and for keeping the unity of the Church intact.[98] Only the pratyekabuddhas, the jinakalpikas and those following the pratimās were allowed to stay outside the gaccha.[99]

The gaccha, according to the *Aupapātika*[100] was under an ācārya, while according to the *Gacchācāra*[101] the sūri was the sole support (medhī ālambaṇaṁ) of a gaccha. Sūri seems to be a later term for the ācārya as we seldom find it in the earlier portions of the Jaina Canon. That officer looked after the spiritual aspect of the group, and the members of a gaccha had to conform to the rules of behaviour as expected of every member.[102]

Thus it would be clear that the institution of the gaccha came into prominence in the Upāṅgas, the Niryuktis, and later texts of the Canon like the Prakīrṇakas, even though the Chedasūtras gave prominence to the gaṇa.

Gumma:

This was a part of the gaccha (gacchaikadeśa) and was under the control of an upādhyāya.[103]

97. *Gaccha. v.* 22; the *Āvaśyaka-N.* speaks of three hundred members of a gaccha under the gaṇdhara of Mahāvīra: *v.* 597.

98. *Ogha-N.* 116-117; 488.

99. *Ibid.,* 125.

100. P. 125.

101. *V.* 8.

102. *The Gacchācāra* mentions many moral qualities of a good gaccha:
Good gaccha: *vs.* 51-75; 77-84; 86-87; 90; 98-100; 102, 104, 105, 117, 123, 127, 130-131.
Bad gaccha: *vs.* 50, 76, 85, 88-89, 91-97, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106-116; 118-122; 124-126; 128-129; 132-134.

103. *Aupa.* p. 86; It may be a territorial unit: from Sk. 'gulma'.

Phaḍḍaya :

The phaḍḍaya (spardhaka ?) was still a smaller unit (laghutaro gacchadeśa eva) and was under the authority of gaṇāvacchedaka.[104]

It may be noted here that, according to the *Aupapātika,* the gaṇāvacchedaka was the head of a smaller unit than the one under the upādhyāya, and it is, therefore, possible that the former was subordinate to the latter. But, as we have already seen, the *Vyavahārasūtra* expects identical qualifications for the posts of the *ācārya* and the gaṇāvacchedaka hinting that both these persons were of equal calibre and in no way subordinate to the upādhyāya.

SCHUBRING[105] remarks, "One does not gather the impression that what is meant by gaccha, gumma and phaḍḍa are technical divisions although the commentator speaks of gaccha, gumma and phaḍḍaä as being subordinate to ācārya, upādhyāya and gaṇāvacchedaka respectively ".

Sambhoga :

We have already seen that this unit is mentioned in the Aṅgas. This group is mentioned often in the Chedasūtras also. The Niryuktis—especially the *Oghaniryukti*—give several rules regarding the attitude to be adopted by monks towards monks of different sambhogas.

The sambhoga, according to the *Aupapātika*,[106] was a group of monks following one sāmācārī or rules of conduct peculiar to every group. The purposes for which such groups were formed have been already noted as given in the *Sthānāṅga*. The membership of a sambhoga was through admission, and that admission had to be repeated when a monk wanted to enter another sambhoga or if he desired to change the gaṇa.[107] Not only for the purpose of common meals and study but even for the purpose of confession and service, the group acted as a compact unit.[108]

For those who wanted to join a particular sambhoga after leaving their previous one, the permission of the ācārya was obligatory. It was only when he permitted and when the candidate underwent a prāyaścitta, that he was readmitted to a sambhoga. The members of a particular sambhoga were not to severe all connections abruptly with the members of

104. *Ibid.*
105. *Die Lehre der Jainas,* article 140; Transl. by Mr. MARATHE.
106. P. 74; *Ogha-N. v.* 691.
107. *Vav.* 7, 1.
108. *Ibid.*, 5, 19; saying that there are no duties pertaining to a sambhoga was a fault and the monk had to undergo prāyaścitta for it: *Nis.* 5, 63.

another sambhoga. But they were to let them know the faults in their conduct, and give them a period for improvement. If they regretted for their misbehaviour then the connections were not severed.[109]

The institution of sambhoga seems to have flourished not only during the period of the Chedasūtras but also at the time of the Mathurā inscriptions[110] which are attributed to the early centuries of the Christian era. Not only that, but even the Niryuktis, which are roughly assigned to the fourth century A.D., also mention it.

Maṇḍalī :

The maṇḍalī was another group of monks formed for various reasons.

If a monk was seriously ill, then a group was formed in order to nurse him by turn. Besides this, for other reasons such as helping a very older or young monk, a novice who did not know proper rules of conduct, a prince unable to beg food on account of his tenderness, and for the sake of helping a guest-monk, a maṇḍalī was formed.[111] The monk who was attached to such a group and who ate alms together with other members of the group was called 'maṇḍalīūpajīvakaḥ'.[112]

This group of monks was headed by an old monk well-versed in the execution of rules of monastic conduct (gītārtho ratnādhikaḥ alubdhaḥ). Such a thera was called 'maṇḍalīthera'.[113]

It seems, that the maṇḍalī was not a group in the technical sense as in the case of a gaṇa or a gaccha. It may perhaps be better to assign it the modest position of a co-operative unit.

RULES OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE :

The members of various groups were bound to one another by ties of duty and mutual help. Of course, the junior monk was expected to show implicit obedience and modesty to the superior, and the thirty-three 'āsāyaṇas'[114] may be said to be nothing else than rules of etiquette and obedience to be followed by the 'seha' or novice.

Walking, standing or sitting in front of, or close to, or in line with the guru, performing ālocanā earlier than the elder, opening conversation

109. *Vav.* 7, 1-2.
110. *E.I.*, Vol. X, LÜDERS' List.
111. *Ogha-N.* 553. (also *comm.* p. 183b).
112. *Ibid.*, 522, 547.
113. *Ibid.*, 561; *comm.* p. 185a, 186a.
114. *Daśāśruta.*, 3rd Daśā.

with a visitor earlier than the guru, not heeding the call of the guru, exchange of food with others or exhibition of food, addressing the senior in a singular term or hating him, interrupting the sermon or congregation, showing carelessness towards the requisites of a guru,—all these were taken as signs of disrespect to the elder and the disciple had to undergo confession, condemnation and punishment for such transgressions.[115]

But besides these general rules of conduct, the Chedasūtras show a definite planning and process of execution of the rules of monastic jurisprudence as we shall presently see.

Monastic Jurisprudence :

We have already seen that the Aṅgas[116] do mention the principal ten prāyaścittas and the exact cases where the last two punishments were brought into play.

The "procedure towards a transgressor" (vavahāra) was fivefold.[117] It was either based on the Canon (āgame), or tradition (suë), or law (āṇā), or charge (dhāranā) or on the custom handed down (jīë).

The elaboration of this fivefold vavahāra is to be found in the Chedasūtras where concrete cases are cited and different prāyaścittas are prescribed for them. Especially the last four—cheda, mūla, aṇavaṭṭhappa and pārañcia—come to prominence.

(a) *Cheda* :

As the term suggests, cheda meant "the loss of a part of the monk's ecclesiastical rank among his brethren, which dates from his second reception, the definitive consecration to the vow".[118] The ācārya was the person who decided whether a particular transgression was to be punished with 'cheda' or 'parihāra'.

The minimum cut in the paryāya was of five days (pañcarāïndiyāiṁ cheyaṁ).[119] This cut increased with persons in authority for an upādhyāya had the minimum cut of ten days, and an ācārya fifteen days.

Apart from considerations of authority, the period of reduction was also based on the duration during which the transgressions were repeated

115. *Ibid.*, also *Nis.* 16, 38; 19, 24; 16, 13-14; 10, 1-3; *Ogha-N.* 609.

116. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 162b-164a: āloāṇa, paḍikkamaṇa, tadubhaya, vivega, viüssagga, tava, cheda, mūla, aṇavaṭṭhappa and pārañciä.

117. *Vav.* 10, 2; see also *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 267, fn. 45.

118. SCHUBRING: *I.A.*, 39, p. 262 fn. 25; 'paryāyacchedanaṁ' *Aup. comm.* p. 78.

119. See Appendix 1, for these cases; *Jīt. vs.* 80-82; *bhā.* 2280-87.

(santarā cheya). In this connection, SCHUBRING, says, "If a monk persists in his fault through half a month, his seniority, will, according to a probably late scale given in the Cūrṇi, be reduced by two and a half months, as the minimum for a monk is five days (for an uvajjhāya ten, an āyariya fifteen), the maximum six, twelve and eighteen months respectively ".[120]

(b) *Parihāra* :

Parihara or 'isolation' has been greatly dealt with in the *Bṛhatkalpa, Vyavahāra* and *Niśītha*, even though it does not occur in the traditional list of the ten prāyaścittas.

This parihāra punishment lasted either for one month (māsiyaṁ), or for four months (cāümmāsiyaṁ),[121] even though the maximum is given as six months in one of the texts of the Chedasūtras.[122]

It seems that the parihāra was twofold: either it was ugghāïya or aṇugghāïya. These terms are explained by SCHUBRING as follows: "The expressions ugghāïya and aṇugghāïya that appear here denote conditional sentences passed on persons for transgressions. They represent the intervention of a period (udghāta), in which the punishment is softened or made mild between the different periods of expiation, perhaps also the pronouncement of the sentence and its carrying out ".[123]

The monk who was undergoing the parihāra tapa was completely isolated and other monks were not allowed to exchange food or other requisites with him.[124] No eating of food with him in a common vessel was allowed. Not only that, but such a pārihārika monk was not even to be invited by others for the purposes of seeking alms jointly and then divide it. One who did so had himself to undergo parihāra for one month.[125]

Due consideration, however, was shown to the transgressor undergoing parihāra if he fell ill. In such cases, the gaṇāvacchedaka had to wait upon him for which the patient had to undergo a minor punishment in addition to the parihāra (ahālahusaë nāma vavahāre). Under no circumstances, however, service could be denied to him.[126]

120. *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 262, fn. 25.
121. See Appendix 1 for such cases.
122. *Vav. Uddesa* 1.
123. SCHUBRING, *Vavahara- und Nisiha- sutta*, (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 9-10.
124. *Vav.* 2, 28-30.
125. *Nis.* 4, 112; See Appendix 1.
126. *Vav.* 2, 6.

If a majority of monks were undergoing the parihāra, then the minority of monks who were free from fault, could not share common meals with them for one month after their parihāra tapa was complete. But they could have verbal contact with them. They could even live together for six months, but no common meals could be shared within that period or one month after it.[127]

(c) *Mūla* :

Complete cheda led to 'mūla'. In the mūla, the monk lost all his period of monkhood right since his entering the order, and he had to begin anew his career as a monk (punarvratopasthāpanam).[128]

It should be noted that the Chedasūtras like the *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Vyavahāra* and *Niśītha* seldom refer to it, while the *Jītakalpa* does not furnish much details about it as it does in the case of ālōyaṇā and other forms of prāyaścittas. In the Aṅgas also, we do not find details about it, and the *Sthānāṅga* gives cases only of the aṇavaṭṭhappa and pārañciya.

(d) *Aṇavaṭṭhappa* :

This is explained by the commentary as 'acaritatapoviśeṣasya vrateṣu anavasthāpanam'. When the whole paryāya was wiped out, then, before the monk was reinitiated, a period was given to him in which he had to make sincere efforts for qualifying himself for re-entry to monkhood. If he failed to do so, then he was not allowed to enter monkhood again.

Three cases of aṇavaṭṭhappa ("temporary excommunication") are given in the *Bṛhatkalpa*.[129] The persons who stole something belonging to their co-religionists, or belonging to persons of another sect, or who struck others with a fist, had to undergo aṇavaṭṭhappa.[130]

(e) *Pārañciya* :

This was the final and the greatest punishment inflicted on the transgressor. It denoted the expulsion of the monk from the order and thus putting an end to his life as a monk.

Such persons who were of a criminal nature (duṭṭha), indifferent to rules of behaviour (pamatta), and sodomites had to undergo this punishment.[131]

127. *Ibid.*, 2, 27-28: Interpretation by Muni KEVALAVIJAYAJI.
128. *Aup. comm.* p. 78; *Jīt.* 83-86: *bhā. vs.* 2288-2300.
129. 4, 3; also *Jīt.* 87-98: *bhā*, 2301-2410.
130. See Appendix 1 for details.
131. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 2; *Jīt.* 94-101: *bhā.* 2463-2585.

It should be noted that pārañciya, samukkasaṇa and ṇijjūhaṇa were different terms.

The first denoted final driving out of a person from the order of monks, the second implied the expulsion of a person holding office if he lost the confidence of his followers, and the third term represented the omission of a person from a particular gaṇa or a group of monks.

Besides these ten prāyaścittas, circumstances arose which required a different mode of punishment. For instance, if a monk practising austerities "goes out of the service of the elders and there perchance commits a fault, and the elders hear of it, either coming themselves or hearing it from others, then one may proceed towards him in the lightest way" (ahālahusaë nāma vavahāre).[132]

The principle underlying these rules of monastic jurisprudence was based on the sound view of giving all concessions to the guilty to refute the charges levelled against him. Therefore, it was laid down that the church officers should put more faith in him who confessed the fault of his own accord, than in some others who reported the fault to the elders. For it was said that the procedure of dealing with the transgressor was based fundamentally on truth (saccapaïnnā vavahārā).[133]

The Executors of Punishment:

This being the case, the necessity of having a head-supervisor above a group of monks was all the more necessary and no monk was allowed to wander or remain alone. If while wandering from village to village, the leader of a group of monks died, then the monks were immediately to select and appoint another head. Those who chose to remain without a superior over them, had to undergo 'cheda' or 'parihāra'.[134]

It should be noted that these executors of judgment, in the persons of the ācārya and the upādhyāya, were also bound by certain rules. Deliberate postponement of confirmation of a novice, the violation of morals either when holding office or after leaving it, and refusing to leave office when others demand for it were looked upon as grave offences, and the Church officers had to undergo a more severe punishment than ordinary monks. So also calling an 'ugghāïya' fault as 'aṇugghāïya' and vice versa,

132. *Bṛh.kalp.* 5, 53; Engl. Transl., *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 267; see fn. 45 on the same page, where according to the Cūrṇi the 'ahālahusaö' is explained as being a fast of five days of the nirvikṛtika mode.

133. *Vav.* 2, 24-25.

134. *Ibid.*, 4, 11-12.

or giving punishment for an ugghāïya when aṇugghāïya was committed or vice versa, made a person liable for punishment.[135]

Cases of Quarrel and Misbehaviour :

Another duty of the superiors was to see that no contact was kept with those who had separated themselves owing to a quarrel (vuggahavakkanta ?). Those who gave food, drink, eatables or chewables, clothing and other requisites, residence or instructions to those who had fallen out owing to a quarrel had to undergo the 'parihāra' punishment.[136] This indicates that the monks were not always a contented and peace-loving community under all circumstances.

Along with quarrels, kidnapping (avaharaï) of others's disciples (seha) was looked upon as a fault as that was likely to give rise to ill-feeling and quarrel when the novice belonged to an ācārya of another gaṇa or to a heretical creed, respectively.[137]

External Relations of the Church :

As in the case of the internal management, so in the matter of external relations, the monks had to abide by certain rules.

(i) *Relations with persons in authority* :

To avoid political controversies entering into church affairs, the monks were forbidden to make friends with (attīkareï), or show profound respect to (accīkareï), or use for one's purpose (atthīkareï) the king, or king's bodyguards (rāyārakkhiyaṁ), or the protector of the city (nagarārakkhiyaṁ), or of the trading centre (niggama), or of the country (desa),[138] or of the village (gāma), or of the boundaries, or of the forest.[139]

Along with this, monks were disallowed to go frequently to enemical regions[140] and in cases of revolution (rajjapariyaṭṭa), the monks were asked to obey the laws of the former king till a new successor was selected. When the latter was selected they were asked to obey the new king.[141]

It would be clear from the above rules that the Church was shrewd enough to abstain from any political entanglement, and sought quietly to spread its hold on the masses with political neutrality.

135. *Nis.*, 10, 15-18.
136. *Ibid.*, 16, 16-24.
137. *Ibid.*, 10, 11-12.
138. *Ibid.*, 4, 1-18.
139. *Ibid.*, 4, 40-48.
140. *Ibid.*, 11, 71.
141. *Vav.* 7, 22-23: Interpretation by Muni Kevalavijayaji.

(ii) *Relations with laymen* :

Inspite of the fact that the devoted laymen were of immense help to monks in times of difficulty or otherwise, the relations of monks and householders were friendly but not verging on affinity and excessive dependence.

Monks were allowed to seek food, requisites and lodging from them, but no contacts of intimacy were allowed. The monks, for instance, were disallowed to eat food in the vessels of the householders (gihī), or put on their clothes, or carry their seats or make diagnosis of their illness or treat them.[142] No worldly advice or activity was ever allowed to the monk.

So also, undue pressure on laymen so as to make them enter the order was not allowed, and a monk who either initiated or confirmed (uvaṭṭhāveï) a person unwilling or unable to practise monklife, had to undergo four months' isolation (parihāra).[143]

(iii) *Relations with nuns* :

The junior monks rarely came in contact with the nuns and the rules regarding their attitude towards nuns were strict.

Monks could go to the nunnery only after the permission of their ācārya who gave it only on sufficient grounds. After seeking permission, the monk was expected to enter the nunnery in a proper manner. If he entered it in an improper manner (avihīë), then he had to undergo punishment. So also, keeping a stick, or a staff, or a broom, or a mouthpiece, or any other requisite in the path of the nuns made a monk liable for punishment.[144]

The nuns could see monks only for the purpose of study. No common begging, or partaking of food, or initiating for one's purpose, or exchange of requisites was allowed between monks and nuns.[145] Telling lot of stories at odd times in the company of women,[146] or gazing at, or pondering over the forms of women was not allowed.

Taking the help of a heretic or a householder and making them stitch a saṅghaḍī for a nun, or massage the feet of a nun was deemed a fault for which a monk was liable to punishment.[147]

142. *Nis.* 12, 10-13.
143. *Ibid.*, 11, 84-85.
144. *Ibid.*, 4, 24.
145. For further details, see chapter on the "Order of Nuns".
146. *Nis.* 8, 10.
147. *Ibid.*, 12, 7.

(iv) *Relations with persons of other faith* (*aṇṇaütthiya*) :

To maintain the integrity of the Church and purity of monastic conduct, monks were not allowed to have any contact with heretics.

Giving food to a heretic or liking to do so, or accepting it from him, eating food encircled by female heretics, requesting a heretic for food and sharing a common meal—all these were taken to be faults.[148]

Along with food, monks were not permitted to exchange requisites with them. Asking them to carry one's requisites, or getting a stick or a bamboo-needle or an avalehaṇiyā cut or made by them, was not allowed.[149]

No common stay was permitted to a monk with a heretic and he was asked to be away from him even in the rainy season.[150]

Bodily contact, of course, was not encouraged under any circumstances, and the monk who got his feet massaged by a heretic had to undergo four months' parihāra.[151]

Teaching or reading with heretics the sciences of omens, astrology, spells, magic and other popular practices, architecture, gambling, etc. was not allowed. Speaking harsh words to a heretic was not permitted as it was liable to lead to a quarrel.[152]

Even in minor matters contact with the heretic was avoided. The monk was disallowed to make a heretic prepare either a foot-path, or a bridge, or pingoes, or a curtain, or perform any activity pertaining to a needle, a razor, a nail-cutter or an ear-cleaner, for his own purposes.[153]

Thus, it may not be wrong to conclude that the heretics were to be treated along the same lines as persons with loose morals, and all contact was to be avoided with them.

Touring:

As we have already seen, the monks and nuns led a wandering life during the eight months of summer and winter, and were forbidden to do so in the rainy season.[154]

148. *Ibid.*, 3, 1-12; 15, 75-78; 16, 36-37: 12, 41.
149. *Ibid.*, 1, 40; 12, 40; 15, 79-98.
150. *Ibid.*, 10, 46.
151. *Ibid.*, 15, 13-65.
152. *Ibid.*, 13, 12-29.
153. *Ibid.*, 1, 11-18.
154. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 36.

It seems that they had to wander in groups and nobody was allowed to tour alone. Even the ācāryopādhyāya and the gaṇāvacchedaka had to do so accompanied by one and two monks respectively.[155]

Limits of Wandering:

Monks and nuns were forbidden to travel beyond Aṅga-Magadha in the east, upto Kauśāmbī in the south, upto the district of Sthūṇā in the west, and northwards upto Kuṇāla.[156] These limits roughly enclose between them the provinces of Bihar, portions of Uttar Pradesh and borders of Orissa and West Bengal. The concession, however, given to the monks to wander in those regions wherever Jaina faith prevailed, tends to point to the growing spread of Jainism beyond these limits.[157]

Unfit Regions:

Places where anarchy prevailed or rebellion took place, or where barbarous (aṇāriya) people like the Dasuga (Dasyu ?) or the Milakkhū (mlečcha?) lived,—as for instance in the country called Lāḍha—, were to be avoided by monks.[158]

Entering into and coming out of the following ten great cities twice or thrice in a month was taken to be a transgression: Campā, Mahurā, Vāṇārasī, Sāvatthī, Sāēya, Kampilla, Kosambī, Mihilā, Hatthiṇāpura, and Rāyagiha.[159] A monk who did so had to undergo punishment for that.[160]

Period of Stay:

As against the rule of the *Ācārāṅga* which required the monk to stay for a night in a village and five nights in a town (nayara), the *Bṛhatkalpa*[161] permitted a monk to stay for a month in summer and winter in places like a village, a free town, etc. which were without houses outside. If such places were enclosed, and there were some houses inside as well as outside the enclosure, then they were allowed to stay one month inside and another month outside the enclosure.

155. *Vav.* 4, 1-4.
156. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 51.
157. "Jattha ṇāṇadaṁsaṇacārittāiṁ ussappanti"; see also *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 417-18.
158. *Nis.* 16, 26; *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 38.
159. *Nis.* 9, 19.
160. See Appendix 1.
161. 1, 6-7.

Water Journey:

The *Ācārāṅga* allowed boat travel.[162] But the five great rivers—Gaṅgā, Jaüṇā, Sarayū, Erāvatī and Mahī,[163] were not allowed to be crossed in a boat or swum twice or thrice within a month. The Chedasūtras simply repeat the rule, but go a step further in ascribing a definite punishment for violating the rule.

Getting into a boat for bad purposes, entering into or encouraging transactions of a boat, pushing it into water from the ground and vice versa, helping in taking out a grounded boat, acting as a boatman, pulling or stopping a boat by a rope, taking out water in a boat by means of a pot, covering the leakage with the hand, foot, leaves or bamboo, and carrying the boat—all these were deemed faults.[164]

Further details are to be obtained in the Niryuktis as will be clear from the following account.

Beginning the Tour:

Before undertaking a tour, the monk asked permission of his guru. If at that time, the guru was asleep, then the monk awakened him. But even when after awakening him, he indulged in meditation, then the monk waited till his meditation was over and then sought permission. If a monk had forgotten to take permission, then he returned and took the guru's permission before undertaking a travel.[165]

How to Ask the Way:

If a monk did not know the proper way, then he asked it to two gentlemen belonging to his own faith. In case they were not available, then he inquired about it of the people belonging to other sects. He had to refrain from asking the way to old people on the ground that old people are said to be generally of a forgetful nature. Children were supposed to be always of playful mood and women and eunuchs were taken to be ignorant about roads. Hence a monk was not to ask about the way to them.

The monk approached a middle-aged person (majjhima), and asked him the way. In case such a person was not available then he could approach an old person with strong memory or a youth of good nature. The same order was to be followed in cases of women and eunuchs.

162. II, 3, 1, 14 (p. 139).
163. *Thaṇ.* 308b; Also in *Nis.* 12, 42; The *Bṛh.kalp.* replaces Kosiyā in the place of Erāvatī: 4, 27.
164. *Nis.* 18, 1-20.
165. *Ogha-N.* 9.

A person nearby was to be asked regarding the road. If he did not care to reply, then he was not to be asked again. A cowherd who stood at a distance in a field, was not to be approached as it was likely to involve injury to living beings and there was fear of getting injured due to thorns, etc.[166]

Proper Road:

A road which was free from living beings was to be adopted while touring. Therefore a dry and dustless road was preferred to all the rest. In case, however, such a road was not available, then the monk was allowed to go along a muddy road.[167]

Walking over a bridge made of one log or of many logs of wood without resting on anything, or over one from which dust fell down while walking, was not allowed.[168]

Rain and Mist:

The monk was not allowed to tour in rain or mist. But if, while he was travelling, rain set in, then he took shelter in a nearby house. If, however, he had gone far ahead, then he took resort to a deserted house or a tree. In cases of torrential rain, he climbed a dried up tree. If a sudden flood overtook the place, then he was allowed to go by a bridge or cross it.[169]

Touring under Calamities (aśiva):

The monk in normal circumstances did not remain alone. But in cases of trouble from divine deities (asiva), or in famine (omoyariā̈), or danger from the king (rāyabhaya), or general excitation in the region (khuhiä), or in the practice of fasting (uttamaṭṭha), or when he lost his way (phiḍiä) or when he was ill (gilāṇa), etc., he had sometimes to face lonely life.[170]

In the first four cases, the monk left the place immediately before these calamities took place and sought habitation elsewhere.

Illness, Old Age and Touring:

The ill and the old were allowed to stay at one place at least for a period of five days as that was taken to be the minimum period required for

166. *Ibid.*, 9-21.

167. *Ogha-N.* 23-25: for details about muddy and dusty roads, and the types to be avoided: *Ibid., Comm.* pp. 29b, 30a. A 'pāyalehaṇiyā' was used to take out the mud from the feet: See under Requisites.

168. *Ibid.*, 31.

169. *Ibid.* 28-30.

170. *Ibid.*, 7.

recovery. They were allowed to extend their stay for ten or fifteen days more, if necessary.[171]

Trouble from Robbers:

If, while searching for a proper residence for the rainy season, members of the advance party were kidnapped by thieves, then the monks wrote some letters on the road (akkhara), or purposely scattered their garments (parisāḍaṇa) so as to give a clue to those who searched them afterwards.[172]

Water-travel:

In cases of emergency or unavoidable circumstances, a monk was allowed to go through water. While doing so, however, he was first to choose to cross over with the help of firm stones kept in the water. If such a device was not available then he first wiped his feet and then entered water. He crossed the way either through water flowing over stones, or flowing with a little amount of mud (mahusittha), or over sand (vāluā) or over thick mud (kaddama). He was to choose the way in the order given above.[173]

If the water was navel-deep (nābhipramāṇa), then he followed the laymen. The water containing animals, etc. compelled him to walk in between householders, and he tightened his colapaṭṭa in order to avoid it flowing away with the force of the water. There being no householder whose help could be taken, he tested the depth of the water by means of a stick called Nālikā which was four aṅgulas more in height than his own. Then binding all his requisites together, with the mouths of the begging bowl and other utensils downwards (adhomukha) and the latter too bound with a piece of cloth (cīra) so as to become his support, he crossed the water.

Coming out, he stood at the bank till the colapaṭṭaka stopped dripping water. In case the place was full of trouble (sabhaya), he went to some other place by holding the cloth in his hand and did not allow it to touch the body due to the fear of killing the water-bodies (śarīrakṛtāpkāyavirādhanā-bhayāt).[174]

While travelling in a boat, he did not get into it first but did so when some people had already entered it. Having done the 'pratyākhyāna', he sat neither at the front nor in the middle, nor in the passage. But he occupied one of the side portions (pāsa) of the boat and indulged in the 'ṇamokkāra.' At the time of getting down also he got down in between some people, i.e.,

171. *Ibid.*, 165.
172. *Ibid.*, 247.
173. *Ibid.*, 32-33.
174. *Ibid.*, 35-36.

neither first or last. Then coming to the bank, he did kāyotsarga for a period of twenty-five ucchvāsas.[175]

If the water was crossable he was allowed to cross it by means of a gourd (tumba).[176]

Cases of Fire:

If while touring conflagration followed a monk, then he waited till it went ahead. If, on the other hand, it approached towards him, then he stood on a wet place or on a grassless region. If either of such places was not available, then he covered his body with skin (katti) or enveloped himself with a wet blanket (ṇantagaüllaṇa), or crossed over the fire by means of shoes (taḍigādidevaṇayā).[177]

Storms and Gales:

If a storm burst over him, he stood on the side of a mountain (ṇiāṁba), or in a bower (vaṇaṇiguñja) and protected himself. If the place was full of danger, he covered himself with a blanket (kappa), etc. in such a way as to prevent any corner of it from hanging (alaṁbamāṇa), as that led to injury to the wind-bodies due to its fluttering.[178]

Reasons of Prolonging Stay:

As in the case of leaving a place, the reasons for prolonging the stay at one place were also more or less the same. If a monk wanted to go to another place and if there was divine trouble (aśiva), or famine, or trouble from the king or from barbarous people along the way, then he continued to stay at the same place. In cases of sudden floods or illness or death of an ācārya also he cancelled his tour. If the region which he wanted to visit was deserted, then also he postponed his going there. In the rainy season he never travelled.[179]

LIFE IN THE RAINY SEASON :

With a view of not inflicting injury to living beings in the overgrowth of vegetation in the rainy season, the monk spent the four months of the rainy season (vassā) at one place.

175. *Ibid.*, 36-37: The Commentary gives some beliefs regarding the place which the monk should not occupy. For instance, the monk was not to sit at the front because that was the place occupied by the goddess of the boat, etc. If he remained behind alone, then the boatman caught him for the fare! *Comm.* p. 33b.

176. *Ibid.*, 38.

177. *Ibid.*, 39.

178. *Ibid.*, 40.

179. *Ibid.*, 111.

The rules regarding life in the rainy season are to be found in the *Daśāśrutaskandha*[180] and the *Kalpasūtra* (of Bhadrabāhū).

When did it Begin?

Mahāvīra began this practice of rain-retreat when "a month and twenty nights of the rainy season had elapsed."[181] This became a rule with the followers of Mahāvīra and they seem to have kept up the practice. It may, however, be noted that the *Niśītha*[182] forbids a monk from touring even in the first showers (paḍhamapāüsammi). He was allowed to begin this stay at one place during the rains, earlier than this period of one month and twenty nights after the rains set in, but under no circumstances was the monk permitted to begin it later than that.[183]

Wandering in the Rainy Season:

Movement was allowed only on the grounds of inner spiritual necessity, or in cases of bringing medicine, etc. to the ill. But in that case also, the monks were not to go beyond four or five yojanas.[184]

Seeking Residence:

In all, three residences were allowed to monks and nuns, out of which two were to be used only on occasions and the third was to be used regularly. The monks had to go to the other two alternate lodgings in order to verify whether somebody else had occupied them.[185]

The Niryuktis[186] give ample details about the mode of searching out a residence and obtaining it for use in the rainy season.

In searching out a lodge, the monks took into consideration the facilities which a place offered to them. The help of a physician, the easy procuring of medicine and other articles required for the ill, etc. stood foremost in the list.[187]

The ācārya consulted all his disciples regarding the place of stay. Then an advance party was sent to verify the facilities or otherwise of that particular place, in order to avoid inconvenience regarding study, alms or easing nature.[188] For this purpose the party consisted of three, five or seven persons

180. 8th Daśā.
181. *Kalpa. Sāmācāri* 1, p. 296.
182. 10, 40-43; also *Ṭhāṇ.*
183. *Kalpa. Sāmā.* 8, p. 297.
184. *Ibid.*, 62, p. 310; half yojana or 1¼ yojana; *Daśā.* N. 74.
185. *Kalpa-Sāmā*, 60 pp. 309-10.
186. *Daśā-N. vs.* 60-86; *Ogha-N.* 128.
187. *Daśā-N.* 67.
188. *Ogha-N.* 128-130; *Daśā-N.* 68.

and only those who were ripe in knowledge and perfect in monastic conduct were sent.[189] In case such well-versed persons were not available, then even a novice (agītārtha) was sent after being instructed in the sāmācārī (proper mode of conduct). If even such a novice was not to be had, then a monk who was on fast was asked to go after breaking his fast. As a last resort a pair consisting of a young and an old monk was sent in search of a proper lodging.

The work of the advance party was to search out proper places of securing water and the places for rest. They verified whether there would be trouble from animals or thieves.[190]

Having reached a particular place, the party divided itself into groups in order to have complete information of the various localities in the town. The first group wandered early morning, the second at mid-day and the third in the afternoon. They accepted only little food so that when come together they possessed sufficient food. While on the begging tour they inquired about milk, molasses, ghee, curds, etc. which were required in cases of illness. Thus they could come to know the devoted families and the antagonistic ones, and find out places for easing nature, etc. as well.[191]

Then the party returned with their impressions of that place and reported their views to the assembly of monks. Then the ācārya considering the opinions of all his disciples, came to a decision regarding the place. It was but natural that those who were greedy of food voted for a place where food was abundant, while those who were studious preferred a place fit for their purpose. But the ācārya used his discrimination and chose a place which, in his opinion, was likely to keep up the morals of the group and where all facilities and requirements could be fulfilled. Besides these items, he took into consideration the age and the state of health of the different members of the groups.[192]

The monks avoided places the road leading to which was full of thieves, beasts or mosquitoes, where there were famine conditions or divine trouble, where there were relatives of the newly initiated who tried to divert him from monkhood, or where there were bad women or enemies. The places which did not provide facilities for easing nature, which were burnt by fire or were deserted, were infested with mlecchas or tāpasas or heretics, where people were in a habit of eating lot of green vegetables, and where the king performed human sacrifice, were deemed unfit for stay.[193]

189. *Ogha-N.* 139-42.
190. *Ibid.,* 143.
191. *Ibid.,* 144-52.
192. *Ibid.,* 158-164: It may be noted that the group is termed a "gaccha".
193. *Ibid.,* 132-33.

Having come across a proper residence, the monks entered it either in the first or in the second quarter (porisī) of the day. Then they carefully scanned and swept it clean. If it was time for begging then a pair of monks remained behind for sweeping and the rest went for begging food.[194]

If, while on tour, rains began, then the monk stayed at the same place where he happened to be at that time. Staying there, he requested the physician there to protect him from idleness or dullness and asked the chief of the village to protect him. After doing this, he stayed at the house of either a layman, or a benefactor, or a prominent person in the village, or at the house of the owner of the village. Then imagining his own staff (**daṇḍa**) as the ācārya, he performed the sāmācāri before it.[195]

The Period of Stay :

The period of stay at one place ceased five or ten days after the rainy season.[196] The *Daśāśrutaskandhaniryukti*[197] puts it more clearly when it says that it starts from the full moon day of āṣāḍha and ends on the tenth day of mārgaśīrṣa. This, however, was not clearly stated to the owner of the lodge and at the end of every five days the monks got the permission of stay extended by five days. Thus they pulled on for the first fifty days and for the rest of the seventy days of the rainy season they definitely told regarding it to the owner. The reason behind this was that if in cases of calamities the monks had to leave the place immediately, then the owner suspected them of telling a lie if they had already told him about their prolonged stay there definitely.[198]

The monks were allowed to continue their stay at the same place after the cessation of the rains, if there was profuse mud along the road or if the rains still continued.[199]

Corporate Life :

Nobody was allowed to remain alone in the rainy season. The ācāryopādhyāya and the gaṇāvacchedaka had to spend the 'vassāvāsa' in the company of two and three other persons respectively.[200]

194. *Ibid.*, 182.
195. *Ibid.*, 113-114.
196. *Nis.* 2, 50; after the closure of rains: *Ogha-N.* 128.
197. *Ibid.*, *v.* 66.
198. *Daśā-N.* 69-72.
199. *Ibid.*, 62.
200. *Vav.* 4, 5-8.

The monk inquired with the people whether any of his other co-religionists were staying there. If the person questioned did not know that, then on coming across monks belonging to his own sambhoga he saluted them and questioned them about their well-being. In case there was a sick monk, he offered all help to him and also suggested some medicines.[201]

Begging of Food in the Rainy Season :

During the four months of the rains monks and nuns did not go beyond a yojana and a krośa to seek alms. If, however, there was a big river in between which was difficult to cross, then they were not allowed to cross it and go further.[202]

Before entering upon the begging tour, the monks took permission of their superior.[203] On account of the fact that the monks practised fasts of various magnitude during the rainy season, they told about the direction in which they wanted to go for begging, so that it served as a clue for their search if they fainted or fell down somewhere due to weakness.[204]

The 'sthavirakalpika' monks begged even if there was little rain, after putting on a lower and an upper garment. But in cases of profuse rain they did not go out for begging.[205] The case was different for those "who ate food in the palms of their hand" (pāṇipadiggāhi) i.e. the Jinakalpikas.' They did not go on the alms-tour even when there was a small sprinkle of rain, and they covered their food to save it from rain drops by means of the palm of their hand, or held it under the armpit, etc. and consumed it in a place free from showers.[206]

Quantity of Food Consumed:

The quantum of food taken in by a monk depended on the magnitude of the fast he undertook, or on the number of dattis (unbroken pourings) he decided to accept, or on the number of houses he decided to visit.

201. *Ogha-N.* 64-69.

202. *Kalpa. sāmā.* 9-13. Such rivers like the Erāvatī near Kuṇāla, which had less water and hence could be crossed 'by putting one foot in the water and keeping the other in the air', were allowed to be crossed if it fell within the region of a yojana and a krośa.

203. *Ibid.*, 46 (p. 306).

204. *Ibid.*, 61 (p. 310).

205. *Ibid.*, 31 (p. 302).

206. *Ibid.*, 28, 30 (p. 301).

1. Based on Fasts:

Magnitude of fast.	*Food and Drink allowed.*	*No. of alms-rounds allowed.*
(i) Eating one meal on every second day.	Water used for making wet flour, or sesamum, or rice.	Two allowed if food was not sufficient.
(ii) ..... every 3rd day.	Water-wash of sesamum, chaff, or barley.	Three.
(iii) ... every 4th day.	Sour gruel, pure (hot) water.	Three.
(iv) More prolonged.	Hot water with no rice.	More than three.
(v) Total abstinence from food.	Filtered hot water limited in quantity but sufficient.	—
(vi) Normal, i.e. eating one meal a day.	All permitted drinks.	—

2. Based on Dattis:

Either five dattis of food and five of drink, or four of food and five of drink or vice versa, plus one datti of salt for preserving his meat. He was not allowed to beg again.

3. Based on the number of houses:

Monks and nuns who restricted the number of houses which they visited for the sake of getting food, were allowed to go to a place "where rice was cooked if it was the seventh house from their place of stay."[207]

Nature of Food Accepted:

Monks and nuns accepted only such food as was cooked before their arrival.[208] So also they did not eat it so long as their body was wet.[209]

Accepting food for and giving it to a sick monk was not allowed unless permitted by the ācārya.[210] Monks in good health were not to accept milk, butter, ghee, curds, oil, sugar, liquor, meat or honey.[211]

207. *Ibid.*, 20-27. (pp. 298-301).
208. *Ibid.*, 33-35 (p. 302).
209. *Ibid.*, 42 (p. 303).
210. *Ibid.*, 14-16 (p. 297).
211. *Ibid.*, 17 (pp. 297-98).

Requisite in the Rainy Season :

We shall presently see that the number of 'aupagrāhika' (of occasional use) requisites was doubled in the rainy season.[212]

But besides the usual articles consisting of garment, alms, bowl, blanket and broom, the *Kalpasūtra*[213] and the *Daśāśrutaskandhaniryukti*[214] prescribe three more pots to be used only in the rainy season for the purpose of depositing excreta, urine and cough.

The monk was allowed to ask for only those requisites to the householdeı which were of use to him and which were already in the possession of the householder. If he asked anything which the layman did not have, then there was a possibility of the householder stealing or buying that article for the sake of the monk who, however, could not accept such.[215]

Residence :

Besides the mode of stationary life in the rainy season, the monk had to take resort to some sort of residence or place of shelter during winter and summer also. We have alreay seen that he was allowed to stay for one night in a village and for five nights in a town. It may be noted that the Chedasūtras permit a monk to stay at certain places for a period of one or two months.[216]

The Chedasūtras corroborate the rule laid down in the Aṅgas which asked a monk to obtain permission from the owner before occupying a residence.[217] That was compulsory even when they had to stay in the streets. They had to seek permission of even the widowed daughter of the owner if the former stayed with the latter.

Proper and Improper Residences :

Such places as contained scattered corn of different types, or jars of wine or of water, where fire activity (joī) was carried on either at day or at night, where there were scattered lumps of flesh (piṇḍa), or milk (khīra), or curds (dahi), or butter (navaṇīä), or oil (tella), or ghee (sappī), or molasses (phāṇiya), or sakkuli or sihiriṇī, or where there was grass (taṇa) or which were full of cobwebs or wall-paintings, were deemed unfit for the monks.[218]

212. *Ogha-N.* 726: *Comm.* p. 217b.
213. *Kalp. Sāmā.* 56 (p. 308).
214. *V.* 84.
215. *Kalp. Sāmā.* 19 (p. 298).
216. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 6.
217. *Vav.* 8, 10-11; 7; 20-21.
218. *Bṛh.kalp.* 2, 1-12; 4, 28-31; 1, 6-34.

In a place which had more than one exit, the monks were allowed to stay in separate rooms. In this case, however, a well-versed monk inquired about these monks on every third day and stayed with them at night.[219] If in cases of emergency the monks had to stay there, then they reported themselves every morning and evening to their guru. The monks were always expected to stay in the company of well-versed (gītārtha) elders, and no lonely life under normal circumstances was allowed. It may be noted that accepting lodging in condemned families (duguñchiyakulesu) was not allowed.[220]

Miscellaneous Rules :

Monks and nuns had to give accommodation to their co-religionists, and refusing to do so was deemed a transgression of church discipline.[221] But they were not allowed to permit either a known or an unknown layman (uvāsaga) or any other person to stay in their upāśraya either for a full or a half night.[222]

Staying outside the monastery was not allowed and the monk who remained outside the lodge for three nights had to undergo a punishment for that.[223] If accommodation was not sufficient then they were allowed to go elsewhere either for study of for sleep, with the express permission of their guru.[224]

Further details are seen developed in the Niryuktis, and especially so in the *Oghaniryukti.* Even though they cannot be said to bring any radical change in the fundamental principles about the acceptance of a lodge by monks, they reveal, as will be seen in the next paragraph, a fine sense of social etiquette blended with supreme efforts to maintain the same standard of monastic rigour of life as revealed in the Aṅgas.

Ideal Residence :

The monk was not allowed to accept too extensive or too small ('vitthiṇṇā' and 'khuḍḍuliyā') a lodging. The rule cannot be said to be peculiar to the Niryukti period, but the reasoning behind it is marvellous.

The faults involved in accepting an extensive lodging were that such places being generally resorted to by guards, merchants, beggars (kārpaṭika),

219. *Vav.* 6, 4-7.
220. *Nis.* 16, 29.
221. *Ibid.*, 17, 121-22.
222. *Ibid.*, 8, 12.
223. *Ibid.*, 10, 13: See Appdendix 1.
224. *Vav.* 1, 21.

or unmarried couples (vaṇṭha), were unfit for study or other religious duties of a monk. If no account of the presence of such people the monks postponed the reading and the study of the texts, then they were likely to forget their religious lessons. Moreover, the monks getting bashful due to the presence of such people were likely to delay to ease nature and fall ill, or else they had to go a long distance for that and were likely to commit hiṁsā of living beings. If at night they scanned the ground by hand if they had to go to ease nature, then people were likely to suspect them as thieves, or as eunuchs, or as persons having an appointment with a lady. In an extensive lodge it was difficult for a monk to get help from others if women or eunuchs kidnapped him seeing his healthy body.[225]

The dangers of accepting a very small residence were that it left a scanty space for a monk to move about. In that case, he was likely to fall down frequently over the bodies of others which proved a sufficient cause for quarrel which ended even in the breaking of the requisites of the monk.[226]

The proper residence (pamāṇajutta) was supposed to be that which afforded for every monk a space measuring at least three hands (ekkekkassa ü tihatthasanthāro) for sleeping purposes and which made it possible to have a distance of twenty aṅgulas between the bedding and the pots or requisites of a monk.[227] This was considered to be the ideal distance between the bedding and the other essential things of a monk, as pots kept too close to the bed were likely to be broken by the monk if he moved his limbs in his sleep. If, on the other hand, they were kept at too long a distance from the bedding, then it was difficult to save them from mice and cats (majjāramūsaga).

The Method of Sleeping:

If they happened to obtain a very extensive lodge, then the monks reserved three sleeping places (i.e. three times bigger) (santhāragabhūmitigaṁ) for the guru, and the rest of the monks had only one of normal size for each. In such an extensive (runda) lodge, they slept scattered so as to leave no room for any householder to sleep in between.[228] If, however, the place was small, then they kept their requisites in the middle and slept around

225. *Ogha-N.* 217-24.
226. *Ibid.*, 225.
227. *Ibid.*, 226-227: 'bhāyaṇasaṁthārantara jaha vīsaṁ angula hunti'.
228. *Ibid.* 202. "rundāë pupphaiṇṇā"

comm: yadyasau vasatirvistīrṇā bhavati tataḥ puṣpāvakīrṇāḥ svapanti —puṣpaprakaravadyathāyathaṁ svapanti yena sāgārikāvakāśo na bhavati.—p. 82b.

it.[229] If the lodge was quite according to their needs then they slept in a row (āvalyā). The monks accepted the space allotted to them by the elderly monks (sthavira), and kept their bedding (santhāraga) there.

The distance between two monks was such as did not give any chance of bodily contact between them. Then taking the permission of the guru the monk slept on his left side and contacted or stretched his limbs very carefully like the hen (kukkuḍipāyapasāraṇaṁ).[230] He was to be particular even regarding the sighs (ṇissāsa), and held his nose firmly to avoid giving out a long sigh.[231] Normally a monk was expected to sleep without a cover, but if he was unable to do so then he was allowed two or three covers (pāüṇe. . . . tiṇṇi).[232]

Proper Company in the Residence :

With a little digression regarding the mode of sleeping in a proper residence, we shall now see what sort of surroundings and companions a monk was expected to have around him when he decided to stay at a particular place.

The monks were normally not advised to seek residence at night or evening as it raised many difficulties in the proper scanning of the place. Moreover, at such odd times, the monks were likely to come across wild beasts, thieves, or courtesans.

If they could not get lodging in the morning, then they stayed in empty houses (sunnaghara), or in a temple (deüla), or in a garden (ujjāṇa). If householders came to the same place, then they hung a curtain (cilimiṇī) and carried on their religious duties.[233]

Generally, the monk sought shelter with those of a religious trend of mind. He was allowed to live with a laymen (sannī) without women. Fail-

229. *Ibid.*, 'madhye pātrakāṇi kṛtvā maṇḍalyā pārśve svapanti'—*comm.* p. 82b.



The same text, however, (v. 232, p. 92a) lays down the process of sleeping in a small lodge as "ussīsabhāyaṇāiṁ majjhe". If the ground there was uneven, then all the pots were kept in that deeper spot. If there was no place to deposit the pots on the ground, then they were hung up by means of a thread (ovaggahiö doro teṇa ya vehāsilambaṇayā).

230. *Ibid.*, 205.

231. *Ibid.*, 206.

232. *Ibid.*, 209.

233. *Ibid.*, 192-99.

ing to get such a person, he was advised to live with a person of auspicious turn of mind but having no women with him. If such a fellow had women, then the monk stayed separately in an outhouse. As a last resort, he was to go to an empty house.[234]. He avoided the company of nuns and persons of loose moral behaviour.[235]

How to Leave the Lodge?

Having got an ideal lodge the monks were asked to seek permission of and bid farewell to the owner of the house before they left the place. If the monks failed to do so, then it was feared that the householder might lose faith in them, or might take the monks to be devoid of manners and proper etiquettes, or might not lend them his lodging again. If by chance robbers attacked the place which the monks had left without the knowledge of the owner, then there was every possibility that the latter might suspect the monks to be in league with the robbers. In order, therefore, to save themselves from these suspicions and to acknowledge with gratitude the help given to them by the householder, the monks had to take their leave of the householder.

Two precautions were taken by the monks at the time of asking permission to go. They were not do so by taking up all their requisites to avoid lamentations of the householder's wife (sijjātarī) or the doubts creeping up into the mind of the householder due to the monks' sudden decision to go. Seeing the householder crying, people were likely to suspect the relations between the monks and the householder, and thus condemn the former on that account.

The monks never disclosed the exact day of their departure as that was likely to make the members of the family of the householder give up all of their everyday duties on that day and indulge in the preparation of special food for the departing monks.

Right from the day an advance party was sent by the ācārya for searching out the next proper stop, the ācārya lessened his contact with the houseowner. He recited the following verses in order to let the householder know that his party intended to leave the place soon:

"Sugarcanes have grown up, the gourds are plump, the bulls have gained strength, and the villages are free from mud.

"The roads contain less water and the earth is dried up. The proper time for a wandering life has come for monks.

234. *Ibid.*, 105.

235. *Ibid.*, 108-110; for the method to deal with such a person in case a monk happened to stay with him: *Comm.* p. 58ab.

"The śramaṇas, birds, clusters of bees, groups of cows and the autumnal clouds have no fixed residence".

Thus the householder came to know about the monks' intention to leave the place. Then performing the pratikramaṇa and the necessary duties (āvaśyaka) in the evening, the ācārya told the householder that he and his party had decided to leave the place next morning. A religious sermon was preached to the householder and his family.

Early next morning, they did both the 'suttaporisī' and the 'atthaporisī' or simply the former. If the next stop was too distant, then they started early morning without doing the scanning of the pot, etc. (pāyapaḍilehaṇa). Sometimes they started even at sunrise but that depended on the distance at which they had to make the next halt.

The Method of Starting the Tour:

Some among the group walked ahead, some in the middle and some at the end of it. If the advance party came to the village where an intermediate stop was predecided by the company of the monks, then young monks were sent for alms and the rest of the party looked after their requisites. If such a village was found out to be deserted or burnt down or devastated by enemy, then a monk was kept there and the rest of the group went ahead. This monk waited for those who followed. If the village was completely deserted then nobody waited there and the vanguard left the place after making a sign (rikkhā) on the road so as to serve as a clue to those who followed. If the village was in good condition, then a pair of monks was kept outside the village to meet the party following them, or else an ironsmith was requested to show the residence to the monks who came late.[236]

Thus the cycle of touring began again with all its vividity coming to a stop only in the four months of the rainy season.

Clothing (Vattha, Cela):

The clothing of the monk was expressed by words like the vattha, cela, cīvara, pacchāga and kappa.

The Purpose of Using Clothes:

Clothes were used for the sake of six reasons. They were to be put on for the protection of the body from grass, etc. (tṛṇagrahaṇanivāraṇārthaṁ),

236. *Ibid.*, 166-180.

for avoiding to take resort to fire in cases of cold, etc. (agniḥ tatsevā-nivāraṇārthaṁ), for the sake of the practice of Dharma—and Śukla meditation, for the protection of the ill, and lastly for covering the dead.[237]

How to Obtain Clothes:

As in the case of other articles, the monk had to depend on the piety of the laymen for obtaining clothes. He was forbidden to buy clothes or make somebody to buy them for him, or accept bought clothes.[238] He was also not allowed to request a person again and again for clothes either in a village or in the road.[239] If somebody offered him clothes placed on living beings then he rejected them.[240]

Another interesting feature in the acceptance of clothes is revealed in the rule which made monks accept clothing according to their rank (ahārāiṇiyāĕ).[241] This perhaps indicates the practice of the distribution of begged clothing by the superior to his subordinate monks, according to their ranks and wants. It may be noted that this practice bears a close resemblance to the practice of kaṭhina[242] (distribution of clothing) among the Buddhists.

Kinds of Clothes Allowed:

The monks were allowed to use five kinds of clothes; to wit, those of a camel's hair (jaṅgiĕ), of linen (bhaṅgiĕ), of hemp (sāṇaĕ), of wool (pottaĕ), and of tirīṭa (tirīṭapaṭṭe).[243]

Number of Clothes Allowed:

The monk was allowed three clothes,[244] two of which were of cotton and one of wool (uṇṇiya).[245]

Besides these, the *Bṛhatkalpa* refers to the 'celacilimiliyaṁ' which was "a covering for the clothes."[246] From the Bhāṣya on the text, however, it appears that it was used as a curtain for residences having no doors.

237. *Ibid.*, 706.
238. *Nis.* 18, 21-64.
239. *Ibid.*
240. *Ibid.*
241. *Bṛh.kalp.* 3, 19-20.
242. *Mahāvagga,* VIII, 99.
243. *Bṛh.kalp.* 2, 29.
The list is the same as in *Ṭhāṇ* 138a, 338a; the *Acārāṅga* list as transl. by JACOBI comes to this: wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton and Arkatūla: *SBE,* Vol. XXII, p. 158.
244. *Bṛh. kalp.* 3, 15-16; *Ogha-N.* 669, 675.
245. *Ibid.*, 705.
246. 1, 18: *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 260.

Size of Clothing:

The size of clothing differed according to different individuals (ātma-pramāṇa), and the commentary to the *Oghaniryukti*[247] explains the proper size to be that which covered the shoulders and remained on them. It was two and a half hands in length.[248] Any shortening or lengthening of clothes was not allowed.[249]

Clothes of the Jinakalpikas and the Sthavirakalpikas:

It may be noted that the number of three clothes (pacchāgā) was common for both the Jinakalpika and the Sthavirakalpika monks.[250]

But besides these three coverings, the monks of the Sthavirakalpa mode of life used one more piece of cloth called the Colapaṭṭa.[251]

The purpose of using the colapaṭṭa was either to conceal one's distorted penis in case it was so,[252] or to avoid it being affected by an attack from vātika (?), or in case the monk felt ashamed to go about naked, or to hide one's abnormally long penis, or lastly to avoid getting passionate at the sight of women.[253]

The size of the piece was such that, on being folded once (duguṇa) or twice (caügguṇa), it got reduced to a square piece with each side measuring one hand in length. Both the young as well as the old monks put it on, and the former donned it by twice folding the piece, while the older members of the community put it on by folding it only once. The youthful monks wore a broader colapaṭṭa while old monks put on such a one as was smaller in breadth.[254]

Unfit Clothes:

The monks were disallowed the use of complete pieces (kasiṇa) of cloth. They were allowed to wear only torn clothes or pieces of clothes.[255] So also such clothes as were unfit for monks and had no capacity for lasting long were to be avoided. Decorative clothes as were embroidered with gold,

247. P. 213b.
248. *Ibid.*, 705.
249. *Ibid.*, 727.
250. *Ibid.*, 669.
251. *Bhag.* 37b; *Ogha-N.* 34, 35, 670, 721.
252. The *Comm.* on the *Ogha-N.* p. 216a mentions that among the Southerners, the practice of cutting the penis and putting a ring over it was to be found.
253. *Ogha-N.* 722.
254. *Ibid.*, 721.
255. *Bṛh. kalp.* 3, 7-10; Nis. 2, 22-24.

etc. were deemed unfit for monks.[256] Cloths kept for the rainy season (paḍhamasamosaraṇa) were not to be accepted, but such as were kept for the rest of the year were allowed.[257] Obtaining such clothing going under the category called 'jāyaṇāvattha' or 'nimantaṇāvattha'[258] which consisted of four kinds[259] was not allowed, and a monk had to undergo punishment for these transgressions.

Colouring the Clothes:

No colouring or discolouring, of uncoloured or coloured clothes respectively, was allowed.[260] It may be noted that the *Āvaśyakaniryukti*[261] refers to the 'sukkambarā samaṇā' (white-clothed monks).

Washing of Clothes:

It may be noted that even though the *Ācārāṅga*[262] and the *Niśītha Sūtra*,[263] which belong to the groups called the Aṅgas and the Chedasūtras respectively, do not allow the washing of clothes, the *Piṇḍa-*[264] and the *Ogha-niryuktis*[265] give great details about it. The following account is based on the above two texts.

Time for Washing:

Clothes and other requisites were washed and cleaned a little before the rainy season began.

Articles Essentially Washed:

In cases of shortage of water the pot and its other accessories (pāyaṇijjoga) at least, were to be washed.

Besides the pāyanijjoga, the nissejjās, the santhāragapaṭṭa, the uttarapaṭṭa, the colapaṭṭa, the muhapotti, and the rayaharaṇa were to be washed and cleaned.

256. *Ibid.*, 7, 10-12.
257. *Bṛh. kalp.* 3, 17-18; *Nis.* 10, 47.
258. *Ibid.*, 15, 99.
259. *Ibid.*
260. *Ibid.*, 18, 21-64; also *Ācāra.* II, 5, 2, 1 (p. 163).
261. *V.* 357.
262. II, 5, 1, 17 (p. 162).
263. 18, 21-64.
264. *Vs.* 23-34.
265. 349-57.

The Order of Washing Clothes:

The clothes of the ācārya were washed first, then those of the upādhyāya. then of the monk on fast, then those of the ill, then of the newly-ordained and lastly one's own.

The reason given for the priority to ācārya's clothes was that an ācārya clad in soiled clothes evoked condemnation in the society. The clothes of the newly-ordained were washed before one's own to avoid his mind getting apathetic towards dirty clothes.

Among the different types of clothes, those which consisted of a single unstitched piece of cloth were washed first, then those which were darned, and last of all such as were darned as well as stitched.

Preparation for Washing:

Before actually washing the clothes, the two upper clothes were kept apart for three days so that all the lices, etc. clung to the rest of the clothes or to the body; or all clothes were kept away for three days; or they were hung from above so as to reach the body so that the lices, etc. clung to that. Then the insects, etc. were carefully removed. Instead of doing each of these three acts for three days, each act was done only for one night also.

The Water Used in Washing:

If there was shortage of sufficient water, then the monks took rain water as fell down from the roof. Then it was exposed to the sun to make it lifeless. Such water was not gathered in their own pots by the monks but they did it in broken dishes, etc. borrowed from the householders. Then salt (kṣāra) was put into it to make it lifeless. The rain water was to be accepted only when the rain stopped.

The Mode of Washing:

The clothes were not to be hit over a slab of stone or beaten by a stick. They were not thrown often in profuse water but were gently cleaned by means of hands.

Drying the Clothes:

Those clothes which were 'paribhogya' (constantly used) were dried up in shade, while those which were 'aparibhogya' were dried in the sun. A constant watch was to be kept over them to save them from being stolen. The monk had to undergo a purificatory punishment (kallāṇaṁ) for this act of washing, after it was complete.

Objections to Washing Refuted:

The washing of clothes in other seasons was refuted on the grounds that the monk tended to become loose in morals, as, seeing him neatly dressed, he was likely to be approached by women.

Another objection raised was that washing involved injury to living being. But this was refuted by the argument that even unwashed clothes gave rise to living beings and hence they were in constant danger of being killed. Hence any activity that was done in consonance with the spirit of the rule was taken to be valid.[266]

Vindication of Washing:

Washing of clothes was justified on the grounds that, if they are left unwashed,

(1) they become heavy,

(2) dirt gets into them firmly by means of the spray of rain drops in the rainy season,

(3) they get more worn out, and new ones cannot be accepted in rainy season,

(4) dirty clothes got wet in rainy season give rise to an overgrowth (panaka) which leads to hiṁsā,

(5) soiled clothes retain wetness for a long time leading to indigestion and illness,

and (6) people generally condemn one wearing soiled clothes, and for not knowing the rule (5) above.

Stitching of Clothes:

From the rule which laid down that 'a monk who asks for needle to stitch clothes and in reality stitches a pot with it, has to undergo a punishment for it',[267] it seems that the monks stitched torn clothes. The rule in the *Oghaniryukti*[268] which lays down that stitched clothes were to be washed the last of all, also goes to support the above view.

266. "yo hi sūtrājñyāmanusṛtya yatanayā samyak pravartate sa yadyapi kathañcit-prāṇyupamarddakārī tathāpi na asau pāpabhāk bhavati, nāpi tīvraprāyaścittabhāgī, sūtra-bahumānato yatanayā pravartamānatvāt".—*Vṛtti* to *Piṇḍ-N.* p. 12b.

267. *Nis.* 1, 31; *Ibid.*, 1, 47-56; stitching improperly was taken to be a fault.

268. 356; The *Gaṇividyāprakīrṇaka* lays down the rule that stitching (sīvana) should be done on the kṛttikā and viśākhā nakṣatras.—*vs.* 36-37.

Getting one's clothes stitched by a heretic (annaütthiya) or by the house-owner (gāratthiya) was strictly forbidden. Taking out long threads from cotton, and having long ends to one's sanghāḍī (gown) were also deemed transgressions.[269]

Use and Exchange of Clothes:

No exchange of clothes was allowed without taking the consent of the gaṇi, but clothes were to be given to those who were unable (physically) to procure them.[270]

Giving only one or more than three paḍiyāṇiyas (?), or binding the pieces of clothes together, giving them more than three knots (?), and using excessive clothing for more than one and a half months were treated as transgressions.[271]

Clothing and Nudity:

A monk who put on clothing among those who did not put it (acela) or vice versa had to undergo punishment.[272] At least among the Śvetāmbaras, nudity did not seem to have any compulsion about it, for, even though the *Bṛhatkalpa*[273] describes the Jinakalpasthiti (or the stage of a "naked monk"[274] as translated by SCHUBRING) as the fifth step in a monk's life, yet even the Jinakalpika monks used clothes as is proved by the statement in the *Oghāniryukti* which allowed three clothes (pacchāgā) to them.[275]

Requisites (Oggaha):

The list of essential requisites of a monk in the Aṅgas consisted of clothing (vattha), almsbowl (pāya), blanket (kambala) and the broom (pāyapuñchaṇa), and the whole mode of denoting the purity of these articles was expressed by the phrase 'ahāpaḍirūvaṁ uggahaṁ ogiṇhittā' i.e. 'accepting the proper requisites'. The acceptance of such articles of use was regulated by some very general rules.

The Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis refer to a number of other articles besides those found in the Aṅgas, and even those which are to be found in the Aṅgas are dealt with in details.

269. *Nis.* 5, 12-13, 24.
270. *Ibid.*, 18, 21-64.
271. *Ibid.*, 1, 47-56.
272. *Ibid.*, 11, 87-90.
273. 6, 11.
274. *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 267.
275. *V.* 669.

The Begging Bowl (pāya):

Out of all the requisites of a monk, the alms vessel formed an essential article.

Material:

Pots made out of either gourd (lāü), or wood (dāru) or earth (maṭṭiyā) were permitted,[276] and there seem to have been no concessions allowed in this matter, and the position remained unchanged. Pots made of any other material such as iron, copper, lead, glass, silver, gold, jewel, ivory, horn, skin or shell were strictly disallowed, and a monk making, using, or holding such pots had to undergo an expiatory penance for this.[277] Besides this, the monks were forbidden to use pots "pitched inside"[278] (anto-littayaṁ).

Whence to Secure the Begging Bowl:

The chief source of obtaining the pot was the laity. The monk himself was forbidden to make pots for himself, as also he was disallowed to accept pots and other requisites from condemned families [279] (duguñchiya kula).

Number of Pots Allowed:

Holding an excessive number of pots was deemed a transgression and the monk had to undergo a prāyaścitta for it.[280] If monks and nuns wanted to have more bowls, then they could not do so without the permission of the owner.[281]

Time for Obtaining:

The monk was to accept it only in broad daylight, and accepting it either at night or at twilight was a fault.[282]

Securing, Use and Returning of the Pot:

Neither a monk nor a nun was ever allowed to accept the begging bowl without first taking the permission of the guru.[283] So also they were not to take any article without the permission of the owner.[284]

276. *Nis.* 1, 39; *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 14f.
277. See Appendix 1.
278. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 17.
279. *Nis.* 16, 28.
280. *Ibid.,* 16, 39; also Appendix 1.
281. *Vav.* 8, 15.
282. *Bṛh. kalp.,* 1, 45ff.
283. *Ibid.,* 1, 39-42.
284. *Vav.* 8, 6.

Once obtained, the monk was expected to handle the pot very carefully. Breaking it,[285] or expanding the mouth of the pot (?), having more than three tuṇḍiyas, binding it improperly, giving it only one or more than three ties (bandha), using a pot with many ties for a period exceeding one and a half months;[286] using unfit ones or unstable ones; discolouring the coloured pot and vice versa; polishing it with oil, ghee, butter or fat; besmearing it with powders and paints; washing it either with hot or cold water so as to give it a new appearance, or with the intention of removing foul smell; drying the pot on a place full of living begins and often asking for a pot in a congregation of people by (suddenly) rising up,[287] all these were taken as faults and the monk had to undergo a punishment for these.[288]

No exchange of the begging bowl was allowed without the previous sanction of the gaṇi for it.[289] But a monk was expected to give a bowl to novices—male or female, or to an old monk or nun who were unable (asakka) to procure it for themselves.[290] Not only exchange, but along with it even buying and borrowing of pot, or making somebody else to do so for the sake of the monk, or accepting such a pot for the obtaining of which these activities are done,—all these were deemed transgressions of monastic rules.[291] No transactions regarding the pot with a heretic or a householder were allowed.[292] Cleaning or using the alms bowl purely for enhancing personal beauty was disallowed.[293]

Size of the Pot (pāya or bhāyaṇa) :

The medium size (majjhima pamāṇa) of the pot was such as to make it fit in a thread three vihatthis and four aṅgulas in length, held in a squarish position (samacaüraṁsa). Anything which was more or less in size than this was taken to be the utkṛṣṭa or the jaghanya respectively.[294]

Qualities of an Ideal Pot :

Such pots as were (perfectly) round (vaṭṭa), of symmetrical build (samacaüraṁsa), of permanent ownership of the monk (thāvara: comm. 'na parakīyoparaskaravad yācitaṁ katipayadinasthāyi'), and of polish

285. *Nis.* 2, 25-26.
286. *Ibid.*, 1, 41-45.
287. *Ibid.*, 14, 8-45.
288. See Appendix 1.
289. *Nis.* 14, 5-7; 14, 1-4; 16, 25-29.
290. *Ibid.*, 14, 7.
291. *Ibid.*, 14, 1-4.
292. *Ibid.*, 1, 39.
293. *Ibid.*, 15, 153-54.
294. *Ogha-N.*, 680-83.

(vaṇṇa) were recommended for use to the monks. The vessel which was uneven in surface (huṇḍa), which suddenly got dried, contracted and wrinkled (vāyāïddha), and which was broken or had a hole (bhinna) was taken to be unfit for use.[295]

Different reasons were attributed for justifying the good and bad qualities of a pot. For instance, a symmetrical pot was said to be beneficial as it led to respect by the people; a pot devoid of scratches of nails, etc. was said to assure fame and good health for the user; a stable pot led to the stabilization of the monk; and a pot having a good appearance (vaṛna) led to the acquisition of knowledge by the monk.[296]

Like the good qualities, certain defects in a pot were also said to indicate either misfortune or loss of career. A pot uneven in shape led to moral degradation, that which was variously coloured (sabala) led to forgetfulness (cittavilutti), that which had an unstable (duppate) base was said to make a monk shaky in morals, that which was very flat at base (païimappale) indicated trouble, a pot with a hole foreboded the possibility of a boil (vaṇa) to the possessor, and that which was burnt either inside or outside, suggested death for the user.[297]

The Mouth of the Pot:

The mouth of the pot was expected to be so large as to allow one's hand to get in without touching the rim (uṭṭha) of the pot. The purpose behind it was that the donor should not get any trouble in offering the food to the monk.[298]

Purpose of Using a Pot:

The begging bowl was to be used mainly for the protection of living beings (chakkāyarakkhaṇaṭṭhā). Besides this, in cases of illness, as also for the sake of the young (bāla) and the old, for the novice under instruction, the monk-guests, and for those like the princes who were new to monk life, the pot was used, and it was found to be of use in all these circumstances.[299]

Coating the Pot (leva):

Another interesting feature not to be found in details in earliest texts, was the process of coating the pot.

295. *Ibid.*, 686.
296. *Ibid.*, 687.
297. *Ibid.*, 688-89.
298. *Ibid.*, 690.
299. *Ibid.*, 691-92.

The view that 'coating the pot is not permitted by the Jina' is refuted at the outset[300] by the author of the Niryukti who seems to opine that this process is quite in keeping with the tenets of the Jina. This necessity of refuting all the objections raised perhaps suggests that the coating of the pot was then still looked upon as a new practise and that there might have been a class of monks who did not favour it. Anyway, we come across illustrations of those who had to face trouble as their pots were not coated.[301]

The Purpose of Coating:

Two reasons were put forth to uphold the coating of the pot. The first was that articles of food kept in a non-coated pot were likely to become unfit for eating, and the second was the fear of people condemning a monk with a bad, uncoated pot.[302]

The Pots to be Coated:

Both new and old pots were to be coated. Those that were old were to be shown to the guru and his opinion was sought regarding it. If he consented, then and only then were the pots to be coated. Similar was the process with regard to the new pots. Nobody was allowed to coat the pot for decorative purposes.[303]

The Coating Material:

The coating material consisted of the oil used for lubricating the wheels of a bullock-cart.[304] If that was made of bitter oil (kaḍugandha), then that was not to be accepted as it did not properly get fixed to the pot. If, on the other hand, the leva consisted of miṭṭhatilatella (sweet sesamum oil), then it was to be accepted.[305] The bitterness or otherwise of that oil was to be tested by the monk by smelling it.[306] The excellent coating material consisted of sesamum oil (tila), the medium one of atasi, and the oil of mustard (sarṣapa) was ranked lowest in the list. The pot was never coated with butter, ghee, molasses, fat or salt.[307]

300. *Ibid.*, 372; *bhā.* 192.
301. *Ogha-N.* 373-74.
302. *Ibid.*, *bhā.* 196-97.
303. *Ogha-N.* 377, 380; *bhā.* 202.
304. Called 'vaṅgaṇ' in Marāthī.
305. *Ogha-N. bhā.* pp. 140b-141a.
306. *Ogha-N.* 386.
307. *Ibid.*, 406.

Securing the Coating Material :

Permission of the owner of the cart was to be asked before taking the oil from the cart-wheels.[308] Oil from a cart which was standing on grass or seeds, which was ready for the journey, which was yoked, which was moving on, to which a calf was tied or near which a calf was grazing, under which a dog was tied, or which was kept in water, was not to be taken. Considerations based on commonsense were at the back of these rules, as for instance, going near the calf or dog tied to the cart was likely to make them wild, while oil from a cart placed in water or on living beings offered a ground for injury to living beings while taking the oil.[309]

Time for Bringing the Coat :

The coating material was not to be brought at night, or when there was a great stormy wind blowing, or when a great mist prevailed.[310]

Proper Time for Coating the Pot :

Before undertaking the coating of the pot, the monk had to do a caüttha fast, and then taking the permission of the guru, the pots were coated early morning so that they might get dry during the rest of the day.[311] Kṛttikā and Viśākhā were deemed the proper nakṣatras for coating the pot.[312]

The Process of Coating :

Taking the cart-oil in a pan (mallaga), covering it with ash and closing it with a piece of cloth, the monk came back to the monastery. Then asking pardon before the guru for transgressions, if any, committed during the walk (īryāpathika), he inquired whether anybody else wanted the coating. If nobody else was in need of it, then he poured the oil on a piece of cloth and strained it. Then taking a piece of cotton (rūya), he applied the paint to the pots he wanted to coat, and rubbed the material well over the pot by means of a polishing stone called 'ghaṭṭaka.'[313]

Drying the Pot :

When the pot was coated, it was spread over with a spray of ash (chāra) so that no insects stuck to it, and covering it with a piece of cloth,

308. *Ibid.*, 376; *bhā.* 198-99.
309. *Ogha-N.* 387.
310. *Ibid.*
311. *Ogha-N.* 379; *bhā.* 203.
312. *Ganividyāprakīrṇaka* 36-37.
313. *Ogha-N.* 381-94. Such stones, most suitable for the purpose, were said to be amply available at Bhogapur, a town situated in between Pāvā and Vesālī : *Piṇḍa-N.v.* 15; *comm.* p. 9b.

it was kept in the sun for drying. Then the ash was washed, and again another coating was given over the pot.[314]

The Number of Coatings :

The minimum number of coating was one, the average two, and the maximum was five.[315]

Proper Period of Drying :

In winter, the pot was kept out for drying except in the first porisī (quarter). In the fourth quarter it was to be kept inside in shade for drying. In summer, drying was done anytime except the half of the first and the half of the last porisī of the day.[316]

Binding the Pot :

If the pot gave way, then a new one was allowed. But if a new bowl was not available then the old pot was tied in different methods called 'mudrikābandha,' 'gomūtrikābandha' or 'stenakabandha.'[317]

Other Accessories of a Pot :

Besides the pot itself, the *Oghaniryukti* refers to a number of other articles connected with the begging bowl. All these articles were designated by the term 'pāyaṇijjoga'.[318]

Pattābandha (pātrakabandha) :

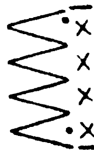
It was a piece of string used to bind the pot. It varied in size according to the size of the pot. It was so tied as to make the ends (koṇa) remain four fingers (caturaṅgula).[319]

314. *Ogha-N.* 394-6.
315. *Ibid.*, 400.
316. *Ibid.*, 398.
317. *Ibid.*, 402-05: Figures illustrative of these are to be found in the *Ogha-N.* (*commentary*, pp. 145b, 146a).

Mudrikābandha →



Stenakabandha



318. *Ibid.*, 674.
319. *Ibid.*, 693.

Pāyaṭṭhāvaṇa (pātrakasthāpana) :

This was meant to protect the pot from dust. It was prepared out of wool (ūrṇāmaya), and was a squarish piece with the length of four aṅgulas.[320] The pot was kept over it and hence it served the purpose of a base for the pot.

Gocchaga (gocchaka) :

This was a small broom used in cleaning the pot-clothes (paṭala). Its threads were made of wool, and its measurements were the same as those of the 'pātrakasthāpana.'[321]

Pāyakesariyā (pātrakesarikā) :

It was also called 'pāyapaḍilehaṇiä,[322] and was explained as 'pātrakamukhavastrikā.'[323] Its size was the same as that of the pātrakasthāpana, i.e. four aṅgulas, and it was made of cotton (khomiyā). It was used for cleaning the pot (pāyapamajjaṇaheüṁ). Each pot had one pāyakesariyā.[324] The difference between the gocchaga and this article was that the former was used in cleaning the paṭalas or coverings of the pot, while the latter was of use in cleaning the bowl itself. The nuns were not allowed to use a rolled (asaveṇṭayaṁ) pāyakesariyā.[325]

Paḍala (paṭala) :

These were used to protect the alms-vessel (pātrāvaraṇa). They were pieces of cloth two and a half hands in length and sixty-three aṅgulas in breadth, so that they were sufficient enough to cover not only the pot but even the shoulder of the monk. It means that the monk put them on in such a way as to cover a portion of the body and he kept the pot inside the paṭala.

The purpose of these pieces of cloth was to avoid flowers, fruits, dust, and the excreta of the birds from falling into the alms-vessel.

The number of paṭalas varied with different seasons. In summer a monk could use three to five paṭalas, in winter the number was four to six and in rainy season it was between five to seven.

220. *Ibid.*, 694-96.

321. *Ibid.*, This dust-brush or gocchaga is mentioned in the Aṅga also: see *Bhagavatī* 374b; also to be found in the *Bṛh. kalp.* 3, 15; also in Mūlasūtras: *Uttarādhyayana* 26, 13.

322. *Ogha-N.* 694.

323. *Ibid., comm.*, p. 212a.

324. *Ogha-N.* 695-96.

325. *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 43; SCHUBRING renders it as "handle", *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 266.

They were soft, fine, thick and smooth to touch (masṛṇa), and were to be folded three, five or seven times so that the sun was not visible through them, and, probably, the light did not reach the food in the bowl.[326]

Rayattāṇa (rajastrāṇa) :

This was another article to wipe the pot clean. It was moved round the pot in a slanting fashion, and it took away all the dust accumulated over the pot by mice, etc. It was also meant to wipe the rain-drops over the pot. In size, it varied according to the size of the pot.[327]

Besides the begging bowl and its accessories, there were other pots also.

Mattaya (mātraka) :

This was used only by the Sthavirakalpika monks, and the Jinakalpika monks used only the pāya.[328] The size of this pot was explained in two ways. It was either of the capacity of the 'māgadhika prastha' (i.e. the prastha measure used in Magadha), or else it was of that size which could contain food sufficient for a monk who had travelled a distance of two gavyūtis.[329] This pot was used mainly for the purpose of depositing the (rare) things for the ācārya both normally as well as in the rainy season. Besides this, articles fit for the ill, or for the guest, or very scarce articles like ghee, etc. were accepted in the mattaya.[330]

The use of a small mattaya was said to lead to the condemnation by the people, who, seeing the pot of the monk overflowing with eatables, took the monk to be a greedy fellow. More than that, the pot when overflowing, put off the cover over it, and dust easily got in, or the food trickled down on the ground, thus involving death of the living beings below it.[331]

Mallaya :

This pot was of use for depositing mucus or cough. So also, if, while taking food, a monk came across a thorn, etc. in the food, then that was thrown in the mallaya.[332] From the rule which required the monk to bring

326. *Ogha-N.* 679-702.
327. *Ibid.*, 703-04.
328. *Ibid.*, 679.
329. *Ibid.*, 714.
330. *Ibid.*, 716.
331. *Ibid.*, 715.
332. *Ibid.*, 565.

the coating for the pot in the utensil of a householder, this mallaya did not seem to form a regular requisite of a monk.

Kamaḍhaya :

The *Oghaniryukti*[333] mentions this, but it is not clear what exactly it means. It was a pot used by monks, perhaps, as a substitute for the mattaga. No other details giving its shape and purpose are to be found.

Rayaharaṇa (*rajoharaṇa*) :

This article is mentioned in the Aṅgas,[334] as we have already seen. It was also called 'pāyapuñchaṇa'[335] or 'pāyapuñchaṇaya.'[336]

Purpose of Rayaharaṇa :

It was a broom the sole purpose of which was the wiping of the places where a monk wanted to sit or lie down or where he wanted to lengthen or contract his limbs,[337] so that the living beings might not get injured.

How it was Made :

The bristles of the broom were made either of the sheep wool (oṇṇië), or of camel wool (oṭṭhië), or of hemp (sāṇaë), or of balbaja grass (babbāpiccië), or of muñja grass (muñjapiccië).[338] The *Oghaniryukti*, however, mentions the first two types, and adds the third type as that made from the blanket ends (kambala).[339]

The handle was made of wood (dāru). The Chedasūtras are at variance in this matter. The *Bṛhatkalpa*[340] allows a monk to use a broom with a wooden handle, while the *Niśītha*[341] forbids him to do so. It seems that the handle was covered with nisejjā[342] (piece of cloth) in three rounds.

The top of the handle was expected to be thick (nibiḍa), the middle part stout (sthira), and the ends were to be smooth (mṛdu). The woollen ends (daśikā), as well as the cloth covering the handle were to be without

333. 199, 675; *bhā*. 36.
334. *Bhag*. 374b.
335. *Nis*. 2, 1-8.
336. *Ogha-N*. 511.
337. *Ibid*., 710.
328. *Bṛh. kalp*. 2, 30; similar in *Ṭhāṇ*. 338b.
339. *Ogha-N*. 709.
340. 5, 45-46.
341. 2, 1-8.
342. *Ogha-N*. 724-25; 270; *Piṇḍa-N*. *Vṛtti*, p. 13b.

knots (ajjhusira). The handle covered with the nisejjā was to be such as to pass through the cavity formed if the first finger is kept on the thumb. The wool-ends were to be tied firmly to the stick by thrice rolling the thread round the stick-end and then giving it a knot.[343]

Total Length of the Broom :

The wooden handle was twenty-four aṅgulas and the threads (daśikā), eight aṅgulas in length. The length of either the stick or the woollen ends was allowed to be varied but the aggregate length was not to exceed thirty-two aṅgulas.[344]

Improper Use :

Using a broom which was more in length, or having fine threads, or giving it only one tie (bandha), or more than three times, binding it in an improper way (avihiē), or binding it in a kaṇḍūsaga way (?), holding it loosely, or using it as pillow (ussīsa-mūla), or breaking it were taken to be transgressions, and a monk had to undergo a punishment for these.[345]

Muhaṇantaga (mukhānantaka) :[346]

This was also called 'muhapottī,[347] and explained in Sanskrit as 'mukhavastrikā.'

Its Purpose :

This piece of cloth was tied over the mouth to keep away all insects or dusts getting into it. So also, while sweeping the monastery this mouthpiece was tied over the mouth for the same purpose.[348]

Its Size :

The mouthpiece was either four aṅgulas in breadth or it was of that size which made it possible to have a knot at the back. Only a single mouthpiece was allowed for each monk.[349]

Daṇḍa :

A variety of sticks is mentioned in the *Oghaniryukti*.[350] They are the Laṭṭhī, Vilaṭṭhī, Daṇḍa and Vidaṇḍa.

343. *Ogha-N.* 707; *comm.* p. 214a.
344. *Ogha-N.* 709.
345. *Nis.* 5, 67-77; see Appendix 1.
346. *Ogha-N.* 288, 628.
347. *Ibid.*, 511, *Nis.* 4, 24; also, *Bhagavatī* 139a; *Uttar.* 26, 23.
348. *Ogha-N.* 712.
349. *Ibid.*, 711; *Comm.* pp. 214b, 215a.
350. 730; *Comm.* p. 218a; *Piṇḍa-N. v.* 46; Daṇḍa and Laṭṭhī: See *Nis.* 1, 40; *Bhag.* 374b.

Size and the Use of Each :

The yaṣṭi was of the height of a man (ātmapramāṇā), and was used in tying the javaṇiyā (curtain). The viyaṣṭi was four aṅgulas more than one's own height and served the purpose of uvassayabāraghaṭṭaṇī (closing the entrance of the monastery ?). The daṇḍa was as high as the arms (bāhupramāṇa), and was used while on the begging round. The vidaṇḍaga was upto the armpit in height (kakṣāpramāṇa), and it was used in rainy season to protect oneself from the rain.[351]

The sole purpose for which a yaṣṭi was used was to protect oneself from animals like dog, etc. or as a support in muddy, uneven or watery regions.[352]

Qualities of a Staff :

Raw, coloured or variously coloured wooden, bamboo and cane sticks were disallowed.[353] A stick with one joint (pava)[354] was praised, that which had two joints led to quarrel; that with three joints led to gain, with four to death, with five to warding off of quarrel along the road, with six to disease, with seven to health. That stick which was four aṅgulas at the base and eight aṅgulas at the top was said to be of good use in dispelling wild elephants. That which had eight pavvas led to loss, that with nine led to victory and that which had ten joints led to the acquisition of everything.

Besides this number of joints, a stick which was curved, eaten up by worms, of variegated colours, burnt up, dried at the top, of uneven distance between different joints, broken, of rough colour, slender at the joint, whose eyes (acchi) had not come out, thick, unstable, or which was not likely to last long (asārajaraḍhā), was condemned. On the other hand, such a one as had fully grown and thick joints, which was oily, smooth to touch, stout, having soft and round pavvas was said to be beneficial to the monks.[355]

BEDDING :

The bedding or Santhāra consisted either of grass, or of a plank of wood, or of a slab of stone.[356]

351. Besides these, the *commentary* to the *Ogha-N.* (p. 218a) mentions *Nālikā* which was four *aṅgulas* more in height than one's own, and was used to verify the depth of water (jalathāö) in rainy season; for 'Daṇḍa' and 'Vidaṇḍaga', see *Piṇḍa-N. Comm.* p.19b, footnote.

352. *Ogha-N.* 739.

353. *Nis.* 5, 25-33.

354. 'Per' in Marāthī.

355. *Ogha-N.*, 731-39.

356. *Daśāśruta.*, 7, 9; 'Santhāraga' in *Bhag.* 374b.

Bed of Straw:

The bed of straw was to be received from the householder only after carefully examining it.[357]. So also, when leaving the place, monks and nuns returned the bed of straw to the householder. They were to hand it over to him only after somewhat changing it (vigaraṇaṁ kaṭṭu).[358]

Bed of the Plank of Wood (phalaga):

During the rainy season (vāsāvāsa), the monks slept on a plank of wood.[359] In cases of illness in summer and winter, the plank was used for sleeping. It was so light as could be carried to a distance for three days. For an old monk, it was brought even from a distance of five days.[360]

Slab of Stone:

Even though mentioned, no details are found about it in the Cheda-sūtras, and the Niryuktis also describe in details the above two types more than this. It may be that this was not much in normal use.

When to Accept Bedding:

As in the case of other requisites, the returnable bedding was also to be accepted in daylight. But the monks and the nuns were allowed to receive at night or evening only a single bed of straw which was examined previously.[361]

Use and Return of the Bedding:

The 'sejjā-santhāraga' was to be accepted only after the free consent of the householder.[362] In case the monk returned it and wanted it again, then also he had to take the consent of the householder for obtaining that returnable (pāḍihāriyaṁ) bedding.[363] If the bedding was lost. then he had to search it out.[364] If he failed to do so, he had to undergo a punishment for these offences.

Unfit Bedding:

Beds used by the householder were deemed unfit for the monk and he had to undergo a punishment for using these.[365] So also, beds specially

357. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 44.
358. *Ibid.*, 3, 25-27.
359. *Vav.* 8, 2; mentioned in *Piṇḍa-N. v.* 46.
360. *Vav.* 8, 3-4.
361. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 44.
362. *Nis* 2, 50-59.
363. *Ibid.*, 5, 23.
364. *Ibid.*, 2, 50-59.
365. *Ibid.*, 16, 1-3. (See Appendix 1).

made or purposely fashioned (saparikamma) for the sake of the monk were not to be used.[366]

Coverings and Bed-sheets:

The kambala or the blanket was used, as we have already seen, in the period of the Aṅgas also. Besides this, the *Oghaniryukti* mentions other articles. They were called 'paṭṭakas'. Both the santhāra and the uttarapaṭṭa were three and a half hands in length, and one hand and four aṅgulas in breadth.[367]

The 'abhyantaraniṣadyāpaṭṭaka'[368] was a piece of cloth which was spread over the blanket (kambala) with a view to save lice (ṣaṭpadī), etc. from getting crushed in between the body and the kambala. This piece was made of cotton (khomiya) and was one hand in breadth. It had no thread-ends (daśikā).

The purpose of these paṭṭakas was to save the living beings as well as to save one's body from dust, etc.

Use of Skins (camma):

The monks were allowed to possess "untanned" (salomāiṁ: hairy) skins. They were to use these only for one night but not for many nights. They were not allowed to possess or obtain complete (kasiṇa) pieces of skins but only incomplete ones. Moreover new skins were not to be accepted but only those which were used (paribhutte).[369]

In contrast to this, however, we find that another Chedasūtra, the *Niśītha*,[370] forbids the monks and the nuns to use these untanned skins. The *Oghaniryukti* permits a monk to cover his body with skin (katti) to save himself from fire.[371]

Pīḍhaga (Seat) :

This does not occur in the list of requisites as given in the *Oghaniryukti*. But, as we have already seen, it was one among the group of four articles described in the Aṅgas as "pīḍhaphalagasejjāsanthāraya" so often.

366. *Ibid.*, 5, 60-62.
367. *Ogha-N.* 723.
368. *Ibid.*, 724-5.
369. *Bṛh.kalp.* 3, 3-6.
370. 12, 5.
371. *Ogha-N.* 39; so also shoes in fire: *Ibid.*

A monk was, however, forbidden to sit over a seat of either grass (taṇa), or of palāla (a kind of grass), or of chagaṇa (cow-dung), or of wood (kaṭṭha) covered over by the cloth of others. If he did so, he had to undergo a punishment for it.[372]

Chatta (Umbrella):

This is mentioned in connection with the theras or older monks.[373] The *Oghaniryukti*, however, mentions the "vāsattāṇa" and says that it was of use also in hiding oneself from the thieves.[374] No further details are available about it.

Pāyalehaṇiā (Mud-cleaner):

In winter and summer, the monk wiped his feet with the rajoharaṇa. But in the rainy season, he had to take resort to other articles to clear the mud from his feet. This purpose was served by the 'pādalekhanikā'.[375] It consisted of the sticks (?) of the trees like the Vaṭa or Udumbara or Plakṣa. If no such tree was available, then it could be made out of the Cincaṇikā or Ambilikā.

Its length was twelve aṅgulas, and breadth was one aṅgula. It was thick and soft, and both the ends of it were sharp. Holding it in the middle, one end was used in clearing away the living beings (sacitta) and the other for clearing the acitta beings.

Every monk possessed one such mud-cleaner in the rainy season.

Other Miscellaneous Articles:

The Chedasūtras mention a number of other articles which a monk used on certain occasions only, and which he obtained from the householder.

These articles were as follows:

Sūï (needle), pippalaga (razor), naha-ccheyaṇaga (nail-cutter), kaṇṇasāheṇaga (ear-cleaner),[376] veṇusūïyaṁ (bamboo-needle), avalehaṇiyā[377] (a dust-brush), and the cammapalicchcheyaṇaya[378] (the skin-cutter).

372. *Nis.* 12, 6; mentioned in *Piṇḍa-N. v.* 46.
373. *Vav.* 8, 5.
374. 30; *comm.* p. 31a, 'sabhaye' gṛhādau stenakādibhayopete 'varṣātrāṇaṁ' varṣākalpaṁ prāvṛtya vrajati.
375. *Ibid.*, 26-28.
376. *Nis.* 1, 15-18; 2, 10-17.
377. *Ibid.*, 1, 40; 5, 15-22.
378. *Vav.* 8, 5.

Rules about the Obtaining, Use and Exchange of these:

Obtaining these articles for sinful purposes (aṇaṭṭhāë),[379] or in an improper manner (avihīë),[380] or putting them to some other use than that for which they are acquired,[381] returning them either earlier or later than promised,[382] giving these to others after obtaining them purely for one's own use,[383] or returning these to the owner in an improper way,[384]—all these were transgressions of ideal conduct, and a monk had to undergo punishment for these.[385]

The *Oghaniryukti*,[386] however, says that the skins (camma), skin bags (cammakosaë), the skin-cutter (cammacchedaṇa), the yogapaṭṭaka, and the curtain (cilimilī) were the 'aupagrāhika' (supplementary) requisites of a guru only.

Ogha and Aupagrāhika Requisites:

The requisites are classified in the *Oghaniryukti*[387] into two divisions. Those articles which were essential or of general use were called 'Ogha',[388] while those which were used occasionally for the protection of self-control were called 'Uvaggahaüvahī'.[389]

Jinakalpika and Sthavirakalpika :

The above two types of requisites were different in number according to whether the monk belonged to the Jinakalpika or the Sthavirakalpika mode of life. The Ogha requisites of a Jinakalpika monk were twelve in number :

(1) patta (the bowl)[390]

(2) pattābandha (the thread)

379. *Nis.* 1, 19-22.
380. *Ibid.*, 1, 23-26.
381. *Ibid.*, 1, 31-34.
382. *Ibid.*, 5, 15-22.
383. *Ibid.*, 1, 27-30.
384. *Ibid.*, 1, 35-38.
385. See Appendix 1.
386. 728.
387. 667; A passing reference to these in *Uttar.* 24, 13; no details.
388. *Ogha.-N. comm.* p. 208a: "Oghopadhirnityameva yo gṛhyate".
389. *Ibid.*, "avagrahāvadhistu kāraṇe āpanne saṁyamārthaṁ yo gṛhyate". It should be noted that the number of these aupagrāhika articles was to be doubled in the rainy season for the sake of personal safety as well as for the protection of self-control. —*Ibid.*, 726; *comm.*, p. 217b.
390. It may be noted that the Jinakalpikas did not necessarily use it for alms, as is perhaps hinted at by the word 'pāṇipaḍiggahiya', i.e., using the hand as the alms-bowl: (*Vav.* 9, 41).

(3) pāyaṭṭhavaṇa (the base)
(4) pāyakesariyā (dust-cleaner)
(5) paḍalāiṁ (the pot-covers)
(6) ravattāṇaṁ (dust-wiper)
(7) gucchaö (dust-brush)
(8-10) three pacchāgā (clothings)
(11) rayaharaṇaṁ (the broom)
(12) muhapattī (the mouthpiece).

The necessary requisites (ogha) of the monks of the Sthavirakalpika mode of life were fourteen in all, consisting of the twelve above, plus the mattaga (i.e. the earthen vessel) and the colapaṭṭa (i.e. the loin-cloth).[391]

The Best, Mediocre and Inferior Requisites:

Besides the division of the requisites into essential and supplementary, those which were taken to be of less importance (jaghanya), of average importance (madhyama) and of primary importance (utkṛṣṭa) are described for the monks following either the Jinakalpa or the Sthavirakalpa practice.

The utkṛṣṭa upadhi of the Jinakalpika consisted of three clothings and the vessel. The madhyama upadhi consisted of the pātrakabandha, paṭalāni, rajastrāṇa and the rajoharaṇa. The jaghanya upadhi was the gocchaka, pātrakasthāpana, mukhavastrikā, and pātrakesarikā.[392]

The utkṛṣṭa upadhi of a Sthavirakalpika was the same as that of a Jinakalpika. The madhyama upadhi consisted of the paṭalas, the rajastrāṇa, pātrakabandha, colapaṭṭaka, rajoharaṇa and the mātraka, while the jaghanya category consisted of the pātrakasthāpana, pātrakesarikā, gocchaka and the mukhavastrikā.[393]

General Characteristics of These Requisites:

These essential requisites were to be of pure source and acquisition (uggamaüppāyaṇāsuddha), devoid of the faults of begging (esaṇādosa-vajjiyaṁ), such as could be examined in broad day light, i.e. having no secrecy about them (pagāsapaḍilehaṇaṁ), and such as could be of help in the practice of self-control (jogāṇaṁ sāhaṇaṭṭhayā). The monk was to carry these without hatred or attachment towards them (appaduṭṭho amucchio),

391. *Ogha-N.* 668-70.
392. *Ibid.*, 672.
393. *Ibid.*, 673.

and they were to be utilised for the sake of the purification of the soul (ajjhatthavisohīë).[394]

Aparigrahatva and Requisites:

The use of these requisites was upheld on the grounds of their being the 'dharmopakaraṇa' which were allowed to be used by the Jinas for the sake of purification of the soul (ajjhatthavisohī).[395]

The sanction for the use of such dharmopakaraṇa could as well be justified on the grounds of the words in the *Daśavaikālika*,[396] which laid down that "it is attachment that is called 'parigraha' or possession".

Begging and Food:

After securing a proper residence, the next important item of a monk's life was the obtainment of pure food. We have already seen how arduous was the framework of rules of begging (gocarī) which a monk had to face, and how the rules were based principally on the basis of ahiṁsā and purity of conduct.

The Chedasūtras also give sundry rules about proper begging and the nature of pure food. Before comparing them with those of the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras, it would be proper to note down various rules as given in the Chedasūtras.

The Method of Begging:

Taking with him all the necessary requisites, the monk went on the begging tour. He walked with perfect control over his senses, taking care not to trouble the living beings at any time.

He went from door to door but did not stand, sleep, sit or nap inside the house. He could do so only when he wanted to support another monk who had become feeble on account of severe penance (tavassī), or one who was very old (jarājuṇṇa), or one who was ill (vāhië).[397]

He begged with perfect gravity of mind and was not allowed to recite even four or five strophes (caügāhaṁ vā pañcagāhaṁ vā).[398]

394. *Ibid.*, 742-46.
395. "Ajjhatthavisohīë uvagaraṇaṁ bāhiraṁ pariharanto /
apparigaahītti bhaṇio jiṇehiṁ telukkadaṁsīhiṁ //
—*Ibid.*, 745.
396. 6, 21: Mucchā pariggaho vutto.
397. *Bṛh.kalp.* 3, 22.
398. *Ibid.*, 3, 23-24.

Time for Accepting and Eating Food:

The food was to be obtained in broad day light. It was not to be secured in twilight.[399] Not only that but a monk who praised night meal (rāïbhoyaṇa) or appreciated somebody else doing so, had to undergo a punishment for that.[400]

No preservation of food was encouraged, and the monk who ate food acquired in the early quarter of the day, later on in the day, had to face expiatory punishment.[401] Thus, not only obtaining but eating of stale food by a monk was not allowed.[402]

If by ignorance, he happened to eat food before sunrise or after sunset, then no sooner he saw that the sun had arisen or had set than he stopped eating and cleaned his mouth and vessel (paḍiggaha). Then he was not declared to be guilty (nāïkkamai), but if after knowing full well the situation as being unfit for meals he continued to eat, then he had to undergo four months' unshortened penance (cāümmāsiyaṁ parihāraṭṭhāṇaṁ aṇugghāïyaṁ).[403]

Regional Limits of Begging:

Carrying food beyond a distance of one half yojana (addhajoyaṇa-merāo),[404] was not allowed. This means that the food which was obtained was consumed within that regional limit.

Places Unfit for Begging:

Newly occupied villages (gāma), settlements (sannivesa) and habitations (nivesa), or newly opened mines of iron, copper (tambāgara), lead (taü). gold (hiraṇṇa), diamonds (rayaṇa), etc.[405] granaries (koṭṭhāgārasālā), treasuries (bhaṇḍāgāra), or water-places (pāṇasālā) or big kitchens (mahāṇasasālā)[406] were to be avoided in seeking food.

Accepting food and drink at the coronation celebrations of kings, as well as obtaining it when the kings were engaged in some work in the uttarasālā (recreation hall), or in the horse stable (hayasālā), or elephant stable (gayasālā), or counsel-hall (mantasāla), or secret places (gujjhasālā,

399. *Ibid.*, 1, 43.
400. *Nis.* 11, 72-73; (See also Appendix 1).
401. *Ibid.*, 12, 30; 11, 78-9. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 11.
402. The *Bṛh.kalp.* does not allow monks and nuns to reswallow (paccogilamaṇe) vomited (uggāle) food at night: 5, 10.
403. *Ibid.*, 5, 6-9; See Appendix 1.
404. *Nis.* 12, 31; *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 12.
405. *Nis.* 5, 34.
406. *Ibid.*, 9, 7.

or rahassasālā), or in the private apartment (mehuṇasālā), was not allowed.[407]

Obtaining food in an army camp (seṇaṁ sanniviṭṭhaṁ),[408] or in a boat[409] was not permitted.

Unfit Donors:

Food was not to be accepted from him who gave residence to the monk (sejjāyara). Under certain circumstances, however, a monk was allowed to accept food from "the harbourer" (sāgāriya), or that given by his servants. The rule was that "if a harbourer's food is prepared as with regard to honoured guests (sāgāriyassa pūyābhatte uddesië ceïë pāhuḍiyāë), intended (for them, and) looked upon as a present (to them, if) an article belonging to the harbourer is destined (for them, and) held at their disposal, (food and article) as regular gifts—be it the harbourer or his servants (parijaṇa), or be it neither the harbourer nor his servants, but an honoured guest of his, who gives them—one may let him give (it) for another monk, (but) one may not take anything for oneself. (But) if the gift is not regular, one may, if an honoured guest of the harbourer give it, let him give (it) for another monk and likewise take it for oneself".[410]

Mixing up (saṁsaṭṭhaṁ karentaë) of the harbourer's alms, accepting them or approving anyone doing so was not encouraged.[411]

Not only that, but food was not to be accepted from a person who stayed under the protection of the 'sāriya' or 'sāgāriya' (one who gives lodging to the monk), even when the former cooked separately or otherwise in the same house or elsewhere. Supposing that the guest wanted to give food to the monk, the latter was not allowed to accept it in the presence of the owner of the house as there was a likelihood of the owner mixing up his food in it, or a possibility of the owner feeling sorry on account of the monk not accepting his food. Articles from the shop in which the owner of the lodge was a partner (sāhāraṇavakkayapaüttā) were not to be accepted by the monk. So also, if the owner of the house was a partner in any food cooked by his guest, or servant, even though the latter stayed outside, then that food was deemed unfit for the monk.[412]

407. *Ibid.*, 8, 13-17.
408. *Bṛh.kalp.* 3, 34.
409. *Nis.* 18, 17-20.
410. *Bṛh.kalp.* 2, 19-28; Transl. *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 262.
411. *Ibid.*, 2, 14-18.
412. *Vav.* 9, 1-26.

If the lodge given to the monk was owned by persons more than one, then the monk was not allowed to accept food from the principal owner (egaṁ tattha kappāgaṁ ṭhavaïttā avasese nivvisejjā).[413]

Besides the sejjāyara, some other persons were not to be approached for alms by the monk. He was not allowed to ask persons of the royal harem to bring food, etc. for him outside the harem, or to consent to such a person to hand over his alms bowl to him so as to get it filled with food from the harem.[414] It may be noted that this rule was in conformity with the regulation which disallowed a monk to eat royal food (rāyapiṇḍa).

To his relatives (nāyavihiṁ) a monk could go only with the permission of the elders (thera), and accompanied by a well-versed monk (bahussuë babbhāgame) if he was still unripe in knowledge (appasuya appāgama). Having gone there in the company of a learned person, he was to accept only that which was cooked before his arrival (puvvāgamaṇeṇaṁ puvvaütte).[415]

The monk was disallowed to seek food from those who were either starting for or returning from land, water (naï) or mountain journey (giri-jattā).[416]

Certain families which were taken to be of condemned nature (duguñchiyakulāïṁ)[417] were not to be approached for food. It may be noted that such families were marked out not because of their low birth or position in society, but because of their sinful activities and lax morality. This is perhaps the basis of another rule which disallowed a monk from accepting food, drink, etc. from those who were of non-vegetarians habits ('maṁsa-khāyāṇā', 'maccha-khāyāṇā' and 'chavikhāyāṇā').[418]

Avoiding, therefore, all these people, the monk begged food at such houses the inmates of which were of normal behaviour. The devoted families which always helped the monk (ṭhavaṇa kula) were to be approached frequently but not incessantly so as to tire them out. Without creating good feeling in them, without asking them, or without knowing about them anything, the monk was not allowed to approach them.[419]

Fit and Unfit Food:

The principal category of unfit food was that which contained living beings, or which involved the killing of living beings in its preparation. The

413. *Bṛh.kalp.* 2, 13.
414. *Nis.* 9, 4-5.
415. *Vav.* 6, 1.
416. *Nis.* 9, 12-17.
417. *Ibid.,* 16, 27.
418. *Ibid.,* 9, 10.
419. *Ibid.,* 4, 22.

technical phrase denoting such category of food was 'ādhākarmika' (āhākammiä) which is not to be found newly used in the Chedaśūtras or even in the Niryuktis.

Such 'ādhākarmika' food was, therefore, prohibited.[420] Along with that, any articles of food containing living beings, as for instance, raw palm fruit or mango, raw sugarcane, roots, bulbs, seeds, etc. were not allowed.[421] Even articles placed on live substratum were disallowed.[422] In case the monk happened to accept food in which a living being fell, he tried to take it out, and then ate it or deposited it on a region (thaṇḍila) free from living beings.[423] If he obtained food devoid of living beings but otherwise unclean (aṇesaṇijja), then he gave it to his disciple who was not till then ordained (sehatarāë aṇuṭṭhaviyaë). But if there was no such person with him, then he deposited the food on a place devoid of any impurities (bahuphāsuë).[424]

Eating of stale (pariyāsiya) food was not allowed, and we have already seen that a monk was not permitted to preserve food upto the fourth porisī, of the day. Hence any stale articles like the pippalī, or powder of pippalī, siṁgabera or powder of siṁgabera, bila or salt (loṇa) were disallowed.[425] Stale food generally gave rise to bacteria due to chemical action or fermentation and hence the rule.

Water was to be drunk as was previously boiled and made lifeless by somebody else. Normally, the nine vikṛtis—milk (khīra), curds (dahi), butter (ṇavaṇīya), fat (sappi), oil (tella), molasses (phāṇiya), honey (mahu), flesh (maṁsa) and wine (majja),—were not to be eaten, and their use was restricted, it seems, only in cases of severe illness in rainy season. The 'agrapiṇḍa'[426] and the 'nivedanapiṇḍa'[427] were not allowed. So also such

420. *Daśā*. 2nd Daśā.

421. *Bṛh.kalp*. 1, 1; *Nis*. 10, 5-6; 12, 4; 15, 5-12; 16, 4-12.

On the rule disallowing monks to eat raw, unbroken palm-fruit, JAIN remarks: "The first section of *Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra* which prescribes the eating of broken or unbroken, raw and ripe palm-fruit (tāla) or the fibres (palamba) for the Jaina monks and nuns, leads us to the olden days of famine in Magadha when Bhadrabāhū migrated to Nepal. These precepts indicate the hardest days through which Jain monks and nuns had to pass and how they had to live on raw palm-fruits and fibres of the trees for their subsistence." —*Life in Ancient India*, p. 36.

422. *Nis*. 17, 126-29.

423. *Bṛh.kalp*. 5, 11.

424. *Ibid*., 4, 13.

425. *Nis*. 11, 91.

426. *Ibid*., 2, 32-36.

427. *Ibid*., 11, 81.

food as was full of impurity was not permitted to a monk.[428] The rule of the non-acceptance of anything given with a wet hand or pot, remained the same.[429]

If the king gave food, etc. as a present (nīhaḍa ?)[430] to the people like actors, etc. or to caretakers of horses, etc. or to controllers (damaga) of horses, etc. or to caravan leaders, massagists (abbhaṅgāvayāṇa), umbrella-holders (chattaggahāṇa), or holders of bows (dhaṇu), swords (asi) and other weapons, or chamberlains (kañcuïjja), or door-keepers (dovāriya), or to dwarfs and maid servants like the cilāïya, vāmaṇī, vaḍabhī, babbarī, paüsī, joṇiyā, palhaviyā, isiṇī, thāruginī, laüsī, lāsī, siṁhalī, ālavi, pulindi, sabari and parisiṇī,[431] then the monk could not accept it.

The rest of the rules which did not allow the monk to accept food from a feast (saṅkhaḍī), or that brought from a distance beyond three houses,[432] or food meant for the beasts or for the ill, or for the guest;[433] food prepared for people of loose morals (pāsattha);[434] or acts like praising the donor either before (pure santhava) or after getting food,[435] eating deliberately such food as involved the undergoing of major or minor prāyaścittas,[436] the acceptance of rāyapiṇḍa, or dhāïp., or dūïp., nimittap., ājīviyap., antaddhāṇap., koha-p., māṇa-p., māyā-p., lobha-p., vaṇīmaga-p., tigicchā-p., vijjā-p., manta-p., joga-p., cuṇṇaya-p.,[437] or that which involved the faults described in the *Daśavalikālikasūtra*,[438]—are repeated in the Chedasūtras with the difference that the latter prescribe definite punishments in cases of transgressions.

Regarding the vikṛtis the rule was that the monk could not accept more than three dattis of them for the ill. He was not to carry them from village to village, as also not to strain them, or ask somebody else to do so, or accept strained vikṛtis.[439] Eating the vikṛtis not given by the ācārya or upādhyāya made a monk liable for punishment.[440]

428. *Ibid.*, 1, 58.
429. *Ibid.*, 4, 39.
430. The dictionary meaning is 'taken out': *Pāïyasadda*, p. 518.
431. *Nis.* 9, 20-28.
432. *Ibid.*, 3, 13-15.
433. *Ibid.*, 9, 6.
434. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 14; The *Bhāṣya* refers to them as being the followers of Pārśva, but we are prompted to take the word to mean such heretical monks who are loose in behaviour and in the practice of the rules of monastic life.
435. *Nis.* 2, 38.
436. *Ibid.*, 10, 19-27.
437. *Ibid.*, 13, 60-74; all these are explained in the previous chapter.
438. See previous chapter; *Nis.* 17, 123-32; 19, 1-4; also Appendix 1.
439. *Nis.* 19, 1-7.
440. *Ibid.*, 4, 21.

Quantity of Food and Mode of Eating:

After having acquired the proper articles of food, the monk showed them to his ācārya,[441] and then ate that which was allowed by him. As we have already seen, no preservation of food till the last quarter of the day was allowed.[442]

The rule about the normal (pamāṇāhārī) quantity of food consisting of thirty-two morsels (kavala), each of the size of a hen's egg (kukkuḍi-äṇḍa), and such other details as given in the Aṅgas,[443] are to be found in the Chedasūtras[444] also.

The normal time of eating food was of course the day and no night meal (rāïbhoyaṇa) was allowed.[445]

The proper mode of consuming food was that in which the monk ate food not for taste[446] but for the maintenance of the body. Hence, eating only tasty food (subbhiṁ subbhiṁ bhuññjaï)[447] was deemed a transgression of ideal monastic conduct. Frequent requests to the householder for food, and throwing food on the earth or on the bed, or up in the sky, made a monk liable for punishment.[448]

Miscellaneous Rules:

Exchange of food was not allowed without the permission of the guru. Under all circumstances giving food to or accepting it from a person of loose morals (pāsattha) was not encouraged.[449] Consideration, however, was shown to the weak and the ailing, and the ācārya gave more food to them if there arose a danger of their collapse.[450]

The Niryuktis, besides referring to the above rules,[451] give details regarding the actual execution of the faults and the exceptions under which

441. *Ibid.*, 4, 20.
442. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 11; 5, 49.
443. *Bhag.* 292a.
444. *Vav.* 8, 16.
445. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 43; 5, 6-9.
446. *Daśā.* 5th Daśā.
447. *Nis.* 2, 43-49.
448. *Ibid.*, 16, 33-35.
449. *Ibid.*, 15, 79-98.
450. *Ibid.*, 10, 36-39; *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 26; *Vav.* 2, 6.
451. For instance: not accepting food from a house having low doors, or having no doors, or the doors of which are blocked by a person standing, or if they are blocked by a carriage or by a big pot: *Ogha-N.* 476; that which is given with a wet hand: *Ibid.*,

these rules were set aside. It would not be out of place here to study some of the rules regarding this as given in the Niryuktis.

The Mode of Begging:

After performing the necessary duties, the monks went in pairs on the begging tour.[452] Permission of the ācārya or, in his absence, of his immediate subordinate was essential before undertaking the alms-round; otherwise monks had to go in search of him who had gone out without seeking permission or without telling his co-monks.

The general rule was that the monk went on the begging round equipped with all his requisites. The normal outfit consisted of the alms bowl, the mātraka (small pot), the paṭalas, the broom (rajoharaṇa), staff (daṇḍa), and the pair of clothings so put on as to cover the pots as well as the shoulder.[453] The mātraka was necessarily to be there in order to accept something scarce, or something required for the guru or for the ill.[454] Or else, he accepted solid food in one pot and liquids in another.[455]

Unfit Places:

In the begging tour he avoided three kinds of places which were either injurious to himself (atmopaghātika), or were contrary to the rules of the scriptures (pravacanopaghātika), or those that were likely to lead to the breaking of self-control (saṁyamopaghātika).[456] These three categories included wild animals, places adjacent to shaky walls or holes, places full of living beings and sites of easing nature, bathrooms, etc. which were danger spots for a monk.

Nature of Pure and Impure Food:

The *Piṇḍaniryukti* deals with hair-splitting distinctions of the fundamental forty-six faults of begging and the purity of alms.

489-93; not eating food for the sake of increasing personal beauty: *Ibid.*, 494-501; depositing impure food on a pure place: *Ibid.*, 503; not to accept food from a saṅkhaḍi: *Ibid.*, 84; food given in charity: *Ibid.*, 86; food rich with oil, etc.: *Ibid.*, 89; the reasons for eating food: *Ibid.*, 579-80; the circumstances under which food is to be given up: *Ibid.*, 581-82; taking the permission of the ācārya before going on the begging round: *Ibid.*, 239-41; unfit donors: *Ibid.*, 467-68; the faults of uggama, uppāyaṇa and esaṇā: *Ibid.*, 502; reasons for eating food: *Piṇḍa-N.* 662; for giving up food: *Ibid.*, 666; nature of improper food: *Daśavaikālika-N.* 116; proper begging: *Ibid.*, 241.

452. *Ogha-N.* 411.
453. *Ibid.*, 701.
454. *Ibid.*, 425-6.
455. *Ibid.*, 251.
456. *Ibid.*, 462-66.

The importance of the purity of food was impressed by the following verse :

> Nivvāṇaṁ khalu kajjaṁ nāṇāïtigaṁ ca kāraṇaṁ tassa /
> nivvāṇakāraṇāṇaṁ ca kāraṇaṁ hoï āhāro / /[457]

The meaning of the verse is that good food is the cause of knowledge, faith and conduct which are again the cause of liberation.

This purity of food was maintained by avoiding the forty-six faults of seeking food. It has already been observed that these faults are not entirely new to either the Chedasūtras or to the Niryuktis, as they are to be found in the Mūlasūtras also. But it would not be out of place here, to see whether the *Piṇḍaniryukti* adds some details to them or whether it amplifies them.

These forty-six faults[458] were divided into four categories which were as follows :

Udgamadoṣas (*Uggamadosas*) :

These were sixteen[459] in number and they pertained to the acts involved in the preparation of food. They were —

(i) *Ādhākarman*[460] (*āhākamma*) :

'That action which involved injury to living beings.' The principle behind this rule was the identity of one's own soul with other souls, and injury to other souls was deemed good as injury to one's own soul. Hence the monk neither accepted such food himself, nor consented to others doing such activity, nor made others do so. Hence all those who had direct or indirect contact in this affair were taken to be transgressors.[461]

In order to illustrate the proper behaviour and utmost care to avoid committing this fault, a story is given in the *Piṇḍaniryukti*,[462] which goes like this : There was a certain village by name Saṅkula where people did not at all grow rice. Therefore, Jaina monks did not stay at that place for a long

457. *Piṇḍa-N.* 69; see also *Vṛtti* by Malayagiri, p. 178ab.
458. *Ogha-N.* 576-78.
459. *Piṇḍa-N.* 92-93.
460. For a detailed explanation of this oft-repeated term, see *Vṛtti* by Malayagiri on *Piṇḍa-N.* pp. 35a, 37a.
461. *Ibid.*, vs. 111ff. 122: The illustrations given in this case are those of a prince and his friends who plotted against the king when the latter punished all who had taken direct and indirect role in it, and secondly that of a king who sacked all people—good and bad—who lived in the settlement of Bhils who frequently rebelled against the king.
462. 162-67.

time as they were unable to procure rice-soup (śālyodana) for their guru. A devotee of the monks came to know of this, and from the next year he began to grow rice in his field. When the monks came there, the devotee thought that if only he were to offer rice to the monks, then they would not accept it thinking that it was specially prepared for them. Hence, the devotee distributed rice to all his relatives and asked them to prepare and offer rice-soup to the monks. Now, when the monks went on the begging tour, they heard several people talking about the specially prepared rice-soup, and the children saying, "O mother, give us the soup prepared for the monk!". Knowing this, the monk did not accept that soup.

Thus the monks were to be very careful about the ādhākarmika food. Subtle differences are given about it, and it is sometimes difficult to grasp the proper point behind them.

Not only eating ādhākarmika food, but accepting an invitation for it, going to attend such meals, entering the house to accept such food, and forwarding one's alms bowl for that purpose, were taken to be transgressions of ideal conduct.[463]

The reasons behind the non-acceptance of ādhākarmika food were that it was against the Law of the Jinas, that one transgression led to another and other monks also copied it, that ādhākarman led to mithyātva (wrong belief), and lastly that the ādhākarmika food being generally prepared for guests, etc. contained lot of ghee or oil which led to either illness or breaking of self-control by the monk.[464]

Various stories in the *Piṇḍaniryukti* refer to the non-vegetarian habits of the mass of the people around the monks. It was but natural, therefore, for the monks to inquire about the nature of the food and to verify whether the food offered was of pure nature or otherwise. If a monk got a profuse quantity of a certain article of food which was not the normal food in that country, and if only a minority of the people in the town offered it to him out of respect, then the monk had a good ground for doubting the purity of the food and he made inquiries about the nature of the food offered. Due to this inquiry from the monk, those who were of a simple nature gave out the facts, while in the case of others the monk came to know about it from their facial expressions.[465]

463. *Ibid.*, 182.

464. *Ibid.*, 183-88.

465. *Ibid.* 204-05; An illustration showing to what extent this inquiry can be taken by foolish monks is furnished by the story of a certain monk who inquired about the place from which rice was brought. The lady offering it did not know about it and she asked him to go to her merchant-husband. The latter said that he brought it from Magadha.

If inspite of his inquiries the monk happened to accept ādhākarmika food with his mind pure and without doubts about it, then he was not taken to be a transgressor of the ideal conduct.[466]

(ii) *Auddeśika (uddesiya)* :

It was that food which was specially cooked for the monks, etc. besides the normal requirements of the members of a particular family.[467] Such food was not to be accepted by the monks.

This auddeśika food was divided into 'ogha' and 'vibhāga.' The former was again subdivided into three categories: uddiṣṭa°, kṛta° and karma° ogha. If in a marriage feast (saṅkhaḍi), food was prepared on a large scale and if the owner ordered his people to distribute it for achieving merit to those who sought alms, and if a lady offered the food in the same state, then it became 'uddiṣṭa°'; if she added curds, etc. to it, then it became 'kṛta°;' and if she again prepared modakas for such purposes, then that food became 'karma°'. All these forms were unfit for a monk.

The vibhāga auddeśika was fourfold. Such food as was reserved for the sake of all who came to ask for it was called 'auddeśika'; that which was to be given only to the pākhaṇḍins (heretics) was called 'samuddeśa'; that given only to the śramaṇas was 'ādeśa', and the food offered only to the nigganthas was called 'samādeya.'[468]

Therefore, not accepting food given in charity, or food promised in future, or accepting food after some time so as to allow some period to the householder for the preparation of food, were the rules which a monk had to carry out in order to avoid the fault of accepting auddeśika food.

(iii) *Pūtidoṣa (pūïdosa)* :

According to this,[469] the utensils besmeared with unfit articles of food, or transfer of articles from a clean pot to an impure one, such food as was stirred with a ladle besmeared with ādhākarmika food, and articles of food

So the monk decided to verify whether the field where that rice was grown in Magadha was pure. Thinking that the built road must have been prepared specially for somebody by somebody and hence unfit for the monk, he started by a wrong path to Magadha, lost his way and had to face lot of troubles in the forest along the path. *Ibid.*, 198-200.

466. *Ibid.*, 207-11; story of the monk Priyaṅkara about this.

467. *Ibid.*, 219-42.

468. *Ibid.*, 227-29: These are again divided each into 'uddiṣṭa°,' 'kṛta°' and 'karma°.' Further subdivisions consist of 'chinna°' and 'acchina°' which are again classified into 'dravya°,' 'kṣetra°,' 'kāla°' and 'bhāva°.' *Ibid.*, 231.

469. *Ibid.*, 243-70.

having close contact with particles of fire, steam (termed as 'sūkṣmapūti'),—all such pots and food inside them became unfit for the monk.[470]

For three days after the execution of ādhākarman in a house that particular house was considered impure, and the monk did not go to that place to beg alms. If perchance the alms-bowl of the monk became impure due to impure food, it was first purified and then food was accepted in it.[471]

The monk inquired whether there was any marriage ceremony or a feast to the community (saṅghabhatta). If he received a reply in the affirmative then he suspected 'pūtidoṣa' there and did not beg alms at that place for three days after the feast had taken place.[472]

(iv) *Miśra* (*mīsa*):

This[473] was threefold. The 'yāvadarthika' were those foodstuffs which were cooked together both for charity as well as for family requirements. The 'pākhaṇḍimiśra' was that which was prepared for both the heretics and the members of a family. The 'sādhumiśra' was that which was cooked both for the monks as well as for householders. All these three types were not allowed to the monk. Not only that, but if such food happened to come to the monk through exchange or transfer from person to person, he was not to accept it.

The pot in which such food was taken through inadvertence by a monk became fit for further use only when it was washed thrice.[474] The process of cleaning consisted of washing the pot with fingers or with dry cowdung, then washing it with water thrice, and then drying it in the sun.[475]

(v) *Sthāpanā* (*ṭhavaṇā*):

Food kept on impure regions or undergoing change in its nature was not allowed to be accepted by the monk.[476] The sthāpita food was either 'svasthāne sthāpita' (kept on the oven), or 'parasthāne sthāpita' (kept elsewhere). Each of these divisions was further divided into 'anantara' and 'parampara'. That which was kept reserved for a monk and which did not undergo a change—like ghee—was called 'anantarasthāpita', while those articles of food which underwent a change—milk becoming curds—were called 'paramparāsthāpita.'

470. *Ibid.*, 250-57.
471. *Ibid.*, 268.
472. *Ibid.*, 270.
473. *Ibid.*, 271-76.
474. *Ibid.*, 271.
475. *Ibid.*, 276.
476. *Ibid.*, 277-84.

(vi) *Prābhṛtika (pāhuḍiya)*:

If a certain householder asked his son to wait till the monks came so as to enable his mother to give food to both, then the monk was not allowed to visit such a house to avoid this fault.[477]

The possibility involved in this case was that the child tried to drag the monk to his house so as to secure food earlier for himself.

(vii) *Prāduṣkaraṇa (pāöyara)*:

That food which was exposed to light deliberately, or exhibited purposely, (prakāśakaraṇena prakaṭīkaraṇena ca yaddīyate) was deemed unfit for the monks.[478]

If somebody made holes to the wall or enlarged the door or opened up the roof of the house or kept a luminous lamp near the food, then that food was taken to be unfit for monks. Food which was prepared on an oven outside the house was also not allowed.

An exception to this rule allowed monks to accept such food as was kept in light by the householder for himself. But it was not to be such as was kept directly near the flame of a lamp or fire.[479]

If by chance a monk happened to accept such food then he deposited it on a clean spot and wiped the pot. He could accept other food in the same pot without washing it.

(viii) *Krīta (Kīya)*:

According to this item, a monk could not accept food from one who had bought it or brought it on exchange for the sake of the monks.[480]

That food which was obtained by telling religious stories, or by posing as a great ācārya, or by the skill of one's art, or on the strength of one's high birth, status or family, fell under the category 'ātmabhāvakrīta' and was not allowed to a monk. So also if somebody brought food for the monk by showing pictures, etc.[481] that was also not allowed for monks.

(ix) *Prāmitya*[482] *(pāmicca)*:

Anything brought on credit was disallowed to monks. An interesting story of the results of this fault is to be found in the account of Sammati who

477. *Ibid.*, 285-91.
478. *Ibid.*, 292-305.
479. *Ibid.*, 299: 'tatraivāpavādamāha—ātmārthīkṛtaṁ tadapi kalpate, navaraṁ jyotiḥ-pradīpau varjayet.'
480. *Ibid.*, 306-15.
481. Story of a maṅkha (picture-shower) Devaśarman who obtained ghee, etc., for the sake of monks by showing pictures to the people: *Ibid.*, 310-11.
482. *Ibid.*, 316-22.

used to bring oil on credit for her brother Sammata who had become a monk. She, being unable to pay off the debt incurred on this account, had to become a maid-servant in the house of the merchant from whom she had brought the oil on credit. When her monk-brother came to know of it, he converted the merchant to good faith and obtained his consent to the renunciation of his sister.[483]

(x) *Parivarttita (pariyaṭṭiā)*:

Food brought on exchange for some other article by the householder was not to be accepted by the monk.[484]

(xi) *Abhyāhṛta (abhihaḍa)*:

All articles of food which were brought from a long distance were to be avoided by the monk. Anything that was brought from a distance beyond three houses was called 'gṛhāntara' and was not accepted.[485]

483. *Ibid.*, 317-19.

484. *Ibid.*, 323-28: Story of Lakṣmī who brought on exchange rice-soup for barley-soup from her rich brother's wife and gave it to the monk. A quarrel arose between the two couples on this account, ending in renunciation by all.

485. *Ibid.*, 329-46; The flair for details and divisions is revealed in the following scheme:

Abhyāhṛta

Ācīrṇa | Anācīrṇa

Niśīthābhyāhṛta | Noniśīthābhyāhṛta

Svagrāme | Paragrāme

Gṛhāntare | Nograhāntare | Svadeśe | Videśe

Jalapathenābhyāhṛta | Sthala°

(Nāvāë) | (Uḍupena) | Jaṅghābhyāṁ | Padbhyāṁ

Jala° | Sthala°

(Nāvāë) | (Uḍupena) | Jaṅghā° | Pad°

(xii) *Udbhinna*[486] (*ubbhiṇṇa*):

Anything that was given after breaking the seal or lid covering it was not fit for the monks as it involved injury to living beings. It was either 'pihitodbhinna' i.e. given after breaking the lid, or 'kapāṭodbhinna' i.e. given after breaking the wall, etc. covering it.

It may be noted that the monks following the sthavirakalpa mode of life accepted such food as was kept in a storage jar, the lid of which was opened every day as there was less chance of injury to living beings in this case due to its being in use every day by the householder.[487]

(xiii) *Mālāpahṛta*[488] (*mālohaḍa*) :

The monk was forbidden to accept anything given from a high place. It was either 'jaghanya' in which case the article kept on a high place could not be seen even when one raised the heels of one's feet, or 'utkṛṣṭa' in which case it had to be brought down by climbing a ladder and had to be taken down from the terrace.[489]

Besides the possibility of injury to the donor while taking out such food, it was likely that the donor falling down took the monk to be the cause of the whole affair and hence he or she was likely to get angry towards the monk.

In case of permanent wooden staircase or strong slab of stone, however, the monk was allowed to accept that which was given by the donor after climbing it. If the donor standing on a stool, etc. tried hard to drag out something and then gave it to the monk, then the latter did not accept it.

(xiv) *Ācchedya*[490] (*acchejja*):

Such food as was taken by force from others and offered as alms was not to be accepted by the monk. An illustrative story in this connection as told in the *Piṇḍaniryukti* is that of Jinadāsa who took by force all the milk of the cowherd Vatsarāja and gave it to the monks. The cowherd became angry and intended to kill the monks, but was pacified by the latter with great difficulty.

486. *Ibid.*, 347-356.
487. *Ibid.*, 356.
488. *Ibid.*, 357-65.
489. Story of Vasumatī who was bitten by a snake when she tried to take out things hung up, in the case of 'jaghanya'; story of Vasundharā who fell down the ladder, illustrating 'utkṛṣṭa': *Ibid.*, 359-60 and 362.
490. *Ibid.*, 366-76.

Sometimes thieves, taking pity on the monks, robbed others' articles in order to give them to the monks. But in this case also the monks were strictly forbidden to accept such articles.

(xv) *Anisṛṣṭa (anisaṭṭha)*;

If food owned by two or more owners was offered, then the monk had to accept it only if the gift was given after the common and free consent of all the owners of the food.

This rule was adopted as a precaution against the creation of ill feeling between the different owners.[491]

(xvi) *Adhyavapūraka (ajjhoyara)*:

If a monk accepted such food the original quantity of which was increased by the householder in order to be able to give it to somebody in charity, then he was said to have done the 'adhyavapūraka' fault pertaining to food.[492]

This increment in food was done either for those who sought alms given in charity (svagṛha-yāvadarthika-miśra), or for the sake of monks (svagṛha-sādhu-miśra), or for the sake of heretics (svagṛha-pākhaṇḍi-miśra). All these three types were unfit for the monk.

The nature of the above sixteen faults may be said to arise out of the improper conduct on the part of the householders and not on the part of the monks.

Utpādanadoṣas (Uppāyaṇadoṣas):

These were also sixteen in number and pertained to improper ways of behaviour by monks in seeking food.

(i) *Dhātrī (dhāī)*:

The monk was forbidden to act as a nurse in order to get food. He was not allowed to give opinion regarding the proper time of and the utility of feeding the child at a particular time. If his opinion proved wrong and the child fell ill, then the people held the monk responsible for that. No efforts of reinstating a dismissed nurse or finding fault with a newly appointed

491. *Ibid.*, 377-78: Story of Maṇibhadra who gave all sweetmeat balls to the monks without consulting his other friends and had to face trouble.
492. *Ibid.*, 388-91.

one, regarding her voice or way of treating the child, etc. were allowed to a monk.[493]

(ii) *Dūtī (dūī)*:

Getting food by acting as a messenger or go-between.[494]

(iii) *Nimitta*:

Obtaining food by foretelling happenings, and by reading omens and bodily signs.[495]

(iv) *Ājīva*:

Acquiring food on the strength of one's caste, family, or art, etc.

Such practices as praising the qualities of that caste to which the donor belonged, or indicating one's own caste or kula, or suggesting one's qualifications as a wrestler, or showing one's skill in ploughing, etc. in order to obtain food, were disallowed to the monk.[496]

(v) *Vanīpaka (vaṇīmaga)*:

The monk was not allowed to accept food by posing as a beggar or as a heretic. He was not permitted to obtain eatables by pretending to be a Buddhist among the Buddhists and as a Brāhmaṇa among the Brahmaṇas, or by praising heretical practices.[497]

(vi) *Cikitsā (tigicchā)*:

No activity pertaining to medicine or diagnosis was to be resorted to by a monk in order to acquire food. He was not to advise a person to go to the doctor or prescribe a medicine or examine the patient himself.

The business as a doctor was said to act both ways in the case of the monk. If cured, the patient sometimes proved to be the cause of the breaking up of self-control of the monk, like the tiger who killed the physician after getting cured by his medicine. If the patient took a worse turn then

493. *Ibid.*, 410-27: Story of the monk Datta who accepted 'modakas' by pacifying the crying child.

494. *Ibid.*, 428-34.

495. *Ibid.*, 435-36: Story of a monk who reported the arrival of her husband to a lady, and told her bodily marks to her husband. The latter got wild and the monk was in trouble.

496. *Ibid.*, 437-42.

497. *Ibid.*, 443-55.

also it was attributed to the advice of the monk. Hence, in order to avoid both these, the monk was not encouraged to obtain food by acting as a physician.[498]

(vii) *Krodhapiṇḍa (kohapiṇḍa)*:

Such food as was given by the householder to the monk out of fear for his power of penance, or power to curse out of anger, or owing to the monk's being favourite of the king, was not to be accepted.[499]

(viii) *Mānapiṇḍa (māṇapiṁda)*:

Food acquired by a monk out of his pride for personal ability, or when spurred by the ridicule of others regarding one's ability to secure something, was called 'mānapiṇḍa'.[500]

(ix) *Māyāpiṇḍa*:

Securing food by deceit was not permitted. In this connection the story of Āṣāḍhabhūti stands as an illustration.

Once Āṣāḍhabhūti acquired modakas thrice by changing his apparel in the house of an actor. The actor was pleased with this and that led ultimately to Āṣāḍhabhūti's giving up monk life and marrying the daughters of the actor. But later on, when on one occasion, he saw them in a drunken and naked state, he again decided to become a monk. But the girls begged his pardon and he gave up the idea. Later on he worked in a drama depicting Bharata's renunciation and took again to monk-life in reality.[501]

(x) *Lobhapiṇḍa*:

Deciding to accept only a particular type of food out of great liking or greed for it even when other type of food was available, was deemed an unfit conduct for the monk.

In this connection, a very interesting story of a monk called Suvrata depicts him as going mad for the sake of getting modakas and wandering

498. *Ibid.*, 456-60.

499. *Ibid.*, 461-64: Story of the monk whom people gave food owing to their being afraid of his power to curse.

500. *Ibid.*, 465-73: To what extent a monk can go in obtaining ordinary things is illustrated by the story of one Guṇcandra who being offended by a lady, humiliated her husband in an assembly and secured what he had baited for in the company of other monks.

501. *Ibid.*, 474-80.

throughout the city at night by saying "siṁhakesara" (type of a modaka) instead of "dharmalābha" (may you obtain the Law!).[502]

(xi) *Saṁstva (santhava)*:

Praising a person for getting food was not allowed to a monk. Praising was either 'pūrva' or 'paścāt'. The former consisted in praising a lady by pointing out her resemblance to one's own mother, so that getting pleased she gave food to the monk.

The latter was the praising of the lady after getting food by saying, "O! You look like my mother-in-law".

Thus the words 'pūrva' and 'paścāt' denoted relations before and after the marriage of a person and pointing out resemblances in either of these two categories in order to please the person for the purpose of getting food.

In many cases, however, there was a likelihood of the donor getting angry due to the pointing out of such resemblances by the monk. Hence the monk was forbidden to do this.[503]

(xii-xiii) *Vidyā* and *Mantra* (*vijjā* and *manta*):

Obtaining food with the help of spells or magic was disallowed to monks.[504] The distinction between 'vidyā' and 'mantra' was that the former was presided over by a female deity (strīrūpadevatādhiṣṭhitā), while the latter by a male deity.

Many stories of different monks who adopted these methods are to be found in the *Piṇḍaniryukti*.[505]

The basis behind the prohibition of these practices was that spell and magic could be used both ways, either for good or for bad purposes, and there was always a likelihood of the king or the people punishing the monks when their magic powers were exposed.

(xiv) *Cūrṇa (cuṇṇa)*:

The use of powders so as to endow supernatural powers to the user was not allowed to the monks. In this connection the Niryukti refers to

502. *Ibid.*, 481-83.
503. *Ibid.*, 484-93.
504. *Ibid.*, 494-99.
505. Story of a monk who managed to acquire lot of ghee, etc. for the monks through magic: 495-96; story of Pādaliptasūri who cured the headache of king Muruṇḍa of Pratiṣṭhāna by spells: 498.

the story of two monks who used collyrium so that they could become invisible and steal the food of the king Candragupta for their own guru.[506]

(xv) *Yoga (joga)*:

The application of coatings, etc. (lepa) with a view to be able to rise up in the air—as in the case of the story of Devaśarman[507]—and astound and impress the people, and then secure food from them was deemed a transgression of ideal conduct.

(xvi) *Mūla (mūlakamma)*:

Any acts of 'vasīkaraṇa', or advising the people to get their sons and daughters married, or causing impregnation and abortion, and such other actions[508] were forbidden to monks.

We have up till now seen the faults pertaining to the preparation and nature of food. Besides these thirty-two faults, there were ten others which went under the category 'grahaṇaiṣaṇā'.[509]

Eṣaṇādoṣas (esaṇādosas):

(i) *Śaṅkita (saṅkiya)*:

Under this rule, the monk did not accept that food the purity of which he suspected.[510]

(ii) *Mrakṣita (makkhiya)*:

Anything given with either a pot or a hand besmeared with impure or unfit articles, was not accepted by the monk. The 'Mrakṣita' was either 'sacitta' (living beings), or 'acitta' (lifeless thing). The former was divided into three categories according as the food was contaminated with earth bodies (pṛthivīkāya), water bodies (apkāya), or with vegetation (vanaspatikāya). The 'acitta' was either condemnable (garhita) or otherwise (itara). The former consisted of articles like fat, etc. and the latter consisted of ghee, etc. which were not always forbidden to monks. Thus the rule was that a monk should not accept anything that was given with a hand or pot besmeared with either curds or honey, ghee, oil or molasses.[511]

506. *Ibid.*, 500: They were, however, detected by Cāṇakya, who created smoke so that the collyrium from their eyes melted.

507. *Ibid.*, 502-05.

508. *Ibid.*, 506-12; In this connection we get references to monks who joined the torn yoni of women, as well as tore out the normal one.

509. *Ibid.*, 520ff.

510. *Ibid.*, 521-30.

511. *Ibid.*, 531-39.

(iii) *Nikṣipta* (*ṇikkhitta*):

That food which was placed on living beings was not permitted to the monk.[512]

(iv) *Pihita* (*pihiya*):

That which was given after breaking the seal, or the coating of earth, etc. was not accepted by the monk.[513]

(v) *Saṁhṛta* (*sāhariya*):

Besides the considerations of injury to living beings as well as to the person while bringing food—in case the donor fell down—, it was feared that the people were likely to consider the monk to be greedy if the donor brought food from a distance in a big dish. In case a lady offered food to the monk in a very small dish, then people were likely to take her to be very miserly, and peoples' condemnation was likely to change her affinities towards the monk. Hence, monks were forbidden to accept food brought from a distance.[514]

(vi) *Dāyakadvāra* (*dāyaga*):

See under 'unfit donors' below.

(vii) *Unmiśra* (*ummīsa*):

The monk was forbidden to accept such food as was a mixture of living and lifeless things.[515]

(viii) *Apariṇata* (*apariṇaya*):

That which was not given with the consent of all the owners of the food[516] was unacceptable to the monk.

(ix) *Lipta* (*litta*):

As the monk had to wander from house to house for alms, he had to eat cold food. Moreover his clothes were to be washed only once a year, i.e. just before the rainy season. He could also not do anything with fire. For these reasons, even in summer, he suffered from indigestion. Therefore, butter-milk was permitted to the monks.[517]

512. *Ibid.*, 540-57.
513. *Ibid.*, 558-62.
514. *Ibid.*, 563-71.
515. *Ibid.*, 605-608.
516. *Ibid.*, 609-12.
517. *Ibid.*, 622.

Some of the corns were taken to be 'alepa' (dry). Yavāgū, kaṅgū takra and kāñjī were 'alepa', while milk, curds, preparations of milk, oil, ghee, molasses and dates were called 'bahulepa'.[518]

(x) *Chardita*[519] (*Chaḍḍiya*):

Food given in a careless way so that some portion of it fell down on the earth while serving, was refused by the monk, because hot or cold food falling on the ground lead to injury to living beings.

Besides this reason, however, the *Piṇḍaniryukti* gives a very interesting story about the consequences of such careless offering of food:

A certain Jaina monk, called Dharmaghoṣa while on the begging-round stopped at the house of the minister Vārattaka. The minister's wife came out with ghee, sugar and soup for the monk. But while she was coming, a drop of soup fell down on the ground, seeing which the monk did not accept the alms. The minister who was watching the scene from a distance could not understand the reason of the monk's return. He, therefore, decided to remain at a distance and watch further.

Now, it so happened, that flies settled upon the drop of sweet soup. Seeing the flies, spiders came there to eat the flies. To devour the spiders, a chameleon rushed in. A cat attacked the chameleon, and a dog seized the cat. Other dogs fell upon the dog and it led finally to the fight between the owners of the dogs.

Seeing this, the minister was enlightened and praised the foresight of the Jaina monk!

Unfit Donors:

Fundamentally the list of unfit donors as given both in the *Ogha-*, and the *Piṇḍa-* niryuktis does not seem to differ from that given in the *Daśavaikālika*, as the principles underlying them were the generally accepted tenets of—'ahiṁsā', least dependence on society, and purity of food. Yet, the Niryuktis give exceptions to these rules and amplify old rules as would be clear from the following discussion.

The following persons were disqualified to offer alms to the monk:[520]

(1) Bāla: 'Child below eight years'. The monk, however, was allowed to accept alms from a child if the latter was supported by an

518. *Ibid.*, 623-5.
519. *Ibid.*, 627-28.
520. *Ibid.*, 572-604.

elderly person, or if the mother of the child was standing nearby and had already given her consent to the child offering the food.[521]

(2) Vṛddha (vuḍḍha): 'An old person'. The reason behind this was that an old person was likely to give out saliva which was likely to get mixed up with the food. Besides this, there was a likelihood of the old person falling down while offering food.

If the old person was able to support himself or was helped by somebody else to do so, then the monk was allowed to accept food from him.

(3) Matta: 'Intoxicated or drunken person.' This person was likely to vomit on the clothes or requisites of the monk, and hence the latter was not permitted to accept food from him.

(4) Unmatta (ummatta): 'A madman'. A mad person was likely to embrace the monk or break his pots. A monk, however, could accept food from a mad person of an auspicious nature.

(5) Vepamāna (thevira): 'One of a shaky body'. Such a person often fell down scattering the food, with personal injury to himself. Hence, only when he was supported by somebody, he could offer food to a monk.

(6) Jvarita (javiä): 'A person having fever'. An ill person was likely to fall down. More than that the monk was likely to get contagious fever owing to that; hence a monk was not allowed to accept food from such a person.

(7) Andha (andhillaä) : 'A blind person'. People condemned the monk who accepted food from the blind in case the latter fell down while offering alms. So, unless he was supported by his son and was devoted to them, monks did not consent to accept food from the blind.

(8) Pragalita (pagariä) : 'A leper'. The monk was in constant danger of contamination from such a person.

(9) Ārūḍha: 'A person wearing wooden sandals'. There was a likelihood of such a person falling down while offering alms.

521. Story of the monks who pressed the child to give all food to them upon which the mother got angry and the people also condemned them for their greediness: *Ibid.*, 579.

(10) Hastāndu (hatthindu): 'One whose hands were bound'. (See below).

(11) Nigaḍabaddha (niyalabaddha): 'One whose feet were bound with fetters'.

In both these cases, it was difficult for the donor to offer alms. But if such persons were in a position to move without trouble and if there was no likelihood of their falling down, then the monk was allowed to accept alms from such persons.

(12) Vivarjita (vivajjiä): 'A person devoid of some limbs'. Besides the possibility of such a person falling down while offering alms, people condemned monks who accepted alms from such persons.

(13) Trairāśika (terāsi): 'A eunuch'. Due to frequent alms-taking from such a person there was a likelihood of the eunuch developing intimacy with the monk leading to the breaking of self-control. Moreover, people suspected the very nature of such monks. Monks, however, were permitted to approach eunuchs of auspicious nature for food.

(14) Gurviṇī (guvviṇī): 'A pregnant lady'. As there was a possibility of the pregnant lady having abortion or miscarriage while getting up to offer alms, monks were prevented from accepting alms from such women. It may be noted, however, that the 'Sthavirakalpika' monks did not accept alms from a lady far advanced in pregnancy, while the 'Jinakalpikas' did not accept food from a lady from the day she was carrying.

(15) Bālavatsā (balavaccha): 'A woman with breast-fed child'. If a lady kept aside her child whom she was feeding, and got up to offer alms to the monk, then the child was likely to be attacked by a cat, etc. or it might cry. Hence it was not deemed proper for a monk to accept food under such circumstances.

The 'Sthavirakalpikas' accepted food from such a lady if her child was grown up enough as not to be attacked by a cat, The 'Jinakalpikas', however, did not do so.

(16) Bhuñjānā (bhuñjantī): 'A lady taking meals.' If after seeing a monk, she got up and washed her hands, then it involved hiṁsā of water-bodies and the monk was thus unable to accept alms from her. But if the monk approached her before she had begun taking meals, then he could accept food from her.

(17) Ghusulintī: 'A lady churning curds'.

(18) Bharjamānā (bhajjantī): 'A lady frying something'.

(19) Kaṇḍayantī (kaṇḍantī): 'A lady pounding corn'.

(20) Dalayantī (dalantī): 'A lady grinding corn'.

(21) Piñjayantī (piñjantī): 'A lady clearing cotton'.

(22) Piṁṣantī (pīsantī): 'A lady pounding sesamum, etc. on a slab of stone'.

(23) Ruñcantī: 'A lady making rolls of cotton (?)'.

(24) Kṛntantī (kattanti): 'A lady cutting something'.

(25) Pramṛdgatī (pamaddamaṇī): 'A lady clearing cotton again and again'.

All these activities were said to involve injury to living beings, and the monks were disallowed to accept food from persons indulging in such activities. The exceptions to these rules, however, consisted of allowing a monk to obtain food from a lady who was grinding well-baked or lifeless (acetana) corn, or if the lady pounding corn had no remnants of pounded corn sticking to her pishel.

(26) Ṣaṭkāyayuktahastā (chakkāyavaggahatthā): 'A lady whose hands are full of living beings'.

(27) Śramaṇārthāya (samaṇaṭṭhā): 'One who deposits living beings on the ground for the sake of giving alms to the monk'.

(28) Pādena avagāhamānā (ogāhantī) : 'A lady who stepped over living beings'.

(29) Saṅghaṭṭayantī (sanghaṭṭantī): 'A lady brushing her limbs with other living beings'.

(30) Ārabhamāṇā (ārabhantī): 'A lady indulging in activities involving injury to living beings'.

(31) Liptahastā (littahatthā): 'A lady whose hands are besmeared with objectionable material'.

(32) Liptamātrā (littamattā): 'A lady holding a pot besmeared with material unfit for the monk'.

(33) Udvartayantī (uvvattantī): 'A lady pouring food from one vessel to another'.

All these activities involved hiṁsā and trouble to living beings and hence a monk was not allowed to accept food from the people who did these things.

(34) Dadatī (dintī) : 'One who gives food owned by many persons without consulting them'. In this case such offers were likely to lead to quarrels and the servants or the daughters-in-law were likely to be beaten by their masters or mothers-in-law respectively.

(35) Caurita (coriya): Monks were forbidden to accept anything from a thief who usually stole something of others.

(36) Prābhṛtikāṁ sthāpayantī (pāhuḍiyaṁ ṭhavantī): 'A lady giving food out of that which was prepared for the purpose of sacrifice (bali)'.

(37) Sapratyapāyā dadatī (sapaccavāyā dalantī): 'One who gave food after deliberately injuring the living beings'.

(38) Uddiśya dadatī (uddissa dalantī): 'One who gave food prepared for a particular type of monks (aparasādhukārpaṭikaprabhṛtinimittaṁ)'.

(39) Ābhogaṁ dadatī (ābhogaṁ dalantī): 'Who deliberately gave food unfit for the monk'.

(40) Anābhogaṁ dadatī (anābhogaṁ dalantī): 'Who inadvertantly gave impure food to the monks'.

A survey of this list of unfit donors would reveal that considerations of ahiṁsā, purity and social psychology were taken into account in forming these rules. The stories given in illustration of the rules, though perhaps imaginary or exaggerated to some extent, reveal a fine sense of avoiding public condemnation and the foresight of blending religious practices with social etiquette. The severity of the practice of these rules, was, however, relaxed by furnishing reasonable exceptions to them.

The Mode of Eating:

The fundamental purpose of eating food was to maintain the perfect balance of the body in order to practise self-control. The monk did not eat for taste. For this purpose he avoided the 'saṁyojanā doṣa' which was twofold. The 'saṁyojanā' or the mixing up of different kinds of food, was either 'bāhyā (external)' i.e. the mixing up of sweet things with other articles while on the begging tour in order to have a better taste afterwards, or it was 'abhyantarā (internal)' i.e. mixing up different articles either in the

pot (pātre), or in the formation of a morsel (lambana), or in the mouth (vadane), to have a better taste.

This latter 'saṁyojanā' was permitted to a monk who, after he had completed his meal, had a lot of ghee, etc. still remaining in the pot. As the monk was not allowed to throw it out, he was permitted to consume it by mixing it with other articles of food. In the case of ill monks and newly initiated royal persons also, this mixing up was allowed,—in the case of the latter, taking into consideration their newness to coarse food.

The Quantum of Food:

The normal quantity of the intake of food, as we have already seen, was thirty-two morsels each of the size of a hen's egg. Food less than thirty-two morsels was called 'yātrāmātraṁ (fit to maintain body)'. That more than thirty-two morsels was called 'prakāmabhojana (excessive diet)'; and eating more than thirty-two morsels for several days together was 'nikāmabhojana (optimum diet)'. Partaking of food containing profuse ghee or oil was called 'praṇītabhojana'.[522]

It appears that another system based on seasonal atmosphere was also followed. In severe winter the monk took one part ("bhāga" acc. to Vṛtti) of water and four parts of food, in mild winter two of water and three of food, in extreme summer three of water and two of food, and in mild summer two of water and three of food. The sixth part of the belly was left empty.[523]

Articles of opposite properties like oil, curds, etc. were not to be mixed as it was not conducive to good health.[524]

Mental Attitude towards Food:

Attachment for food either for its taste or for its fragrance was taken to be a fault expressed as 'aṅgāra', and condemning food for its bad taste was called 'dhūma'. Thus the monk was expected to be neither attached nor antagonistic to either good or bad food respectively, and we have already seen that the purpose for which he was to take food was purely of a different nature than the mere enjoyment of taste.[525]

How Many Times to Beg?:

Normally the monk begged once in a day. But we have seen that in cases of fasting in rainy season, or in case food obtained was scanty, then

522. *Ibid.*, 642-45.
523. *Ibid.*, 652.
524. *Ibid.*, 649.
525. *Ibid.*, 662.

the monk was allowed to go abegging for the second round. For the sake of his ācārya, or for the ill or for the junior, he was allowed not only to beg many times but even at odd times.[526]

The Return:

The monks went in pairs (saṁghāḍaga) for seeking food and some were left behind in the monastery to look after the requisites.

Before the return of the monks, those who were left behind kept ready jars (bhāyaṇa) full of strained water. With that amount of water the ācārya and the newly ordained novice washed their feet with it after their return. The maximum number of pots that was to be kept ready was four and it was adjusted with the number of monks in a 'gaccha'. In order to save the water from dust or other small living beings, it was strained either with a bamboo basket (chabbaä : *comm.* vaṁśapiṭaka), or with the nest of a bird (śakunigṛhakena ?).[527] After doing it, the monks in the monastery studied till the rest of the party arrived.

The returning monks wiped their feet outside the monastery, performed the threefold 'ṇisīhiyā', saluted their guru, scanned their own places, and deposited the staff and other requisites there.[528] After that, they did 'ālocanā', showed their alms to the guru, wiped their own heads with the mouthpiece, and cleaned the pot. Then they recited at least three gāthās.

If a monk belonged to a particular 'maṇḍalī' (group of monks), then he waited till the rest of the party arrived and then ate food with them. If, however, he did not belong to any 'maṇḍalī', then he showed the food to the guru and, after seeking his permission and distributing the food to guest-monks if any, ate whatever was left.[529]

Those who were undergoing expiatory penance, who were of loose conduct, as also those who were very young or very old took meals alone. No contact was to be kept with the person undergoing penance as punishment. The young and the old being unable to put up with pangs of hunger were allowed to take meals separately.[530]

While taking food, monks avoided the exit and the entrance of a place, and did not sit face to face with their guru. They were to sit at the south-eastern, or north-eastern quarter from the guru. Too much distance was

526. *Ogha-N.* 414.
527. *Ibid.*, 554-59.
528. *Ibid.*, 509.
529. *Ibid.*, 519-23.
530. *Ibid.*, 548.

to be avoided, and a place within the eye-range of the guru was to be preferred. In order to avoid scattering of food on the ground, they were advised to take it in a pot with a broad mouth and then eat it with a calm mind.[531]

Begging while on Tour :

We have seen the normal practice of begging when a monk happened to stay at a particular place. When the monks were on tour and had to make a stop at a distant place, then the procedure was as follows :

Monks started for the next stop in case the village which they came across offered scanty alms to them, or in case there was a likelihood of an attack from thieves. If at the next stop, the monks happened to meet their co-religionists, then the latter offered them food, and they ate it in a 'maṇḍalī' after performing 'ālocanā'. If the food proved to be insufficient to all, then the residing monks offered all their food to the guest-monks and went on the begging-round for the second time. Thus, food could be given to the guest-monks for three days.[532]

If a monk happened to come to a village alone, then he stayed out and made inquiries regarding the time for begging food there. If he was told that that was the proper time, then he sat down, wiped his feet, scanned his pot ('pāya' as well as 'mattaya'), and then entered the village. If on entering the village he came to know that there were monks of his faith, then he went to them. If the monks fortunately happened to be belonging to his own 'sāmācārī', then he took food with them. Otherwise, he kept his requisites outside, saluted the monks and inquired about the nature of good and bad families in the village.

While on the begging-round he came to know the disposition of different families, the places of poor people, places where wild dogs and cows were, the families that despised the monk, and the places where food was offered with the sole purpose of acquiring merit.

The houses of the 'sthāpanākulas' ṭhāvaṇākulāiṁ (disagreeable, despised or antagonistic families), were not to be pointed out by stretching the hand, or pointing the finger towards them. In case those houses happened to catch fire, or robbed by thieves, then the people were likely to be suspicious of the monk. Hence the monk was to recognise such houses by the fact that such places were situated generally near dilapidated houses or

531. *Ibid.*, 550.
532. *Ibid.*, 212–15.

near gates, or there were different kinds of trees, etc. in or outside them. Along with these, the monks were to avoid the houses of the mleñchas, of the chimpakas (i.e. printer of cloth) and those of the mourners (sūtaka).[533]

DAILY ROUTINE:

Most of the time of the monk was spent, as we have already seen in the Aṅgas, in study and meditation. The Chedasūtras and other texts more or less seem to repeat the same routine and give a few details regarding 'pratilekhana', 'kāyotsarga' and 'ālocanā'. As we have already seen the rules regarding study, begging, etc. they are not repeated over here again.

Āloyaṇā:

'Ālocanā', or the reporting of the faults to the superior was compulsory for all.[534] This confession was to be devoid of any deceit or hypocrisy, and insincerity in doing so made a monk liable for increased punishment.[535]

Confession had to be done before an elder or a responsible person. The ācārya and the upādhyāyā were deemed the best persons for this purpose. Failing to get them, the monk had to do 'ālocanā' either before a well-read co-religionist belonging to the same 'sambhoga', or before a well-read monk of a different 'sambhoga' or before a person who had attained a position midway between a householder and a monk (sārūviya), or before a person of pure conduct (samyakbhāvita). If no such person was available then the monk went out of the village and facing either the east or the north, and folding the palms of his hands near the head, he said, "These are my faults. I have violated these items" (Evaïyā me avarāhā, evaï kkhutto ahaṁ avaraddho)'. Thus expressing his faults, he confessed before the Arhanta or the Siddha.[536]

Thus, only in extreme cases, the monks were allowed to perform 'ālocanā' before the Siddha. But, normally, monks and nuns of the same 'sambhoga' were allowed to perform 'ālocanā' between one another even when they had a superior present with them.[537] If, out of a pair of monks, both had committed a particular transgression, then one of them acted as a superior and the other confessed his faults and underwent a punish-

533. *Ibid.*, 436-40.

534. 'Śiśyeṇa ālocite aparādhe sati tadyogyaṁ yatprāyaścittapradānaṁ sā viśodhiḥ. Ālocanaṁ ālocanā aparādhamaryādayā locanaṁ darśanaṁ ācāryādeḥ ālocanā.—*Ibid., comm.* p. 12a.

535. *Vav.* 1, 1-20; *Nis.* 20, 1-20.

536. *Vav.* 1, 34.

537. *Ibid.*, 5, 19.

ment. Then came the turn of the other. If all the members of a group of monks happened to commit a transgression, then one amongst them was selected to be a senior and the rest confessed and underwent a prāyaścitta (pāyacchitta), and then the senior faced the same procedure.[538]

The ācārya or the person before whom the monk wanted to confess was to be fully attentive to the procedure. Otherwise, there was a likelihood of the monks confessing in a hurried fashion and slipping over faults which they did not want to expose. Hence monks were disallowed to make 'ālocanā' before a guru who was busy with religious sermon or study, who was not attentive, who was ill-behaved and careless (pamatta), and who was taking food or answering nature's call (ṇīhāra).[539]

Another important feature that one comes across regarding 'ālocanā' in the Niryuktis is the fact that in cases of hurry or emergencies, the monks performed 'ālocanā' in general or routine fashion (oghataḥ). This procedure was adopted when the monk was exceptionally tired, or if the guru was very busy with other duties.[540]

Paḍilehaṇā :

'Pratilekhanā' or the scanning of the clothes and other requisites was another important item of daily routine, as we have already marked in the *Uttarādhyayana.*

The *Oghaniryukti*[541] discusses the difference of opinion regarding the proper time for 'pratilekhanā.' Some held the view that it should be done at the time of the rise of the sun after first doing the 'āvaśyakas' (āvassaya) or essential duties before sunrise. Others held that both the 'āvaśyakas' as well as the 'pratilekhanā' should be done immediately after sunrise. There were some who favoured that period at which light was such as could enable the monks to see one another's faces. Others maintained that when the lines on the hand could be seen, then only 'pratilekhanā' was to be done. The Niryuktikāra holds the view that the proper time for the 'pratilekhanā' was after the performance of 'pratikramaṇa' when light was ample.[542]

The time decided, the monk undertook the work of scanning his clothing to verify whether there were any living beings on them. Holding the

538. *Ibid.*, 2, 1-4.
539. *Ogha-N.* 514-17; other faults are the same as marked in Chapter 1.
540. *Ibid.*, 519.
541. *Vs.* 269-70.
542. 'pratikarmaṇapratisamāptau jñānadarśanacāritrārthaṁ stutitraye datte sati eteṣāṁ mukhavastrikādīnāṁ pratyupekṣaṇāsamāptyanantaraṁ yathā sūrya udgacchati eṣa pratyupekṣaṇakālavibhāgaḥ'—*Ibid.*, 270.

clothes firmly and sitting in a squatting position, the whole piece of cloth was scanned. The same process was again repeated by spreading the cloth in a slanting fashion, and living beings, if any, were then gently and carefully removed.[543]

The shaking (papphoḍaṇa) of the cloth was done six times, thrice by holding the cloth in one position and thrice turning the cloth. The wiping (khoḍā) was done nine times.

This process was to be done very carefully and the monk had to avoid certain faults in doing so. The same faults, as given in the *Uttarādhyayana,* are to be found in the *Oghaniryukti* also.[544]

It should be noted that a change in the order of the items of scanning was allowed in cases of emergencies.[545]

There seems to have been a difference in the process of 'pratilekhanā' as done by those who were on fast and by those who were not.

Those who were on fast (abhaktārthin), first scanned their own mouthpiece and the body, then examined the requisites of the guru, then those of one who was also on fast, then of a newly ordained monk as also of old monks. Then obtaining the permission from the guru by saying 'sandisaha icchākāreṇaṁ ohiyaṁ paḍilehemi', they scanned their alms-bowl (pāya), small pot (mattaya), and the rest of their requisites upto the 'colapaṭṭaga.'

Those, on the other hand, who were not on fast, scanned their own mouthpiece and body, then the 'colapaṭṭaga', the 'gocchaga', then the ties and coverings of the utensils, then the broom, then the 'mattaya', almsbowl, then the requisites of the guru, and then taking the permission of the guru with the words 'sandisaha ohiyaṁ paḍilehemo', they scanned the other requisites like clothing and pots of the gaccha.[546]

Paḍikkamaṇa and Kāüssagga :

These two, i.e., the repentance for the transgressions done if any, and keeping the body motionless for some time, were essential items of monk life and are often mentioned.

After the scanning of the requisites and study, the monk did 'pratikramaṇa' before his guru or any other senior. Those that were ill, old or very young performed 'kāyotsarga' and 'pratikramaṇa' on the same place.[547]

543. *Ibid.,* 264; *bhā.* 159-160.
544. *Ogha-N.* 265-67.
545. *Ibid.,* 271.
546. *Ibid.,* 627-30.
547. *Ibid.,* 633-7.

Tying the 'colapaṭṭaga' four fingers above the knees and four fingers below the navel, and keeping a distance of four fingers between his feet, he held the mouthpiece (muhapattī) in his right hand and the broom in his left, and keeping his hands loosely hanging down, he stood motionless and unperturbed even though a snake bit him or even if he had to face divine trouble.[548]

Thus, the whole day of the monk was spent in study and in doing other duties like gocarī (begging food), 'ālocanā,' 'pratikramaṇa,' 'kāyotsarga', 'pratilekhanā', 'dhyāna' (meditation),[549] and 'jiṇindatthava' (singing of the verses in praise of the Jina).[550]

STUDY :

Study formed a very important item in the daily routine of the monk. It was said that "the essence of the world is religion (dhamma), the essence of religion is knowledge (nāṇa), the essence of knowledge is self-control (sañjama) and the essence of self-control is Liberation (nibbāṇa)."[551]

Proper Places :

Proper atmosphere and surroundings were deemed essential for concentration in study. Places devoid of living beings, women and eunuchs were taken to be ideal for study as we have already seen in the *Ācārāṅga*. These rules, it seems, remained unchanged in this phase also.

Persons Fit for Study:

We have already seen that the *Sthānāṅga*[552] disallowed persons of immodest nature, those attached to forbidden articles of food (vikṛitipratibaddha), of rash tendencies and of heretical affinities from being instructed. Besides these persons, it was not allowed to study with or give lessons to (vāëï padiccheï vā) persons of lax behaviour (pāsattha, osanna, nitiya) and of bad moral conduct. So also a monk was not allowed to accept reading from a heretic (aṇṇaütthiya) or a houseowner (gāratthiya).[553] Along with these, study was not allowed with persons of condemned family (duguñchiyakula).[554]

548. *Ibid.*, 510-12.
549. The same principal types of meditation as given in the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga* are to be found in the *Aupapātika*, pp. 82-84.
550. *Ogha-N.* 638.
551. *Ācāra-N.* 244.
552. Pp. 165b, 166a; also *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 5-6.
553. *Nis.* 19, 25-36.
554. *Ibid.*, 16, 30-32.

Proper Time for Study :

The *Vyavahārasūtra* lays down a rule which forbids a monk from studying at odd hours (viïkiṭṭhāë kāle). On such odd occasions, monks did not study themselves but they were permitted to give reading (vāyaṇā) to others.[555] Punishments were prescribed for those who studied at improper times (asajjhāïë). Early morning, late evening, afternoon or mid-day (avaraṇha) and midnight (aḍḍharatta) were the four periods when a monk was not expected to study.[556]

The days on which no study was to be done are the same as those given in the *Niśītha*[557] and the *Sthānāṅga*.[558]

Curriculum of Studies :

In spite of sundry details about study, the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras seldom give hint of a planned curriculum of studies for the new entrant to the church.

The *Vyavahārasūtra*, on the contrary, gives a planned course of studies. According to it, no novice (khuḍḍaga) was allowed to study the 'Āyārapakappa' (Ācāraprakalpa) before he was fully grown up (lit. before he had hair in the armpit, 'vañjaṇa'). Thus, it seems that regular study began only after a monk came of age. Then other texts were studied :[559]

Standing as a monk (pariyāya) :	Texts to be studied :
3 years ..	.. *Āyārapakappa.*
4 years ..	.. *Sūyagaḍa.*
5 years ..	.. *Dasā, Kappa, Vavahāra.*
8 years ..	.. *Ṭhāṇa, Samavāya.*
10 years ..	.. *Viyāhe (Bhagavatī).*
11 years ..	.. *Khuḍḍiyāvimāṇabhattī, Mahalliyāvimāṇabhattī,*[559a] *Aṅgacūliyā, Vaggacūliyā* and *Viyāhacūliyā.*

555. *Vav.* 7, 10-14.
556. *Nis.* 19, 8-12.
557. *Ibid.*
558. Pp. 475b, 476a. Abhayadeva in his *comm.* to the *Sthānāṅga* says, "Svādhyāyo nandyādisūtraviṣayo vācanādiḥ anuprekṣa tu na niṣidhyate", i.e., the rules for 'asvādhyāya' pertain only to the Canonical texts.
559. *Vav.* 10, 20-33.
559a. According to SCHUBRING, 'khuḍḍiyā Vimāṇapavibhattī' and 'mahalliyā Vimāṇapavibhattī': see, *Vavahāra- und Nisīha-sutta* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 36.

12 years ..	.. *Aruṇovavāë, Garulovavāë, Dharaṇavavāë, Vesamaṇovavāë, Velandharovavāë.*
13 years ..	.. *Uṭṭhāṇapariyāvaṇië, Samuṭṭhāṇasuë, Devindovavāë, Nāgapariyāvaṇië.*
14 years ..	.. *Ṭṭhimiṇabhāvaṇā.*
15 years ..	.. *Cāraṇabhāvaṇā.*
16 years ..	*Āsīvisabhāvaṇā.*
17 years ..	.. *Diṭṭhivisabhāvaṇā.*
19 years ..	.. *Diṭṭhivāya.*
20 years ..	.. *Savvasuyāṇuvāï* (Master of the Canon).

It may be noted that all the texts in the list cannot now be identified, as for instance, the texts to be studied in the eleventh to the thirteenth year of monkhood. The course began with texts on ideal conduct and it was only after the monk had sufficient knowledge of them that he undertook the study of the three Chedasūtras like the *Daśāśrutaskandha, Bṛhatkalpa* and *Vyavahāra.* Then the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga,* which are more of the nature of a compendium, were studied, which paved the way for the understanding of a technical and philosophical text like the *Bhagavatī.* The study of *Diṭṭhivāya* (*Dṛṣṭivāda*) as the last item of the curriculum perhaps suggests the importance as well as the difficult nature of the text. Though we do not know much about it, it is quite likely that portions of it lay at the basis of the Sūtras on which commentaries like the *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā* are written.

Anyway, a glance at the systematic arrangement of comparatively difficult texts that were to be studied with advanced standing as a monk reveal a great planning effort on the part of the Church, not only for the general education of the monks, but also for the enhanced standard of academic qualification for any post in the church hierarchy. It may, perhaps, be taken to be a definite index of an organised church as well.

Teachers :

The chief duty of an upādhyāya was to give instructions to the younger elements in the group, while the ācārya stood more as an embodiment of ideal conduct than as a teacher.

Inspite of that, however, we come across four types of ācāryas, two of which are called 'uddesaṇāyariya' (uddeśanācārya) (who gives instruc-

tions or explains the text ?) and the 'vāyaṇāyariya' (vācanācārya) (one who gives the holy reading).[559b] The nature of these two types of the ācārya and their relations with the upādhyāya are not clear. It is likely, as noted elsewhere, that in the absence of the upādhyāya, these ācāryas carried out the duties of the former. It may be noted that there were some ācāryas who performed both the works, i.e. of 'uddesaṇā' and of 'vāyaṇā', while there were others who were entitled to do only one of these two tasks.

In the Niryuktis, we often come across the words 'suttaporisī' and 'atthaporisī' according respectively as the recitation was given by the upādhyāya or as the deeper meaning was explained by the ācārya. Another person who was denoted by the word 'gīyattha' (gītārtha) was one who had made a thorough study of the sacred texts and who, it seems, was consulted very often regarding not only the difficulties in the texts but also on points of proper and improper 'ācāra'.

The Apparatus of Study:

The Niśīthasūtra prescribes punishment for a monk who read only the "upper" portions of the texts without going through the "lower" portions (heṭṭhillāiṁ samosaraṇāiṁ avāettā uvarillāiṁ samosaraṇāiṁ vāēī).[559c] The words 'heṭṭhilla' and 'uvarima' perhaps indicate the existence of a book or at least a manuscript which was used as the basis for instructions to the monks, and these words may be taken to indicate the upper and the lower leaves of the ms.

A clearer reference to books is to be found in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅganiryukti*.[559d] There it is stated that a 'dravyagāthā' is that which is written down on the pages of a book (potthagapattagalihiyā).

We have already seen how the study of different texts from the Aṅgas and the Chedasūtras, etc. was spread over a period of nearly seventeen years (three to twenty), for making a monk the master of the whole sacred lore (savvasuyāṇuvāī).

The Mode of Study:

There were definite rules regarding the proper mode of study. If a monk read a text, then he was expected to read it completely and was not allowed to read only the selected passages after his own liking. Reading only the upper portions, or doing so without proper sequence (apattaṁ vāēī,

559b. *Vav.* 10, 12: See previous chapter also.
559c. *Nis.* 19, 17.
559d. *V.* 137.

pattaṁ na vāëï), reading only one out of the two identical (sarisaga) passages, or doing so in a low tone was not allowed.[560]

It seems that all attempts of deliberate obstructions in the reading of the texts arising out of loss of faith were suppressed, and the student was allowed to ask questions only in a restricted manner. He was not permitted to ask more than three questions (pucchā) regarding the 'kālikaśruta' (texts meant to be read at a particular time), and not more than seven queries regarding the text *Diṭṭhivāya* (*Dṛṣṭivāda*).[561]

With these restrictions imposed on them, the students, it seems, studied by sitting in a circular fashion (maṇḍalī).

Penance and Fasting:

It may be noted that the principal types of penance remained the same, for the same details regarding this item of monastic life, as given in the Aṅgas, are to be found in the Chedasūtras and other texts of the Śvetāmbara Canon.

The two-fold division of penance,[562] the minor and major fasts,[563] the details about 'paḍimās',[564] etc., even though referred to in the post-Aṅga texts, are the same and hence not repeated here again.

Supernatural Powers:

Inspite of the ban on the use of spells and magical powers by monks as given in the *Ācārāṅga*, the post-Aṅga texts and the Niryuktis refer to a number of such practices resorted to by monks.

It was said that there were some monks whose nasal oozings (khela) had the power of curing all diseases. There were others whose bodily dirt (jalla), bodily excreta or sweat (vippa), and touch (āmosa) acted as remedies for bodily ailments. Some had wonderful memory inasmuch as they could reproduce the rest of the sūtra by hearing only one word, or one line of it. Their speech had the sweetness of milk (khīra), honey or ghee. There were some who had the power of feeding hundreds of people without owning or knowing anything of cooking.[565] Some could transform their forms (viüvvaṇiḍḍhipatta), and some could fly in the air (cāraṇa).[566]

560. *Nis.* 19, 17ff.
561. *Ibid.*, 19, 9-10.
562. *Dśv-N.* 47-48.
563. *Aup.* p. 54; *Piṇḍa-N.* 668; *Ācār.-N.* 214.
564. *Daśā.* VIII; *Vav.* 9, 31-35; 10, 1; *Āvaśyyaka-N.v.* 496; *Aup.* pp. 54, 58.
565. 'Akkhīṇamahāṇasī.' also in *Āvaśyaka-N.* 766ff.
566. *Aup.* pp. 51-54; also *Āvaśyaka-N.* 769.

Various other feats of magic are to be found in the Niryuktis also. We come across a certain Saṅgamasūri who could spread light from his finger in order to show the entrance of the lodge to his disciples.[567] The story of Pādaliptasūri who cured the headache of king Muruṇḍa is too well-known to be given here.[568]

The same text refers to an interesting story of two novices who, by applying collyrium to their eyes, made themselves invisible and took away royal food of king Candragupta for their emaciated guru. Cāṇakya, coming to know of it, spread small needles to detect their path and creating smoke by which the collyrium from their eyes was washed out caught hold of the monks. They were, however, let loose afterwards.[569]

Besides these, a number of other spells called 'moriya' (peacock-spell), 'naülī' (mungoose-spell), 'birālī' (cat-spell), 'vagghī' (tiger-spell), 'sīhī' (lion-spell) and 'ulugī' (owl-spell) were used by monks.[570]

The astrological element seems to have come to prominence in the Prakīrṇakas which are texts of comparatively later date. The following superstitious and astronomical details regarding the various items of monk life are given in the *Gaṇividyāprakīrṇaka*:[571]

Church Affairs:

(a) Renunciation	Proper days:	Pratipadā, pañcamī, daśamī, pūrṇimā and ekādaśī.
	Proper tithis:	Nandā Jayā and Pūrṇā.
	Proper Nakṣatras:	Uttarā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarābhādrapadā, Rohiṇī.
(b) Bodily decoration before renunciation .	Proper tithis:	Nandā and Bhadrā.
(c) Fasting before renunciation .	Proper tithis:	Pūrṇā.
(d) Tonsure .	Proper Nakṣatras:	Punarvasu, Puṣya, Śravas, Dhaniṣṭhā.
	Improper Nakṣatras	Kṛttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Bharaṇī

567. *Piṇḍa-N.* 427.
568. *Ibid.*, 497ff.
569. *Ibid.*, 500.
570. *Uttar-N.* 174.
571. *Vs.* 3-79.

(e) *Upasthāpanā*	*Proper Nakṣatras:*	*Uttarā, °Āṣāḍhā,* °Bhādrapadā, Rohiṇī.
(f) 'Anujñā' for Gaṇins and Vācakas, and the creation of a gaṇa .	Proper Nakṣatras :	Uttarā, °Āṣāḍhā, °Bhādrapadā, Rohiṇī.
	Proper days :	Thursday, Monday and Saturday.

Touring :

(a) Proper Nakṣatras	Puṣya to Mūla.
(b) Improper times	Sandhyāgata, Ravigata, Viḍḍera, Asaggraha, Vilambī, Rāhuhata, and Grahabhinna.

If one started on the same nakṣatra with which the sun was in conjunction, then one was supposed to meet a calamity.

In the case of the 'viḍḍera', one's enemies were victorious.

In the case of 'vilambī', there was a possibility of one getting entangled in a debate.

In the 'rāhuhata', death overtook the touring monk.

In the case of the 'grahabhinna', the monk was supposed to get a vomitting of blood.

One was to start on tour when the birds were giving out delightful notes.

Fasting :

Proper nakṣatras for 'pādapopagamana' ..	Puṣya, Hasta, Abhijit, Aśvinī, Bharaṇī.
„ „ for performing general penance	Ārdrā, Āśleṣā, Jyeṣṭhā, Mūla.
„ „ „ „ „ „ ..	Maghā, Bharaṇī and the three Pūrvā Nakṣatras.
Proper karaṇas „ „ „ „ ..	Śakuni and Iṣṭi.
Proper days „ „ „ „ ..	Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday.
Proper muhūrtas „ „ „ „ ..	Brahma, Valaya, Vāyu, Vṛṣabha, Varuṇa.

Requisites :

Coating, sewing and the distribution of clothing and other requisites were to be done on Kṛttikā and Viśākhā nakṣatras.

Study :

To start the study on nakṣatras like the Śatabhiṣak, Puṣya, and Hasta.

Nakṣatras which were supposed to be favourable for the increase in knowledge ..	Mṛgaśirṣa, Ārdrā, Puṣya, Pūrvā, Mūla, Hasta, Citrā, Āśleṣā and Pūrvābhādrapadā.

When the trees were full of flowers and leaves, one began studies.

Residence :

One was not to leave one's place when the birds were making sounds at the root of the tree.

Illness :

Food was to be collected for the ill on the Anurādhā, Revatī, Citrā, and Mṛgaśirṣa nakṣatras.

General :

The daytime was always looked upon as good for starting any work; the night as very bad, and moonlit night as mediocre.

Starting work on the pratipadā	.. no calamities.
„ „ „ dvitīyā	.. calamity.
„ „ „ tṛtīyā	.. success.
„ „ „ pañcamī	.. success without fail.
„ „ „ saptamī	.. very good.
„ „ „ daśamī	.. no trouble along the way.
„ „ „ ekādaśī	.. good health and success.
„ „ „ trayodaśī	.. foes are vanquished.
Bad days	.. Caturthī, ṣaṣṭhī, aṣṭamī, navamī, and dvādaśī.

No work was to be undertaken when the rāhu and the ketu were in conjunction (vilagna).

On praśasta lagnas doing of good works was advocated.

The following was the ascending order of various items of increasing importance. They were to be taken into consideration while starting any activity :

Divasa → tithi → nakṣatra → karaṇa →grahadina → muhūrta → śakuna → lagna → nimitta.

It will be clear from the above details that astronomical and superstitious elements had an important part to play in the life of the monk.

DEATH AND FUNERAL RITES:

We have already seen the different types of good and bad deaths as given in the different texts of the Aṅgas.

Chedasūtras:

The *Niśīthasūtra* condemns the same forms of death as the texts of the Aṅgas do. The only difference is that a monk who praised such forms of death as the fall from a mountain (giripaḍaṇa), or from a 'maru' (precipice), or from a 'bhigu' (lofty place), or from a tree (tarupaḍaṇa), or drowning (jalapavesa), or entering fire (jalaṇapavesa), or eating poison (visabhakkhaṇa), or killing by weapon (satthovaḍaṇa), or hanging (vehāṇasa), or letting one's body to be eaten up by vultures (giddhapiṭṭha), or such other forms of improper deaths (bālamaraṇa), had to undergo a punishment for that.[572]

Upāṅgas:

In the twelve Upāṅgas also we seldom come across new information regarding different forms of death. The same forms as in the Aṅgas are to be found. The *Aupapātika*[573] refers to 'bhattapaccakkhāṇa' and the 'pāövagamaṇa'. These are further divided each into two types called 'vāghāïma' (adopted on account of a calamity: *comm.*: siṁhadāvānalādyabhibhūto yat pratipadyate), and 'nivvāghāïme' (vyāghātavirahitaṁ).

Prakīrṇakas:

Some of the texts of this group—'*Bhaktaparijñā, Maraṇasamādhi* and *Saṁstāraka*'—describe in detail some forms of death, though these are not entirely new to the Aṅgas.

572. *Nis.* 11, 92. See Appendix 1.
573. Pp. 70, 178, etc.

'Bhattapaccakkhāṇa' :

Before undertaking this mode of death (Bhaktapratyākhyāna), the guru instructed the candidate on the 'pañcanamaskāra' (salutation to the five great personalities: Arihanta, Siddha, Āyariya, Uvajjhāya and all Sāhus). He tried to imbibe on his mind the importance of the five great vows (pañcamahāvratas), equanimity, controlling of passions (kaṣāya), the ghastly nature of remunerative hankering (nidāṇa), and thus prepared him to face bravely all bodily pangs due to the giving up of food and drink.[574]

Santhāra :

The 'santhāra' or the bed consisted of either a slab of stone, or grass or a piece of pure ground. The monk begged pardon of all before lying upon the bed. The head was either to the north or to the east.[575]

The *Gaṇividyā*[576] prescribes Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday as proper days, 'baṁbha, valaya, vāya and risaha' as auspicious muhūrtas and puṣya, hasta, abhijit, aśvinī and bharaṇī as the proper nakṣatras for entering upon 'pāövagamaṇa'.

Niryuktis :

All the seventeen types of deaths are to be found in the Niryuktis. The *Uttarādhyayananiryukti*[577] gives the list of these at one place: They are :

(1) avīci, (2) ohi, (3) antiya, (4) valāyamaraṇa, (5) vasaṭṭamaraṇa, (6) antasalla, (7) tabbhāva, (8) bāla, (9) paṇḍiya, (10) mīsa, (11) chaümatthamaraṇa, (12) kevalī, (13) vehāṇasa, (14) giddhapiṭṭha, (15) bhattaparinnā, (16) iṅgiṇī, (17) pāövagamaṇa.

Out of these only the last three are described to be proper modes of death.

Like the Prakīrṇakas, the *Uttarādhyayananiryukti* refers to various persons who died a noble death not caring for physical pangs. Cases of lying upon a hot slab of stone, undergoing the pangs of thirst (as in the case of Dhaṇasamma), accepting death calmly while one's body was being eaten up by mosquitoes (like Samaṇubhadda of Campā), and dying in caves (as the

574. *Bhaktap. vs.* 53-172: Examples of the horrible consequences of breaking the fast unto death are also depicted.

575. *Maraṇa-Samādhi,* v. 346-49; *Saṁstārake-p.* 1-32, 34-43, 53, 89-93.

576. *Vs.* 21, 49, 55.

577. *Vs.* 212-34; The last three are referred to in the *Ācārāṅga-N.* 280; samāhimaraṇa: 281; vāghāïyaṁ maraṇam: 284; saṁlehaṇā: 287-89; pāyavagamaṇa: 290-92; Bhattaparinnā in *Ogha-N.* 807.

disciples of Bhadrabāhu did on the mountain Vebhāra)—all these are record-ed in short references.[578]

Disposal of the Dead:

No details are to be found in the Chedasūtras or other texts regarding funeral rites of a monk.

The *Bṛhatkalpa* gives only one rule regarding it which lets us know that the body of the dead was taken to a very clean place, (bahuphāsuē egante thaṇḍile) with the help of necessary material taken from the householder (sāgāriyasantiē uvagaranajāē), and after the funeral was over that material was returned to the owner again.[579]

It seems that the dead was covered with a piece of cloth (kappa),[580] and was carried by those who waited upon him in his illness. The *Āvaśya-kaniryukti*[581] says that the body of Ṛṣabha was burnt after death, and this might have been the general practice followed in the case of other monks also.

If a monk died (āhacca vīsambhejjā) in the street, he was removed to a place free from living beings, and his usable requisites were used by others with the permission of the guru.[582]

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

We have already seen the wide basis of moral discipline that underlay the whole outlook in general, and every sundry rule of monastic conduct in particular, as revealed in the Aṅgas.

The Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis refer frequently to the same funda-mentals of monastic life as would be clear from the following details.

Self-control:

Utmost self-control and the nipping in the bud the chances of the rise of passions was the motto of the monk. The three protections (gupti) per-taining to mind (mana), speech (vāk) and body (kāya), the five controls (samiti) regarding movement (īryā), speech (bhāṣā), begging (eṣaṇā), depo-sition and taking of requisites (ādānabhāṇḍanikṣepaṇa), and the deposition of bodily dirt (uccārapāsakhelasiṅghāṇajallapāriṭṭhavaṇiyā) are mentioned.[583]

578. *Uttarā-N.* 89-93.
579. 4, 24.
580. *Ogha-N.* 706; 'mṛtasya upari dīyate kalpaḥ', *comm.*: p. 213b.
581. *Vs.* 225-26; pp. 200b, 201a.
582. *Vav.* 7, 17.
583. *Aup.* p. 65.

These items were essential not only for the maintenance of the vow of non-injury to living beings but also for the calmness of mind which was said to be the essence of monachism. The tenfold requirements consisting of forgiveness (khanti), modesty (maddava), straightforwardness (ajjava), non-attachment (mutti), mortification (tava), self-control (sañjama) truth (sacca), purity (soya), non-possession (akiñcaṇa) and celibacy (bambha) insisted on the same ideals of monklife.[584] Devoid of these, a monk practising penance was bound to be like a person who tried to bathe an elephant.[585] Hence, deceit in the practice of self-control was to be avoided and an open mind in confessing one's transgressions was ever praised.[586]

The monk with a calm, open and unworldly attitude had to avoid all unbecoming activities like singing, dancing, imitating musical sounds by either mouth, teeth, lips, nose, armpits, hands, nails, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds or grass,[587] laughing with a wide open mouth (muhaṁ vipphāliya),[588] getting attached to a fragrance[589] or to woodwork (kaṭṭhakamma), painting (citta-k), calligraphy (pottha-k. ?), ivory work (danta-k.), or jewel work (maṇi-k.); getting fascinated with garlands (ganthima), leaf-cutting (pattacchejja), wells, tanks, streamlets and lakes, watery region (kaccha), thickets (gahaṇa), bowers (nūma), forests (vaṇa), groups of various trees (vaṇa-vidugga), mountains (pavvaya), ranges of mountains, villages, cities, etc., or to village festivals (gāma-maha), horse-fights, elephant-fights, camel-fights, bull-fights or buffalo-fights; getting attached to sights of merrymaking, or getting interested in scenes of quarrels and battles, or places where people of different ages indulged in fun by wearing ornaments.[590]

Keeping aloof, therefore, from such scenes which were likely to lead him towards moral degradation, he was polite to everybody. In speech he was modest, and avoided lying, harsh speech, worldly speech and talk about pacified quarrels.[591] Boasting about his own qualifications for the post of an ācārya (appaṇo āyariättāë lakkhaṇāiṁ vāgareï)[592] was deemed a fault and such a monk had to undergo punishment for it.

584. *Dśv-N.* 249; 349-50; *Āvaśyaka-N.* 1076.
585. *Ibid.*, 301.
586. See the 33 'śabalas' as given in *Daśā.* 2nd Daśā; also *Vav.* 1, 29-32 for the confession of faults with an open mind.
587. *Nis.* 5, 36-59.
588. *Ibid.*, 4, 27.
589. *Ibid.*, 1, 10; 2, 9.
590. *Ibid.*, 12, 16-28; 17, 134-151.
591. *Ibid.*, 2, 18-20; 4, 25-26; 10, 1-4; 15, 1-4; *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 1-2 and 13; *Dśv-N.* 214.
592. *Nis.* 17, 134-8: See Appendix 1.

Celibacy:

The mind so trained, seldom gave a chance to the revolts of the flesh. However, great care was taken to avoid occasions that were likely to flare up the passions. Not only actual masturbation or intercourse but any other attempts to that effect were deemed transgressions of celibacy.[593] For, it was said that a monk averse to passions quickly attained liberation.[594] Hence all efforts, direct or indirect, to seduce a woman were liable for punishment.[595]

If with all these precautions, perchance a woman caught hold of a monk while he was on the begging round, then he tried to dissuade her by telling religious instructions, and the unwholesome effect of sexual passions. If, inspite of this, she persisted, then he escaped from her by telling that he would return after some time on giving up the vows. If, even after this, she persisted, then he threatened her that he would hang himself. Under extreme circumstances, he was asked to hang himself rather than succumb to her desires.[596] Sthūlabhadra who performed the miracle of staying with a courtesan for four months with unbroken chastity stands as an embodiment of unflinching self-control.[597]

Bodily Decoration:

Bodily decorations being one of the ways of showing bodily beauty to attract women, monks were strictly forbidden to use complete, new and dyed clothes,[598] garlands of any kind, ornaments, excellent blankets, skins, or embroidered garments.[599] They were disallowed to see their own reflection either in a mirror, or in oil; to wipe, massage or apply oil to or spray powder, etc. over their limbs; to clean the wounds, fashion the nails or moustache or eyelashes;[600] to wash the limbs with hot or cold water; to clean teeth or take bath;[601] to take purgatives or medicine for vomiting, and eat all sorts of medicines.[602]

Tonsure:

Besides these, the more effective way of controlling the mind and undoing the beauty, as we have already seen in the Aṅgas, was the method of

593. *Vav.* 6, 8-9; *Daśā.* 2nd Daśā; *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 1-4; *Nis.* 1, 1-9; 6, 19-77; 7, 79-91.
594. *Ācār-N.* 177.
595. See Appendix 1.
596. *Ogha-N.* 421.
597. *Uttar-N.* 100-104.
598. *Nis.* 6, 19-23: It may be noted that these rules are in the *Ācār.* and *Dśv.* also.
599. *Nis.* 7, 1-12; 17, 3-14.
600. *Ibid.*, 3, 16-67; 13, 38-41.
601. *Ibid.*, 2, 21; 15, 100-152.
602. *Ibid.*, 4, 19.

uprooting the hair, technically called 'loya'.[603] Besides this term, other words used to denote the same process were 'muṇḍe bhavittā,[604] and 'luttasiraë'.[605]

The latter term suggests that besides uprooting the hair, cutting them with something was also allowed. This is more explicit from the rules as given in the *Kalpasūtra*:

"Monks and nuns, who wear after the Pajjusan their hair as short as that of a cow, are not allowed to do so during their Pajjusan after that night (of the fifth Bhādrapada); but a monk should shave his head or pluck out his hair. Shaving with a razor every month, cutting with scissors every half-month, plucking out every six months. This is the conduct chiefly of Sthaviras during the rainy season."[606]

The 'Jinakalpikas' were allowed to uproot the hair at all times.[607]

Equanimity:

The strict avoidance of any efforts of bodily care led to the realisation of the importance of the spirit rather than of matter. The realisation of the importance of the spirit was the more when one identified individual soul with those of the rest of the beings,—and this exactly was the explanation of the appellation 'samaṇa' (samamaṇaī teṇa so samaṇo).[608] The Śramaṇa was to realise that misery was disliked by all, and hence he did not himself kill or make others do so or consent to other's doing the acts of injury to living beings. He was unattached to relatives and enemies alike. Firm like the mountain, unsupported like the sky, unattached to any single place like the bee, modest like the earth, unattached like the lotus and light as the wind—these were the qualities expected of a monk.

This being the case, the monk took utmost precaution against injury to living beings. The mode of walking was also such as enabled him to avoid even small living beings.[609] No movement at night was ever allowed.[610] Fanning the body,[611] taking out carelessly living beings from the alms-bowl,[612] doing any activity at the root of a living tree or at the base of a tree full of living beings (sacittarukkhamūla),[613] making somebody to dispel

603. *Āvaśyaka-N.* 337.
604. *Daśā.*: 10th Daśā.
605. *Ibid.*, 6th Daśā.
606. *Kalpasūtra*: Transl. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, p. 308; *Nis.* 10, 44.
607. *Daśā.-N.* 85.
608. *Dśv-N.* 155-57.
609. *Ogha-N.* 325.
610. *Bṛh.kalp.* 1, 47.
611. *Ācāra-N.* 170.
612. *Nis.* 14, 35-40.
613. *Ibid.*, 5, 1-11.

smoke (? *gihadhūmaṁ parisāḍāveï*),[614] climbing a tree,[615] or any place full of living beings,[616] binding the beings by means of something,[617] keeping the requisites or occupying shaky places[618]—all these were deemed transgressions and the monk committing these had to undergo a punishment for these.

It should, however, be noted that this practice of ahiṁsā was not the exhibition of physical meekness, for a monk who happened to enter the house of an unfriendly person was allowed to raise a cry for help in case the latter harassed him.[619]

A good amount of commonsense and a judgment of social etiquette blended with the principle of ahiṁsā are revealed in the rules guiding the mode of behaviour of the monk at the time of easing nature.

Normal time for easing nature was the third quarter (porisī) of the day. Then, seeking the permission of the superior, the monk went slowly without indulging in chit-chatting. He selected a place free from the visits of the people, where there were no chances of personal injury, no living beings or grass or holes or seeds. The minimum expanse of the place was one hasta and the average four hastas. The place was to be such as was burnt by fire to a depth of at least four aṅgulas to assure the non-existence of living beings. Getting such a place, the monk cleaned the spot thrice. Then, holding the staff and the broom at his left thigh and the 'mātraka' (pot) in his right hand, he cleaned his anus. Generally, places which contained living beings and which were likely to create prejudice in the mind of the people regarding the monk, as for instance, gardens, dung-heaps, burning places, uneven grounds, houses or places adjacent to their doors, houses in which a dead body was kept, or the heap of ash of the burnt body, pillars in honour of the dead, temples, mines, groves of trees, corn-fields, vegetable fields, flowery regions and car-garages, were avoided by the monk as that was likely to inflict injury to living beings which were numerous at such places, as also that was deemed contrary to social etiquette.[620]

Service to the Needy:

The utmost precaution about non-injury to living beings and the identification of one's own soul with those of others naturally implied help and service to the needy, the ill and the superiors.[621]

614. *Ibid.*, 1, 57.
615. *Ibid.*, 12, 9.
616. *Ibid.*, 13, 1-11.
617. *Ibid.*, 12, 1-2.
618. *Ibid.*, 14, 24-35; 16, 40-50; *Ogha-N.*, 323.
619. *Ibid.*, 423.
620. *Ibid.*, 295-328; *Nis.* 3, 70-78; 4, 102-111; 15, 66-74.
621. Tenfold 'Veāvacca' same in *Vav.* 10, 34; *Ṭhāṇ.* 473b.

In cases of the ill, as in other cases also, the other monks were expected to give him food (bhaktadāna), drink (pāna), seat (āsana), help in scanning the requisites (upakaraṇapratyupekṣā), wiping the feet (pādapramārjana), offering clothing (vastradāna), medicine (bhaiṣaja), help along the road (adhvani sāhāyyam), protection from thieves, etc. (duṣṭastenādibhyo rakṣaṇam), and help in holding the requisites when the person entered the monastery (vasatau praviśatāṁ daṇḍakagrahaṇam).[622]

Giving aid to the ill and those emaciated due to penance was deemed a duty of the monk, failing which he had to undergo a punishment.[623] The monk getting the news about another ill monk was expected to find him out, and had to make all efforts to secure articles for the ill. Making some unknown person to serve,[624] as well as indulging in mutual service by monks and nuns belonging to the same 'sambhoga' was not allowed.[625] In the latter case, however, the person entitled to do service was called 'veyāvaccakara' (vaiyāpṛtyakara). Failing to get such a person, monks were allowed to wait upon one another.

In case of serious illness, concessions to monastic rules were given, as for instance, the practice of using stale food (pāriyāsiä), ointments (ālevaṇa), massaging of the body with oil or butter kept overnight, was allowed.[626] A peculiar practice of drinking the urine by monks and nuns mutually in certain illnesses, was resorted to.[627]

The details about the way of approaching a doctor are to be found in the *Oghaniryukti*.[628] According to that text a monk who was in a somewhat better condition, was taken to the doctor. Otherwise a group of three, five or seven monks went to the physician. It was said that if only one monk went to the doctor, then the latter was likely to take him to be the staff-bearer of Death! If two went, then they were likely to be interpreted as the standard-bearers of Death. If four went, then that tended to give rise to the idea of corpse-carriers!

In order, therefore, to create good impression on the doctor, devoid of all these misgivings, three, five or seven monks went to the doctor by wearing clean garments and noting auspicious omens. If the doctor was taking food

622. *Āvaśyaka-N.*, p. 161b.
623. *Bṛh.kalp.* 4, 26; *Nis.* 10, 36ff.
624. *Ibid.*, 11, 86.
625. *Vav.* 5, 20.
626. *Bṛh.kalp.* 5, 49-52.
627. *Ibid.*, 5, 47-48: 'Moya', however, is translated in *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 267, as 'saliva'. Moya means urine.
628. *Vs.* 70-72.

or had put on only one garment or was cutting something at that time, then the monks did not approach him at that moment. Seeing him seated on a pure piece of ground and not on a heap of chaff, etc. the monks reported the condition of the patient to the doctor. If the doctor wanted to see the patient personally, then he was taken to the monastery. The ācārya, in order to avoid the 'lāghava doṣa (inferiority)' involved in getting up at the arrival of the doctor, remained perambulating in the verandah till the arrival of the physician. Then the necessary medicines, etc. were given to the patient. In cases of emergency, the monks had to accept medicines at night and to make use of hides, cow-urine, etc.[629]

Forbidden Sciences:

Inspite of their acceptance of medicine, the monks themselves, as we have already seen, were forbidden to give medicine to, or make diagnosis of a sick householder. Along with this, monks were not allowed to foretell the future of anybody as that was likely to lead to misunderstanding and ill-will.[630]

Forbidden Company:

Along with matters which were forbidden to him, the monk had to avoid bad elements not only in the society but also in the order itself, and he was not allowed to give company to or accept it from one of loose morals and lax behaviour (ahācchanda).[631] Bowing down to or praising such persons, condemning religion and glorifying irreligion, were looked upon as transgressions for which the monk had to undergo punishment.[632] Bad company led to laxity in morals and that to the irresistible temptation of breaking the fundamental vows.[633]

Examples of Supreme Self-control:

Thus, the whole mode of monastic life consisted of a rigorous self-control and moral discipline. The Niryuktis and the Prakīrṇakas furnish numerous examples of cases of supreme bodily mortifications. Cilātiputta who remained motionless even when his body was eaten up by ants;[634] son

629. *Piṇḍa-N.*, 50ff.
630. *Nis.* 10, 7-8.
631. *Ibid.*, 4, 28-37.
632. *Ibid.*, 11, 9-10; 64-67; 82-83; 13, 42-59. See Appendix 1.
633. *Nis.* 12, 3 prescribes four months' 'parihāra' for frequently breaking the vow of 'pratyākhyāna'.
634. *Āvaśyaka-N.* 874.

of Kurudatta who put up calmly with the fire kept on his head;[635] Jaṇṇadatta and Somadatta who remained motionless, as they were practising 'pāövagamaṇa', even when they were carried to the sea by the force of water,[636]—all these depict supreme self-control. Besides these, patient endurance of the pangs of death through drowning or through the attack of a tiger, letting the body exposed to the onslaught of jackals or birds, putting up with the burning of the body and remaining motionless even when the body was being nailed,—all these depicted supreme control over the senses.[637]

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

A survey of the rules of monastic conduct as given in the Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis, leads us to certain observations regarding the development of Jaina monastic life in the post-Aṅga period, which may be summarised below.

The Church:

A marked change in the administration as well as in the outlook of the Church is revealed. Even though the officers referred to did not form an entirely new set of hierarchy, yet we find that definite qualifications pertaining to study, morals and administrative capacity required for different post were laid down.

In laying down the requirements for a particular post, a fine blending of age and learning was most wisely done in order to avoid bickerings and conflicts among the monks regarding seniority. We have already seen that age was given its due respect inasmuch as powers were given to the ācārya to postpone the confirmation of a well-versed younger monk, in case, another monk, elder in age, was likely to complete his studies in a short time. Learning had its importance as it was necessary for every post. It was made compulsory for older monks to relearn forgotten portions even from younger monks. Thus, a shrewd commonsense and a keen knowledge of human psychology was at the basis of these rules which tended to avoid conflict of power and learning and the jealousy which was the lot of those dissatisfied in the contest.

Another commendable and perfectly democratic effort was the avoidance of imposing an unpopular and an unfit person as the head on a group of monks against their wishes. To avoid conflict and to further the

635 *Uttar-N.* 107.
636. *Ibid.*, 108-109.
637. *Santhāra. p. vs.* 56-88.

smooth working and the integrity of the Church, such persons had to quit office if demanded by the followers.

The officers as well as the monks were bound by rules of monastic jurisprudence. Inspite of the fact that the set of punishments as given in the Chedasūtras is not new to the Aṅgas, yet the former group together concrete cases in which these punishments were inflicted. Irrespective of the fact that the grouping of transgressions is not methodical, inasmuch as faults of varied nature are grouped together under one category of punishment, the Chedasūtras may well claim to be the symbol of efforts of planning and organisation on the part of the Church.

In these attempts of organisation, the Church seemed to have taken a somewhat liberal view of the whole matter. This would, perhaps, be clear from the fact that the Chedasūtras, especially the oft-quoted triad of '*Kalpa, Vyavahāra* and *Daśāśruta'*, seldom deals with the stricter forms of punishments like the 'mūla', 'aṇavaṭṭhappa' and the 'pārañciya'. They deal more with the parihāra', and it may be that in its early stages the Church possibly executed these stricter punishments only on restricted occasions. Two possibilities may be there. First, that the standard of morality of the monks was so flawless as to give rare occasions for the execution of more severe types of prāyaścittas; or secondly, it may be that the Church did not wish to thin down its ranks by expelling monks, or did not think it proper to give cause for consternation among its ranks on account of the repetition of severe or ultimate punishments.

The basis of these rules consisted not only of the principles of Jaina religion and laws of moral behaviour but also of a keen study of social etiquettes and customs. For instance, the monk who took food from those who were starting for water-travel or any long journey had to undergo four-months' isolation (parihāra). The principle behind this seems to be that the people were not only likely to commit hiṁsā, but if they offered food to the monk and afterwards were short of it during their journey, then they were likely to accuse and curse the monks for having accepted the food. So also the best way of avoiding impurity of food and social condemnation was not to accept food from condemned (duguñchiya) families.

The drive of the Church for a systematic organisation is marked in sundry rules concerning a majority of details of the organisational aspect. We get rules regarding initiation, probationary period, confirmation, seniority, and the qualifications and duties of different officers.

The executors of these rules, however, were not given despotic powers, for in cases of transgression, even the officers like the 'gaṇāvacchedaka' and others had to undergo punishment in an ascending order. Thus,

a balance between the duties and the privileges ascribed to them and the misuse of these, was tried to be brought into practice.

The Church seemed to have consisted of different groups of monks forming various church units. Even though the 'gaṇa', 'kula' and the 'sambhoga' were current in the period of the Aṅgas, no definite laws regarding their membership, withdrawal, change and administration can be found in details. On the other hand, the Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis give all rules regarding these aspects of different units and groups. The 'gaṇa' seemed to have been the most important unit in the Chedasūtras, but the Niryuktis betray the rising importance of the 'gaccha' as they refer to the latter more frequently. In fact, the Chedasūtras scarcely seem to refer to the 'gaccha' as an important unit. At the same time it may be noted that the importance and prominence of the 'gaccha' in the Niryuktis also seem to be minor if compared with that in the Prakīrṇakas a text from which group deals entirely with the 'gaccah'. This importance of the 'gaccha', as we shall see later on, was to eclipse completely the 'gaṇa' in the post-Canonical period.

Besides the 'gaṇa' and the 'gaccha', there arose, it seems, other units like 'gumma', 'phaḍḍaga', etc. But it is very difficult to say whether these were units in the technical sense of the term. They cannot also be taken as being the signs of disintegration of the Church. As a matter of fact, they may well be interpreted as attempts at corporate life in small units due possibly to the expanse of Jainism on account of which it was perhaps not possible to have a large centralised unit under the direct control of a few seniors acting as representatives of the Church. Yet, it is interesting to note that 'śākhās' or branches, after the senior ācārya and his various disciples, arose in a good number as is evidenced by the *Kalpasūtra*.

As in the case of its internal administration, so also in the case of the external relations with persons in authority, heretics and the society in general, the Church was shrewd enough to forbid its members to have close intimacy with, as well as bitter hatred against, these. To avoid suspicion in the mind of the public due to close intimacy with the king or his officers, the Church disallowed its followers to worship, show intimacy with, influence or make use of these persons, and the monk who transgressed this rule was punished. On the other hand, in order to keep aloof from political turmoil, they were asked to obey the previous king till a new one was consecrated. Normally, they were not allowed to go to anarchical regions. Thus the Church kept strict neutrality and remained contented to work safely but surely for the spread of Jainism.

From the heretics and householders also, the monks were asked wisely to keep away. In the case of the former, the intention was to maintain the

integrity of the Church and the purity of monastic life, while in the latter case it was possibly with a view to give less opportunity to the monk to be worldly as well as not to bore down the devoted laity with frequent visits.

Moral Discipline :

The fundamental tenets of moral discipline and self-control do not seem to have changed. This would be clear from the fact that the five principal vows (mahāvratas), the 'guptis' and the 'samitis', and the rules of mortification of body and of respect towards the elders are the same as those given in the Aṅgas.

However, the Church seemed to show a great deal of accomodative spirit in the actual practice of these rules, as would be clear from the alternatives afforded to monks in cases of emergencies and shortage of normal requirements. The monks were provided with a graded list of residences or places of easing nature in case they could not obtain such as was ideal for them. Besides this, exceptions to the general rules of accepting proper food were also introduced, as we have already marked in the *Piṇḍaniryukti.* The same was the case in the rule which allowed the performance of 'ālocanā' in a routine fashion in emergencies.

Thus, the Church seemed to adjust itself to changing environments within as well as without. At the same time it did not transgress the spiritual and moral limits of its fundamental tenets. Besides allowing exceptions, what it did was to put the older rules within a framework of monastic jurisprudence and thus helped to have the scope of moral discipline stated in an explicit and legal code.

Social condemnation was highly feared, and rules like accepting food from condemned families, or from the king, or from the ill or lame persons betray it. Hence, besides the moral basis of rules of monastic behaviour, social manners and customs also seemed to play an important part. This was possibly the case due to the increased contact of monks with society, as well as due to newer regions to which Jaina monks had access.

Another feature so prominent to the Niryukti period may be said to be that pertaining to the somewhat more explicit statements about the 'Jinakalpika' and the 'Sthavirakalpika' modes of monastic life. The Aṅgas are not so particular about it and only the commentaries bear out the distinction, if any, while explaining the texts. The Niryuktis, on the other hand, refer to these in clear-cut statements and explain in detail the difference between the two regarding the number of requisites, clothing, pots used, the practice of penance and the relation of such monks with the 'gaṇa' or the 'gaccha'. It

seems, therefore, probable that there was a respectable number of monks in the Jaina Church who preferred to follow a stricter life as laid down for the 'Jinakalpika' monks. It may, however, be noted that these two modes never seem to have attained the nature of a schism.

Study :

Study still remained an important factor in the monk's life. But what may be noted is the fact that with the organisation of the church a planned curriculum of studies was also necessitated and brought into execution. Different texts were to be studied in different years, and within the span of twenty years the monk was taught in such a manner as to be the master of the canon.

The upādhyāya remained the chief instructor, and he taught his disciples with the help of books as we have already seen in the *Niśīthasūtra.*

The time, the place and other details pertaining to study do not seem to have changed.

Food :

As in the case of other items, in the case of food also, the fundamental faults pertaining to improper food remained unchanged. The same forty-six faults were to be avoided by the monk.

But the Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis made an advance in this matter as compared with the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras, inasmuch as the Chedasūtras set the rules within frames of jurisprudence and described concrete cases of transgressions and the punishments for these. The Niryuktis—especially the *Piṇḍaniryukti* — amplify the forty-six rules with minute divisions and numerous possibilities of loopholes. They not only describe them, but give the justification for such rules, their background as well as exceptions to them. These not only stressed the purity of food but showed an adjustability to social environments as well. Thus, it may be said that though the fundamentals did not change, the implications, amplifications and exceptions to rules increased.

Requisites :

The formula of fourfold requisites consisting of almsbowl, broom, clothing and bedding, so often repeated in the Aṅgas, seems to have given place to a number of other requisites as found in the *Oghaniryukti.*

Even though they were not fundamentally new, yet they were set within specific limits and the measurements of each and every requisite were laid down so as to bring uniformity.

Another important advance pertaining to requisites was in the practice of washing clothes. The *Ācārāṅga* strictly forbids it but the Niryuktis lay down great details regarding the purpose, the time and the method of washing. One of the reasons given in vindication of washing was that the ācārya was likely to go down in public esteem if he put on dirty clothes. Thus, social factors compelled the church to adjust itself to changing circumstances, and the Niryuktikāra is seen to try his level best to refute the argument of those who held that washing was against the Law of the Jina, and that it was likely to transform itself into an effort of personal decoration.

The process of coating the pot also came into prominence and the Niryuktis give great details about the nature of the coating, the place from which it was brought, the time, place and the method of doing the process.

Penance and Fasting :

The modes of penance and fasting did not undergo any change. We may, however, note that various types of fasts were undergone as punishments for respective transgressions.

The Upāṅgas—as for instance the *Aupapātika*—do mention a number of fasts but they are not new.

Supernatural Powers and Superstition :

The *Ācārāṅga* disallowed a monk to indulge in magic or practice of popular sciences. But the Niryuktis refer to a number of feats of supernatural powers and magic practised by the monks.

It may mean two things. The monks, owing to powerful penance, had access to such powers ; or they might have been influenced by contemporary environments which were possibly full of such practices carried on on a large scale by followers of other sects.

Along with magic and spells, the element of astrology also seemed to have come into vogue. The Prakīrṇakas which belong possibly to the later phase of the canon, are replete with references to constellations, omens and the position of the moon and other planets which were taken into consideration when the monk had to do certain activities.

On the whole, we may say that if the Aṅgas depict the ideal conduct, the Chedasūtras and the Niryuktis illustrate the actual practice of it set within a framework of legal discipline of an organised church. And in doing so, they tried to make the code as comprehensive and exhaustive as possible, taking into consideration the loopholes of each rule that were likely to be practised by its followers, and the social etiquettes. At the same time, how-

ever, they prescribed exceptions which were not likely to mar the fundamentals of moral discipline.

DIGAMBARA MONACHISM:

We have already noted the different theories accounting for the great schism in the Jaina church. It is not possible to ascribe one single reason to, or a definite date for, the origin of the schism from the sources at our disposal at present.

One thing, however, seems certain that the texts like the *Mūlācāra, Pravacanasāra* and others which are ascribed roughly to the beginning of the Christian era,[638] depict a clear-cut mode of life of the Digambara monks, which, as the following discussion would bring out, does not seem to have been totally different from that of the Śvetāmbara monks except on a few points. Before, therefore, entering upon a comparison between these two modes of monastic life, it would be better to take a survey of Digambara monachism as revealed in the texts mentioned above.

CHURCH:

Initiation:

The process of initiation was very simple and devoid of any pomp. The person wanting to renounce the world saluted the five great dignitaries (Siddhas, Jinas, Ācāryas, Upādhyāyas and the Sādhus), and taking leave of his relatives and dependants he approached the gaṇin. Then saluting him, he requested him to admit him into the order. Obtaining the sanction of the ascetic community, he pulled out his hair and moustache and "adopted a form similar to that in which he is born (ahājāyarūvadharo)" — i.e. became naked. Accepting this mode of ascetic life, the person listened to his duties as a monk from the preceptor and, consenting to it, he became a śramaṇa.[639]

Persons Fit for Monkhood:

The list of persons who were deemed unfit for monklife appears to have been the same among the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.[640]

Incidentally, it may be noted that the *Pravacanasāra*[641] deemed him a fit person for monkhood, who "hailed from the three castes (varṇas: *comm.*

638. See UPADHYE, A.N., *Pravacanasāra*, Introduction, p. XXII.

639. *Ibid.*, III, 1-7.

640. See *Sannyāsa-dharma* by C. R. JAIN, pp. 24-25.

641. III, 15: This verse, however, is taken to be a later interpolation by Dr. A. N. UPADHYE.

brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya)" besides his having other physical and mental qualifications.

The Church Hierarchy:

(a) Sāhu (Sādhu):

Having qualified himself for monkhood and taken to that life, the monk became a recognised member of the Church.

His chief duties consisted of showing respect to the elders, helping the co-monks without causing pain to living beings, carrying out perfectly the tenets of monastic conduct, and study.[642]

(b) Thera (sthavira):

When the newcomer spent a considerable period in monkhood he attained the position of a sthavira. The commentary[643] gives but fanciful explanation: 'yasmāt sthirāṇi ācaraṇāni bhavanti iti sthaviraḥ.' No other details regarding the qualifications of a sthavira are given. But he was a monk well-versed in the sacred lore and monastic traditions and was, perhaps, consulted on matters of moral discipline.

(c) Uvajjhāya (upādhyāya):

The person who was well-versed in the twelve Aṅgas as told by the Jina, and who gave instructions to the younger monks was called the upādhyāya.[644] Thus he was solely in charge of instructions.

(d) Āiriya (ācārya):

He was a person, superior to the upādhyāya and was the ideal for others regarding proper monastic conduct.[645]

(e) Gaṇahara (gaṇadhara):

The gaṇadhara was the head of a 'gaṇa' or a group of monks. It is not clear what distinguished him from the ācārya for he is equated with the ācārya by the commentator.[646] Elsewhere he is mentioned as being a person separate from the ācārya.[647]

642. *Ibid.*, III, 47-52.
643. *Mūl.* pt. I, *comm.*, p. 135.
644. *Ibid.*, 7, 10: upadiśati svādhyāyaṁ tenopādhyāya ucyate; *Ibid.*, pt. I, *comm.* p. 135: 'upetya asmādadhīyate upadhyāyaḥ'; 4, 155; 4, 195.
645. *Ibid.*
646. *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 160; references to the gaṇadhara: *Ibid.*, 4, 155, 186.
647. *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Sūri* :

The references to this officer are very scanty in the *Mūlācāra*,[648] and as the commentator equates him with the ācārya, it is difficult to say whether he was a different person. Possibly, he was not a different officer as the verse, which mentions him along with the upādhyāya, does not mention the ācārya who is generally referred to with the instructor.[649]

(*g*) *Pavatta*[650] (*pravartaka*) :

This officer is explained as being one who furthers the affairs of the saṅgha (saṅghaṁ pravartayati iti pravartakaḥ),[651] and no other details regarding his position, qualifications and duties are to be found in the text.

Besides these, there were two others who may not be taken to be officers in the proper sense of the term. The preceptor who offered initiation to a person was called 'pravrajyādāyaka', and he who helped a defaulter to reattain proper conduct was termed 'niryāpaka.'[652]

The Church Units :

Under these various officers the monks were grouped into different units as in the case of the Śvetāmbara Church.

(*a*) *Gaṇa* :

The gaṇa was a group of three monks (traipuruṣiko gaṇaḥ),[653] and was probably headed by the gaṇadhara.

(*b*) *Gaccha* :

It as a congregation of seven monks (sāptapuruṣiko [saptapuruṣako ?] gacchaḥ).[654]

The commentator is not clear when he defines the 'gaccha' in different ways at different places. At one place[655] he seems to equate it with the 'gaṇa' when he says—'gacche ṛṣisamudāye cāturvarṃyaśramaṇasaṅghe vā saptapuruṣakaḥ tripuruṣako vā tasmin'. At another place,[656] he explains it

648. *Ibid.*, 4, 195.
649. *Ibid.*, 4, 195.
650. *Ibid.*, 4, 155.
651. *Ibid.*, *comm.* pt. I, p. 135.
652. *Prv.* III, 10.
653. *Mūl.* 10, 92; *comm.* pt. I, p. 133.
654. *Ibid.*, *comm.* pt. I, p. 133; 4, 153, 177, 185.
655. *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 150.
656. *Ibid.*,. pt. I, p. 160.

as 'ṛṣikulaṁ ādiryeṣāṁ to gacchādayaḥ'. Elsewhere[657] he refers to it as being a congregation of seven persons of all ages: 'vayovṛddhāstapovṛddhā guṇavṛddhāstairākulo gacchastathaiva bālavṛddhākule gacche saptapuruṣasantāne'.

From the point of view of the number required for forming a unit, the 'gaccha' seems to have been a bigger unit than the 'gaṇa' as the former required four members more than the latter.

(c) *Kula*:

This[658] has been explained by the commentator as 'gurusantāna'.[659] It referred to the school founded by a teacher and consisted of his immediate disciples. No other details can be had regarding it.

Inspite of the fact that a monk was asked to carry out his duties towards his 'gaccha,'[660] the text *Mūlācāra* reveals a strong dissatisfaction at forming a 'gaṇa', when it says, "Better marry than enter a gaṇa. Marriage results in attachment, but the gaṇa (leads to) the mine of miseries."[661] The latter implied the creation of a school with all its paraphernalia like disciples, etc. which became a cause of attachment for the guru at the time of his death. This utterance may be said to reveal the overwhelming growth of such groups in the early centuries of the Digambara Jaina Church.

Church Jurisprudence:

The *Mūlācāra* reveals exactly the same list of prāyaścittas as found in the Śvetāmbara texts, except for two changes. It shows that the Digambara Church had 'parihāra' and 'saddhāṇa' instead of the 'aṇavaṭṭhappā' and 'pārañciya'. The rest of the prāyaścittas like 'ālocanā', 'pratikramaṇa', 'ubhaya', 'viveka', 'vyutsarga', 'tapa', 'cheda' and 'mūla' were identical.

The 'parihāra' has been explained by the commentator in two ways. It was either 'gaṇapratibaddha' or 'apratibaddha.' The former pertained to transgressions in the corporate life of a 'gaṇa' by a member-monk, while the latter consisted of his transgressions in a country or surroundings which were foreign to him and in which he happened to be alone.[662]

657. *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 307.
658. *Ibid.*, 4, 166.
659. *Ibid.*, pt. I, p. 143.
660. *Ibid.*, 5, 192.
661. *Ibid.*, 10, 92:
"Varaṁ gaṇapavesādo vivāhassa pavesaṇaṁ /
"Vivāhe rāgaüppattī gaṇo dosāṇamāgaro //—*comm.* pt. II, p. 137.
662. *Ibid.*, 5, 165; see *comm.* pt. I, p. 290.

The 'śraddhāna' was the giving up of sinful activities or passions by the transgressor, and his re-affirming the faith in the true religion.[663]

With all these ten types of prayaścittas, it may be noted that the text under review or early Digambara texts fail to give concrete examples of transgressions and the rules regarding the prescription of a particular punishment in a particular case.

External Relations:

The attitude of the Church towards society in general and towards its followers in particular was as it should be, inasmuch as it expected that everybody "should confer benefits on all the Jainas whether practising the course of the duty of a householder or of an ascetic through compassion and without expecting anything in return, even though this involves slight sin".[664] It compares favourably with the dictum laid down in the *Sthānāṅga* which advocated the spread of one's religion by every monk. This may be said to be the proper attitude of a church aspiring to spread ambitiously.

Touring:

With these units, officers, and religious zeal for the spread of the Church, the monks led a wandering life throughout the year except in the four months of the rainy season.

The Proper Road:

While leading a wandering life the monks abstained from all activities that were likely to inflict injury to living beings. In order, therefore, to avoid hiṁsā while walking, they chose a road which was used by carts (sayaḍa) and carriages (jāṇa), by the palanquins (jugga), chariots (raha), elephants, horses, donkies, camels (oḍha), cows, buffaloes, by people in general, that which was scorched by the sun and which was ploughed—in short, that road which was entirely free from living beings.[665]

The Mode of Walking:

Along such a road, therefore, the monk travelled with perfect control over his movements (īryāsamita). He toured at day time,[666] carefullly avoiding the beings and looking to a distance of a yuga (four hands) before him.[667]

663. *Ibid.*, also *comm.* pt. II, p. 163.
664. *Prv.* III, 51: translated by Upadhye.
665. *Mūl.* 5, 107-09.
666. *Ibid.*, 9, 18.
667. *Ibid.*, 5, 106.

He avoided plucking the grass, leaves, bark, bulbs and roots, fruits, flowers or trees.[668]

Unattached to anything, he wandered as light and free as the wind (vāda).[669]

The Period of Stay :

We have already referred to the fact that the monk had to stay at one place in the rainy season. But normally the monk stayed for one day in a village and for five days in a town.[670] The four months of rain-retreat are seen to be interpreted by the commentator of *Mūlācāra* in various ways.

The first interpretation of the word 'māsa'[671] was that the monk could stay at one place one month before the rainy season started, then the two months of the rainy season plus one month after it was over. Thus in all he stayed there for four months.

One reason given for his stay at a place a month in advance of the rainy season was that his stay was essential for the proper knowledge of the conditions around him (lokasthitijñāpanārtham). Another consideration was the strict practice of ahiṁsā which made it compulsory for him to restrict his movements, even before the actual downpour began, on account of slight overgrowth of vegetation all around (ahiṁsāvratapālanārtham). The cause of his stay for one month at the same place after the rains stopped was to redress the grievances of the laymen (śrāvakalokādi-saṅkleśapariharaṇāya). Thus he had to act not only for his benefit but even for the benefit of the laity which had rendered all facilities to him during his stay there.

Another interpretation of 'māsa' was that the monk was allowed to wander one month and stay for one month in each ṛtu except in the rainy season.

The third possibility was that in which the monk was asked to stay at one place during the rainy season and wander throughout the rest of the year on pilgrimage to different places.

On the whole, therefore, it seems that the monks were allowed to stay at one place for a period of one month during the eight months of an year excluding the rainy season.

668. *Ibid.*, 9, 35-36.
669. *Ibid.*, 9, 31.
670. *Ibid.*, 9, 19 "gāmeyarādivāsī ṇayare pañcāhavāsiṇo dhīrā".
671. *Ibid.*, 10, 18: *comm.* pt. II, pp. 104-105.

REQUISITES:

While touring or otherwise, the Digambara monk had less requisites as compared with those of the Śvetāmbara one.

Clothing and Nudity:

The Digambara monk remained naked (jahājāya).[672] It was considered to be one of the essentials of monkhood (liṅgakappa) that a monk should remain devoid of clothing (accelakkaṁ).

In this respect they differed from the Śvetāmbaras, and the texts under review strongly uphold the view. Clothing and other requisites were looked upon as property, the use of which disqualified a person to be a monk who was to be without any possession (pariggaha). The same feeling is expressed by the following verse from the *Pravacanasāra*[673]—'If (you were to say) that it is (found) stated in certain texts that a monk accepts a piece of clothing and possesses a pot, (we are to ask) how can he (with these) be independent and without activities involving preliminary sin ? If he accepts a piece of clothing, gourd-bowl and anything else, necessarily there is involved harm unto living beings, and there is disturbance in mind.' Thus considerations of non-possession and abstaining from sin were at the base of this practice of nudity.

Broom:

As against the broom (rajoharaṇa) of woollen threads used by the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambara monks used one made of peacock feathers.

Five qualifications were attributed to this sort of broom. It was said that such a broom did not get soiled either with dust or with sweat (rajasedāṇamagahaṇaṁ), as also it had qualities like softness and non-injuriousness (maddava), tenderness (sukumāladā), and lightness in handling (lahuttaṁ).

Pots:

The monks did not use any bowl for begging food. Instead of that they accepted food in the palms of their hand (pāṇipātra).[674] It may be remembered that the *Kalpasūtra* describes Mahāvīra taking food in the palms

672. *Ibid.*, 9, 15; 10, 17-22; *Suttapāhuḍa*. 10-13; *Bodhapāhuḍa*, 51-55; *Prv.* III, 25: Quoted by Upadhye, *Prv.* Intr. pp. XXX-XXXII.

673. III, 3-5, 21; Jain, C. R., *Sannyāsadharma*, pp. 45-46.

674. *Mūl.*, 9, 45-54.

of his hand.[675] It seems, however, that the monks carried a pot (kuṇḍikā) for water used after answering calls of nature.[676]

Bedding:

The bedding (santhāra)[677] consisted of either bare ground (bhūmi), or a slab of stone (silā), or a plank of wood (phalaga), or dry grass (tiṇa).

Besides these the monk possessed nothing else and all other things or valuables like pearls, conches, skins, ivory and kambala (blanket) were deemed unfit for him.[678]

In handling all the requisites permitted to him, he was very careful and wiped the places of occupation with the feather-broom (picchikā) to avoid hiṁsā.[679]

Residence:

The same rules as in the case of the Śvetāmbaras were followed by the Digambaras also inasmuch as the monks were asked to avoid residences full of women, eunuchs, beasts and bad characters.[680] Any places which were specially built for monks, places which were likely to make them passionate, regions which had no king or where the king was wicked, were avoided by monks.[681]

But the whole tone of thought seemed to favour the opinion that the monk should live a very solitary life away from the society. He was recommended to take resort to caves, or forests or roots of trees or deserted houses or burning grounds.[682]

Only such places as were favourable to the perfect practice of study, meditation and celibacy were to be resorted to.[683]

BEGGING AND FOOD:

Seeking an ideal residence, the monk went out to obtain proper food for the maintenance of the body.

675. *SBE*. XXII, p. 260.
676. *Mūl. comm.* pt. I, p. 19,
677. *Ibid.*, 4, 172: *comm.* pt. I, p. 148; *Bodhapāhuḍa*, 56.
678. *Mūl.* Chapt. 1, *comm.* pt. I, p. 14.
679. *Ibid.*, 5, 122.
680. *Ibid.*, 9, 19; *Bodhapāhuḍa*, 56: See UPADHYE, Introduction, *Prv.* pp. XXXI-II.
681. *Mūl.* 10, 58-60.
682. *Ibid.*, 9, 21-22; *Bodhapāhuḍa*, 42, 51; even a 'maṭha' or a monastery was not allowed: *Mūl. comm.* on 10, 18, p. 104 (pt. II).
683. *Bodhapāhuḍa*, 57; C. R. JAIN gives the list of forty-six faults of improper residence, exactly after the fashion of the faults pertaining to food: *op. cit.* pp. 137-138.

Time for Begging:

The monk was allowed to take food within a period of three ghaṭikās after sunrise and the same period before sunset (i.e. one hour and twelve minutes after and before sunrise and sunset respectively).[684]

Proper Donors and Food:

The same forty-six faults pertaining to donors and purity of food as are described in the Śvetāmbara texts are to be found in the *Mūlācāra* also,[685] and hence we need not repeat them here.

Besides the whole set of these forty-six rules, the purity of food was expressed in a suitable way and the monk was asked to accept such food which was pure in nine ways 'navakoṭipariśuddha'. It was to be pure in three ways, to wit, mentally, vocally and physically, and be devoid of the faults of one's own doing, causing others to do these or consenting to somebody else doing these.

The Purpose of Eating and Giving Up Food:

The reasons for which the monk ate food and gave it up were the same as those noted previously.

The Mode of Eating:

We have already seen that the monk did not use alms-vessel. He, therefore, ate the food in the cavity of his palms in a standing position.[686] He did not speak or ask for anything while on the begging tour, but simply suggested by his presence that he wanted food.[687] He stood without taking shelter of anything like the wall, etc. and kept his feet at a distance of four aṅgulas from each other. The entire space required for this purpose consisted of that region which his feet covered plus the place over which food might be scattered while eating, and this was expressed by the word 'bhūmitrika'.[688]

Irrespective of the taste of the food, the monks consumed as much food as was sufficient only to carry on the bodily activities (akkhamakkhaṇamettaṁ).[689]

684. *Mūl.* 6, 73: 'Sūryodayāstamanayornāḍītrikavarjitayoḥ aśanakāle /
Trikadvikaikamuhūrtāḥ jaghanyamadhyamotkṛṣṭāḥ / /

685. *Ibid.*, chapter 6.

686. *Prv.* III, 8; *Mūl.* 1, 54; 9, 54.

687. *Ibid., comm.* on 9, 53.

688. *Ibid.*, 1, 34.

689. *Ibid.*, 9, 48-49: Literally it is 'suggestive of a trader who applies grease to the axle of his cart to carry his valuables to the desired goal. The saint, too, has to carry the

The Quantity of Food:

The monk filled half of his belly with food, one fourth with water and one fourth with wind.[690] This meant that he had half of his appetite calmed to keep him fit.

The Fourteen Impurities:

Nails, hair, living beings (jantu), bones, chaff, grain particles, pus, skin, blood, flesh, seeds, fruits, bulbs and roots were deemed impurities.

If the monk happened to come across blood, flesh, bones, skins and pus in the food then he did not eat the food, and underwent a prāyaścitta for it. If he found out living beings and hair, then he gave up that food. If he found that it contained nails, then he did not partake of the food and underwent a minor prāyaścitta for it. If he came across the rest of the impurities, then he took out those things and then ate the food.[691]

The Circumstances Under Which Food Could Not Be Taken:

If, while begging, a crow (kāga) happened to touch the monk, if his food was besmeared with dirt (mejjhā), if he vomited (chaddi), or if he was bound (rohaṇa), if he happened to see his own or the other's blood (ruhira) or tears (assuvāya), or touch his body below the knees (jaṇhū-hiṭṭhā amarisaṁ), or go by bending very low—even below his naval (ṇābhiädhoṇiggamaṇaṁ), eat some forbidden article (paccakkhiyasevaṇā), kill living beings (jantuvaho), if a crow took away food from his palm, if the food fell down on the ground from his hand, if a certain living being fell into the food from above, if he happened to see flesh, in cases of divine trouble (uvasagga), if a living being came in between his feet, if the person serving food happened to drop down the utensil (sampādo bhāyaṇāṇa), if the monk got calls of nature while eating food, if he happened to enter the house of a low-caste person (abhojagihapavesaṇa), if he fainted or had to sit down, if something bit him, if he happened to touch the ground (bhūmi-samphāsa), if bodily dirt was splashed (ṇiṭṭhuvaṇaṁ), if worms fell from his stomach (udarakimi), if he happened to take up something without permission of the owner (adattagahaṇa), if somebody struck him, if the village was burnt, or if he happened to take up something from the ground

bodily cart containing the jewels of virtues to the city of self-contemplation, by greasing the axle of life with the food obtained by alms.' Jain, C. R., *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

690. *Mūl.* 6, 72; the normal quantity was of 32 morsels, *Ibid.*, 5, 153; the morsel or 'Kavala' consisted of 1000 rice-grains, *Ibid.*, *comm.*

691. *Ibid.*, 6, 65; The 'vikṛtis': *Ibid.*, 5, 155-157.

by means of his hands or feet—then, under any of these circumstances, he had to go without food on that day.[692]

It may be noted that there was nothing wrong in these rules as most of them were connected with the purity of food as well as with the perfect practice of ahiṁsā. The touching by hand or foot the ground or portions below the knees was likely to make the hands dirty as well as contaminated with living beings which a monk was liable to injure. Other reasons like the burning of the village, or seeing somebody crying, etc. were suggestive of sorrow and it was likely to create hatred about the monk in the mind of the people if he sought to beg food on such occasions. Thus a combination of the principal tenets of the religion with the decorum of social etiquette may be said to be at the back of these rules. It may also be noted that entering the Cāṇḍāla homestead was not accepted by the society and the monk also had to justify it on the grounds of purity.

Besides these, if the monk was touched by the Cāṇḍāla, or if there was death of a brother-monk, or if somebody left monk life or if a prominent personality died, then also the monk went without food. So also if there was trouble from the king or condemnation by the people, then under these circumstances, the monk did not take food.

DAILY ROUTINE:

Besides the important item of begging food, the monk's daily routine was spent mostly in study and meditation.

At sunrise he got up and paid homage to the five dignitaries. Then, carrying on studies for some time, he went to ease nature, and, washing his feet and carefully scanning his requisites, he went to pay respect to the Jina. After that he went on the begging tour when he was sure that the time of childrens' meals was over. Then, visiting the families irrespective of their economic position but avoiding the places where low-caste people or persons in mourning lived and such other places which were not fit to be visited by him, he ate food at a pure house in the proper way. Then washing his hands, feet and mouth and drinking water, he left the place and went to the Jina temple and confessed the faults, if any, committed by him. He took no night meals and hence slept after study and meditation.[693]

692. *Ibid.*, 6, 76-82.
693. *Ibid.*, *comm.* pt. I, pp. 261-2.

This was in short the daily routine of the monk. But the most important and the carefully attended items of it were the six 'āvaśyakas' or essential duties: viz. the 'sāmāïka' or the equanimity of mind, 'caturviṁśatistava' or the praise of the twenty-four Jinas, 'vandanā' or salutation to the Arhats, Siddhas and the guru, 'pratikramaṇa' or condemnation of the mental, vocal or physical transgressions, 'pratyākhyāna' or the determination to give up sinful activities, and 'kāyotsarga' or the practice of non-attachment to the body.[694]

It may be noted that these essential duties are not different from those described in the Śvetāmbara texts. But it would not be out of place here to see some details pertaining to them as given in the *Mūlācāra.*

(*a*) *Sāmāïya*:

It implied equanimity towards all beings, the practising of three 'guptis', the destruction of 'kaṣāyas' or passions giving up of inauspicious types of meditation like 'raudra' and 'ārta' and giving up attachment for the pleasures of the sense organs. It was done with folded hands in a standing posture with the mind fully concentrated.[695]

(*b*) *Caüvīsatthava*:

Keeping a distance of four aṅgulas between his feet, and the body in a firm, unshaky position, the monk praised the twenty-four Jinas and besought them to help him in getting liberation.[696]

(*c*) *Vandaṇaya*:

The monk offered his respects to the ācārya, upādhyāya, pravartaka, sthavira and gaṇadhara with due modesty.

At the time of performing 'ālocanā' (confession of faults), asking questions, doing the āvaśyakas', study or worship and when atoning for an offence done, the monk bowed down to the superiors.

The distance between the worshipped and the worshipper was to be of the measure of one hand. Then scanning the purity of the body and clearly telling the superior that he was doing vandanā, the monk performed it.

694. *Ibid.*, 1, 22-28; 7, 15.
695. *Ibid.*, 7, 20-39.
696. *Ibid.*, 7, 40-76.

The following faults of improper vandanā were to be avoided:

(1)	anādṛta	.. done without respect for the act,
(2)	stabdha	.. done with pride for one's learning,
(3)	praviṣṭa	.. going too near the superior,
(4)	paripīḍita	.. touching the parts below the knees,
(5)	dolāïta	.. shaking the body,
(6)	aṅkuśita	.. touching the forehead with fingers,
(7)	kacchaparigata	.. moving the waist,
(8)	matsyodvarta	.. revolving the lower portions of the body like a fish,
(9)	manoduṣṭa	.. bearing hatred towards the guru,
(10)	vedikābaddha	.. by keeping hands crosswise,
(11)	bhayena	.. out of fear for death,
(12)	vibhyatva	.. out of fear for the guru,
(13)	ṛddhigaurava	.. done with a view to attract the saṅgha,
(14)	gaurava	.. done with the intention of impressing one's greatness,
(15)	stenita	.. doing it secretly,
(16)	pratinīta	.. doing it by becoming unfavourable to the guru,
(17)	praduṣṭa	.. bearing hatred,
(18)	tarjita	.. done after threatening the ācārya,
(19)	śabda	.. by giving up silence, or with deceit,
(20)	hīlita	.. by condemning the teacher,
(21)	trivalita	.. bending the body, or contracting the forehead,
(22)	kuñcita	.. placing the head between the knees,
(23)	dṛṣṭa	.. looking at all quarters, or doing the act properly only when the teacher looks at the monk,
(24)	adṛṣṭa	.. sitting at a place beyond the eye-range of the teacher,
(25)	saṅghasya karamocanaṁ	.. with a view of not displeasing the saṅgha,
(26)	ālabdha	.. saluting after getting the requisites,

(27) anālabdha	..	with a view to obtain requisites,
(28) hīna	..	devoid of the true mode and implications of vandanā,
(29) uttaracūlikā	..	saying loudly at the end, 'I am bowing down to you, Sir',
(30) mūka	..	doing it in an inaudible tone,
(31) dardura	..	doing it very loudly so as to mix one's words with those of others,
(32) cululita	..	bowing down to all by simply turning the head in all directions.[697]

(*d*) *Padikkamaṇa* :

The abstention from subjective or objective transgressions was called 'paḍikkamaṇa.' There were six types of it common with those of the Śvetāmbaras, to wit:

Daivasika	..	done at day time,
Rātrika	..	done at night,
Airyāpathika	..	regarding movement,
Pākṣika	..	fortnightly,
Cāturmāsika	..	four-monthly,
Sāṁvatsarika	..	yearly.

The determination consisted of abstaining from wrong belief (mithyātva), non-control (asaṁyama), passions (kaṣāya) and movement (yoga). Before the 'paḍikkamaṇa', 'ālocanā' or confession of transgression was done.[698]

After performing 'vandanā' and scanning the place of sitting or by carefully wiping it with the peacock-feather broom, the monk confessed his transgressions before the guru by joining together his palms and by giving up all pride and secrecy.

It may be noted here that the *Mūlācara* refers to the point, already noted from the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, that 'pratikramaṇa' was compulsory during the period of the first and the last Tīrthaṅkaras whether a fault was

697. *Ibid.*, 7, 106-110.
698. *Ibid.*, 2, 56-58: It was to be done with the simplicity and innocence of a child:
Jaha bālo jampanto kajjamakajjaṁ ca ujjuyaṁ bhaṇadi /
Taha āloceyavvaṁ māyāmosaṁ ca mottūṇa / /

committed or not, while in the case of the rest of the Jinas, their followers performed 'pratikramaṇa' only when a transgression was done, not otherwise.[699]

(*e*) *Paccakkhāṇa* :

It was of ten kinds:

(1)	Anāgata	..	doing a fast, for instance, earlier than it should have been done,
(2)	Atikrānta	..	doing it later than the decided period,
(3)	Koṭisahita	..	doing a fast taking into consideration one's ability for it at that particular time,
(4)	Nikhaṇḍita	..	doing the fast at proper time,
(5)	Sākāra	..	doing different penances like 'kanakāvalī, etc. by paying attention to different constellations,
(6)	Anākāra	..	performing fasts at will,
(7)	Parimāṇagata	..	resorting to fasting of varying periodical magnitudes,
(8)	Apariśeṣa	..	practising fasts like the 'caüttha', etc. lifelong,
(9)	Adhvānagata	..	fasting while crossing a forest, etc.
(10)	Sahetuka	..	fasting done with a purpose, as, for instance, for the removal of divine trouble.

The mode of doing the 'pratyākhyāna' was to be pure in four ways. It was to be done in perfect modesty (vinayapratyākhyāna), with the utterance of the formula exactly in the same way, tone, order and sequence as told by the guru (anubhāṣāyukta°), without breaking one's vow under illness, trouble, hard labour, famine or in the forest (anupālanasahita°), and without anger or hatred (pariṇāmaviśuddhi).[700]

(*f*) *Kāüssagga* :

It has been explained by the commentator to be the indulgence by a person in auspicious nature of meditation without movement of or attachment to the body.[701]

699. *Ibid.*, 7, 114-133.
700. *Ibid.*, 7, 134-49.
701. *Ibid., comm.* pt. I, p. 491—'śarīrasyotsargaḥ parityāgaḥ kāyotsargaḥ sthitasya āsīnasya sarvāṅgacalanarahitasya śubhadhyānasya vṛttiḥ kāyotsargaḥ'.

It was done by keeping a distance of four aṅgulas between the feet, with arms hanging down and maintaining the body stable without even the slightest movement.

It was performed mainly for the training of the body for the purpose of remaining aloof from sinful activities.

The duration of 'kāyotsarga' was different for different items as will be clear from the following table:

The maximum period	..	one year
The minimum period	..	antarmuhūrta

Item		Period of kāyotsarga
(1) Daily pratikramaṇa	..	108 ucchvāsas
(2) Nightly pratikramaṇa	..	54 ,,
(3) Fortnightly pratikramaṇa	..	300 ,,
(4) Four-monthly pratikramaṇa	..	400 ,,
(5) Yearly pratikramaṇa	..	500 ,,
(6) Punishment for violation of any of the five principal vows	..	108 ,,
(7) At the time of taking food	..	25 ,,
(8) At the time of taking water	..	25 ,,
(9) After return from the alms-tour	..	25 ,,
(10) At the time of going to another village	..	25 ,,
(11) At the time of going to the sacred places connected with the Jina	..	25 ,,
(12) After return from the place of study or monastery	..	25 ,,
(13) After return from easing nature	..	25 ,,
(14) Giving out bodily dirt	..	25 ,,
(15) Beginning the reading of a text	..	27 ,,
(16) After finishing a book	..	27 ,,
(17) At study	..	27 ,,
(18) At salutation	..	27 ,,
(19) At meditation	..	27 ,,

So, according to these periods fixed for different items, the monk practised 'kāyotsarga' in which he indulged in the 'dharma-' and 'śukla' types of meditations, avoiding the following faults:

(1) Ghoḍaya	— standing like a horse with one foot raised up or bending one leg,
(2) Latā	— shaking one's body like a creeper,
(3) Stambha	— taking resort to a pillar, or standing with a blank mind,
(4) Kuḍya	— taking support of a wall,
(5) Mālā	— standing on a terrace or touching some higher object with the head,
(6) Śabaravadhū	— pressing the thighs together like the Śabara bride,
(7) Nigaḍa	— keeping legs wide apart,
(8) Lambottara	— standing by bending the body (?),
(9) Stanadṛṣṭi	— looking at one's breast,
(10) Vāyasa	— looking at sides like the crow,
(11) Khalina	— making sound of teeth like a bridled horse,
(12) Yuga	— standing by stretching the neck like a yoked bull,
(13) Kapittha	— clenching the fists,
(14) Śiraprakampita	— shaking the head,
(15) Mūkatva	— making facial expressions and signs like the dumb,
(16) Aṅguli	— counting the fingers,
(17) Bhrūvikāra	— contracting or expanding the eyebrows, or tapping the ground with the foot,
(18) Vāruṇīpāyī	— standing reeling like a drunkard,
(19) Ālokanaṁ diśānām	— looking at all quarters,
(20) Grīvonnamana	— stretching out the neck,
(21) Praṇamana	— bending the body,
(22) Niṣṭhīvana	— spitting out the cough,
(23) Aṅgāmarśa	— touching the body.

Avoiding all these faults and practising proper 'kāyotsarga', the monk meditated on right faith (darśana), right knowledge (jñāna), right conduct (cāritra), and on other qualities essential for monkhood.

Four forms of 'kāyotsarga' based on the bodily postures and the types of meditation were also practised. According to that, 'utthitotthita' was that type of 'kāyotsarga' in which the monk did 'dharma-' and 'śukla' 'dhyānas' while standing up. The 'utthitaniviṣṭa' was that in which he did 'ārta' and 'raudra' meditations in a standing posture. The 'upaviṣṭotthita' was that in which the monk performed 'kāyotsarga' by sitting and indulging in 'dharma-' and 'śukla' meditations. Lastly, the 'upaviṣṭaniviṣṭa' was that in which he did 'ārta' and 'raudra' types of 'dhyānas' while sitting.[702]

MEDITATION :

There seems to have been no difference between the types of meditation and their subdivisions as given in the early Digambara texts under review and the Śvetāmbara texts. The *Mūlācāra* refers to the same types of meditation; and only the auspicious forms of it played an important part in the life of a monk inasmuch as they formed one of the items of his daily routine.[703]

STUDY :

Besides meditation and other essential duties, study formed a very important item of monklife.

Study or the acquisition of knowledge (jñānācāra) was eightfold according as it pertained to the proper time of study (kāla), or to the mental, verbal and bodily purity (vinaya), or to study as a special vow (upadhāna), or to the means of getting respect from others (bahumāna). The student was to mention only the proper person under whom he had studied. He recited the text in the proper way (vyañjana), knowing full well the meaning (artha), or with both these two items (tadubhaya).

Proper Time :

The monk was expected to study in the first half of the night or second half of the day (prādoṣika), two ghaṭikās after midnight (vairātrika), and when cattle were let loose, i.e. early after sunrise (gosargika). In short, he was asked to study throughout the major portion of the day as well as the night.

Another interesting factor taken into consideration in fixing the period of the beginning and the close of his study was the shadow of the sun. He was normally asked to begin study when the shadow of the portion below

702. *Ibid.*, 7, 150-86.
703. *Ibid.*, 7, 197-208; 9, 115-18; 10, 5. 82.

his knees fell to a length of seven 'vitastis', i.e. immediately after sunrise. He closed his study at the same time in the evening.

It may be noted that this length of the shadow varied with different seasons, and the monk was to close down his study in the morning according to the following system :

Month.		Shadow of the leg below the knees.			
Āṣāḍha	..	2 padas			
Śrāvaṇa	..	2 „	+ 4 aṅgulas		
Āśvina	..	2 „	+ 6	„	= 3 padas
Kārttika	..	3 „	+ 2	„	
Mārgaśīrṣa	..	3 „	+ 4	„	
Pauṣa	..	3 „	+ 6	„	= 4 padas
Māgha	..	4 „	— 2	„	
Phālguna	..	4 „	— 4	„	
Caitra	..	4 „	— 6	„	= 3 padas
Vaiśākha	..	3 „	— 2	„	
Jyeṣṭha	..	3 „	— 4	„	
Āṣāḍha	..	3 „	— 6	„	= 2 padas

The Improper Occasions of Study :

There were times when, owing to climatic difficulties or natural phenomena like the eclipse, etc. study was not permitted to the monks. It may be noted that the list of such occasions agrees with that given in the *Sthānāṅga.*

The Place of Study :

Such places as were likely to lead to mental disturbance or the violation of moral conduct were avoided by monks. Hence a place which contained blood, impurities or flesh within a distance of hundred hands were deemed unfit for study.

The Texts :

It may be noted that the rules regarding the stoppage of study were applicable only to the reading of the texts ascribed to the gaṇadharas, pratyekabuddhas, śrutakevalins and the daśapūrvins. All other texts like those dealing with the seventeenfold death, hymns in praise of the dignitaries, the essential duties and biographies of religious saints were allowed to be read at all times.

The Method of Study :

The monk began the study of a text after seeking permission from the guru. He sat in the 'paryaṅkāsana' or 'vīrāsana' posture. He had to undergo a fast up to the fifth meal (pañca) or perform kāyotsarga at the beginning or at the end of texts like the 'aṅgas', 'śruta' (i.e. fourteen Pūrvas), 'skanda' (vastūni), 'prābhṛta' and 'deśa.'

Study consisted of 'parivartanā' (repeating of the text), 'vācanā' (reading of the text), 'pṛcchanā' (asking questions: but, according to the commentator, 'śāstraśravaṇa' or devout listening given to the sacred texts), 'anuprekṣā' (the twelve reflections) and 'dharmakathā' (the reading and singing of the biographies of great persons, and of the hymns respectively).[704]

While studying, he kept his mind calm and, for that sake, avoided taking food full of 'vikṛtis' (dainties) or 'āyambila' (sauvīraudanādikaṁ). He learnt the text without offending the teacher and did not disown the teacher after learning everything from him.[705]

Change of Guru for Further Study :

In case a monk wanted to approach another guru for higher studies, he took permission of the previous guru three, five or six times, and after getting his consent, he went to another guru in a group of four, three or two monks.

Nobody was allowed to go alone to another guru unless he himself was full of all ideal qualities of monkhood or accompanied by another learned monk. If he wandered alone, there was a likelihood of the people condemning his guru for having let his disciple alone, or he was likely to forget the sacred texts and go astray, and thus bring a blot on the Church. Moreover, he was likely to come across many dangers and difficulties. So his determination to live alone was not at all favoured.

While on tour, he did not stay at a place where none of the ācārya, the upādhyāya, the pravartaka, the sthavira, or the gaṇadhara was there. If he happened to find a book, etc. along the way then he handed it over to the owner or to the guru.

Having seen the disciple approaching, the ācārya received him by going seven steps towards him. He asked him about his welfare and other matters of monklife. Then he watched the behaviour of the newcomer for three days and noted his conduct regarding study, begging, bedding, easing

704. *Ibid.*, 5, 196.
705. *Ibid.*, 5, 70-89.

nature, essential duties, and scanning the requisites. On the day of his arrival, the student took rest, and after a couple of days or so, he let the ācārya know the purpose of his coming.

Knowing the purpose of his arrival, the ācārya questioned him regarding his name, family, previous guru, his standing as a monk, the place from which he had come, his previous study, etc. If the student satisfied him, then only he was admitted by the new guru for advanced studies.

If, on the other hand, he failed to satisfy the new guru, quarrelled or stole something or did not show signs of concentration, then he was deemed unfit. He had to undergo prāyaścittas for transgressions committed, if any. If he refused to do so, then he was driven out.

It may be noted that the above procedure resembles with that adopted in changing the gaṇa for further studies as given in the Śvetāmbara texts.

PENANCE AND FASTING:

The same division of penance into external (bāhira) and internal (abbhantara) is to be found in the *Mūlācāra*[706] also. These two types were further divided into six subdivisions. The only difference between the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara texts is that the latter give a different list of the items of the external penance. Instead of the bhikṣācaryā and 'saṁlīnatā' of the Śvetāmbaras, they have 'vṛttiparisaṅkhyā' and 'viviktaśayanāsana.' The former meant the limiting of the number of houses to be visited for alms, or the number of morsels to be eaten, or the number of donors,[707] etc., and indirectly it may be said to be another name for 'avamodariyā.' The 'viviktaśayanāsana' consisted in using a place of residence free from women, eunuchs or beasts (strīpaśupaṇḍakavivarjitaṁ sthānasevanam).

Other details regarding penance, e.g., the types of internal penance,[708] the different magnitudes of fasts,[709] the role of penance in purifying the soul,[710] etc. were the same. The monks had to put up calmly with snow-fall, the scorching heat of the sun, the frenzy of the gale, and the onslaught of rain. The ideal before them was the mortification of the flesh so that they became devoid of the plumpness of the cheeks (ālīṇagaṇḍamaṁsā), the eye-

706. 5, 148-49; also *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, 9, 19; *Bhāvapāhuḍa*, 78.
707. 'gṛhadāyakabhājanaudanakālādīnāṁ parisaṅkhyānapūravako grahaḥ'—*Mul. comm.* pt. I, p. 279.
708. *Ibid.*, 5, 163ff.
709. *Ibid.*, 9, 44.
710. *Ibid.*, 8, 56.

brows became prominent (pāyaḍabhiüḍīmuhā) and only the pupils of the eye remained (adhiyadacchā).[711]

It may be noted that the different kinds of fasts like the 'rayaṇāvalī', or the 'paḍimās' are not prominently mentioned in these texts.

SUPERNATURAL POWERS AND SUPERSTITION:

Superhuman powers which were the result of penance, are not to be met with prominently in the *Mūlācāra* as they are to be seen in the Niryuktis which we have noticed.

C. R. JAIN, in his *Sannyāsadharma*,[712] however, mentions a number of them. They are not different from those that are given in the Śvetāmbara texts.

One such incident was about Kundakunda (C. 1st cent. A.D.). From his life written by Pandit PREMI based on the *Jñānaprabodha*, UPADHYE[713] mentions that there occurs in that book a reference to Kundakunda's "dispute with Śvetāmbaras on the mountain Girnār, in which he made the local deity Brāhmī admit that the Nirgrantha creed of the Digambaras was true."

The element of astronomy seems to have been prominent in the early Digambara monachism as we have already seen regarding the position of shadows of feet that were taken into consideration while studying. The causes of non-study also contained climatic and superstitious elements, even though some of them had a basis of ripe commonsense.

DEATH:

Leading his life in the framework of arduous rules of self-control, purity and simplicity, the monk looked upon death as the penance for the end of worldly troubles. Yet he was not eager to end life in an improper way (bālamaraṇa).

The proper ways of death (paṇḍitamaraṇa), the improper types of it, and such other details about death and the way of entering upon it seemed to be the same as those given in the Śvetāmbara texts.[714]

711. *Ibid.*, 9, 64.

712. Pp. 143-48; *Mūl.* (*comm.*, on 10, 66), however, gives the following list of sinful sciences: 'māraṇoccāṭanavaśīkaraṇamantrayantratantraṭhakaśāstrarājaputrakokavātsyāyanapitṛpiṇḍavidhāyakaṁ sūtraṁ māṁsādividhāyakavaidyasāvadyajyotiṣaśāstrādiratam'.

713. *Op. cit.*, p. VII.

714. *Mūl.* 2, 59. 74. 76. 103; 3, 120; 5, 152.

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

The fundamentals of moral discipline consisted of the fivefold ācāra, the twenty-eight principal virtues (mūlaguṇas), the subsidiary virtues (uttaraguṇas), the twelve reflections (anuprekṣā), the twelvefold penance (tapas), nine kinds of celibacy, ten kinds of service (vaiyāpṛtya), the putting up with the twenty-two troubles (parīṣaha) and perfect indifference to the body.[715]

Fivefold Ācāra:

It consisted of ideal behaviour pertaining to 'darśana' (right faith or belief in the validity of the tenets of the Jina devoid of doubts), 'jñāna' (right way of acquiring knowledge through methodical study), 'cāritra' (right behaviour) consisting of the five great vows, the abstinence from night meal (rāībhoyaṇa), the practice of three 'guptis' and five 'samitis', the carrying out of the five great vows with all their peculiarities and implications (bhāvanā), the tapas (the twelvefold penance) and the vīrya (bravely carrying out the controlled mode of monklife).[716]

Twenty-eight Mūlaguṇas:

Besides the five great vows, 'samitis' and 'guptis', the monk had to carry out, as we have already seen, the six essential duties (āvassaya), the practice of tonsuring the head (loya), nudity (accelakka), no bath (aṇhāṇa), sleeping on the ground (khidisayaṇa), non-cleaning of the teeth (adanta-dhaṁsaṇa), eating food by standing (ṭhidibhoyaṇa) and one meal a day (eyabhatta).[717]

The Twelve Reflections (anuprekṣā):

The monk reflected over the twelve qualities of worldly life so as to imbibe on his mind its real nature and the way out of it.

These 'anuprekṣās' were the impermanence of all things (adhruva), the feeling of no shelter other than Jina-dharma (aśaraṇa), the principle of undergoing the effects of one's own karman (ekatva), the knowledge of the separate existence of the body and of the futility of the help from others in crossing the saṁsāra or facing death (anyatva), the truth of the misery of worldly existence (saṁsāra), the philosophy which advocated the non-creation of the world (loga) by anybody, the realisation that the life in hell

715. *Bhāvapāhuḍa*: 78-103: UPADHYE, *op. cit.*, III, 5-73; Intro. p. XXXIV.
716. *Mūl.* 5, 3-222.
717. *Ibid.*, 1, 2-3.

or as lower beings is definitely bad (aśubha), the cause of karmic influx (āsrava), the stoppage of that influx (saṁvara), the dissipation of karmic atoms (nirjarā), the utility of religion as the sole protector (dharma) and enlightenment (bodhi).

It would be clear from the above list that the fundamental basis of the moral discipline as followed by both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras was identical.

Besides this philosophical background, the monk, in everyday life, had to remain away from things and circumstances which were likely to break his vow of celibacy. For that, he had to abstain from taking excessive food (viūlāhāra), or eating dainties (paṇīvarasasevā), the washing of the body (kāyasohaṇa), the wearing of garlands, etc. (gandhamallāiṁ), the acceptance of exciting residence (sayaṇasohaṇa), contact with women (itthisaṁsagga), amassing of wealth (atthasaṅgahaṇa), remembrance of former enjoyments (puvvaradisaraṇa), and fulfilling the demands of the senses (indiyavisayaradi).[718]

For the perfect maintenance of celibacy and self-control, the monk had to be completely indifferent towards the body. He was not allowed to take bath,[719] wear garments, or clean teeth.[720] He was to sleep on bear ground, and on one side.[721] In illness, he was not permitted to take medicine but was asked to put up with physical pangs patiently, thinking that the words of the Jina were the only medicine.[722]

As an attempt towards the lessening of physical beauty, the avoidance of injury to living beings in the hair, and the practice of putting up with bodily trouble, the monks resorted to the uprooting of hair from the head, beard and moustache (loya).[723]

The best period for doing it was within every two months, the average within three and the maximum within four months. The practice consisted in pulling out the hair from the head, and on the chin by the hands at daytime.[724] A fast of one day was done before 'loya.'

Along with these outward signs, the monk was expected to be pure at heart and ready to confess his transgressions before his guru (ālocanā).

718. *Ibid.*, 10, 105-06; 11, 13-14.
719. *Prv.* III, 8.
720. *Ibid.*, *Mūl.* 9, 70-72.
721. *Ibid.*, 1, 32; 9, 28-29; 10, 81; *Prv.* III, 8.
722. *Mūl.* 9, 73-86.
723. 'Uppāḍidakesamaṁsuga' *Prv.* III, 5. 8.
724. The commentator says 'ahorātramadhye': *Mul.*, 1, 29; *comm.*, pt. I, pp. 36-7.

While doing so he was to avoid the ten faults which we have already noticed as given in the *Sthānāṅga*.[725]

Keeping his mind calm and pure, the monk was ready to serve those who needed his help. He helped his seniors as well as his juniors, and showed proper respect to the nuns and laymen.[726] Doing service to the ācārya, the upādhyāya, the ascetic, the ill, the monks, the kula, gaṇa and saṅgha, he did his best to relieve those who were fatigued by long travel or those who were troubled by thieves, beasts, kings, floods, cholera or famine. He offered bedding, seat, residence and requisites to the ill and looked after their comfort.[727]

In short, his life consisted of service, self-control and purity, and the following verse may be said to bring out the essence of instructions to the monk.[728]

'Bhikkhaṁ cara vasa raṇṇe thovaṁ jemehi mā bahū jampa /
Dukkhaṁ saha jiṇa ṇiddā mettiṁ bhāvehi suṭṭhu veraggaṁ //

"Go on the begging tour, stay in a forest, eat but a little, speak only measured words, put up with misery, conquer sleep, practise friendship (with all) and non-attachment in an excellent manner."

COMPARISON BETWEEN ŚVETĀMBARA AND DIGAMBARA MONACHISM :

A survey of the rules of monastic conduct as given in the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara texts reveals a number of similarities and a few differences between these two major sects of the Jainas, which may be noted below.

The basis of monachism consisting of rules of moral discipline were identical for both of them, with the only difference that the Digambaras were perhaps more strict in the literal practice of the vow of 'aparigraha' as they advocated it to the extent of practising nudity. In the case of requisites also, the same consideration prevailed and the Digambara monk carried only a peacock-feather broom and a 'kuṇḍikā' for water. Moreover, they slept on bare ground instead of on a plank.

This sort of moral discipline and 'aparigraha' (non-possession) led to some distinctions of their own. They preferred to use a broom more fine than

725. *Ibid.*, 11, 15.
726. *Ibid.*, 6, 187.
727. *Ibid.*, 5, 192-195.
728. *Ibid.*, 10, 4.

the wollen one used by the Śvetāmbaras though the principle behind it—viz., protection to and non-injury of living beings—was the same. Moreover, unlike the Śvetāmbaras, they consumed food in the palm of their hand and hence went without the begging bowl.

The rules regarding proper food, purity of the donor and of the food, the quantity of food and the time for it were the same for both of them.

The Digambara texts of this period do not reveal a planned system of study of the different texts as the one seen in the *Vyavahārasūtra* which lays down a definite course of study spread over a period of twenty years. But, the times for study and non-study, the texts to be read, the way of doing it and the relations between the guru and the disciple did not differ much for both these sects. The device, however, of fixing the time of the study in different seasons based on shadow of the feet, as given in the *Mūlācāra* may be said to be not perfect as slight differences in it were likely to be there.

The rules concerning meditation, penance, residence and fasting did not seem to have been different in these two sects.

It may be said that the Niryuktis of the Śvetāmbaras refer to a number of supernatural powers of monks, but the *Mūlācāra* is silent over the matter, and this perhaps indicates the increase in such practices in the later period (Niryuktis c. 4th cent. A.D.; *Mūlācārā* c. 1st cent. A.D.) in the Jaina Church as a whole, or that may prove the dislike of such practices in the early Digambara texts.

In short, it may be remarked that the differences between these two sects, as revealed in their representative texts, pertained more to practice than to moral philosophy.

THE CONDITION OF THE DIGAMBARA CHURCH :

When compared with the condition of the Śvetāmbara Church as revealed in the Chedasūtras, the state of the Digambara Church as seen from the *Mūlācāra* and other contemporary texts presents quite a different picture. The latter type of texts seldom reveal a planned and qualified hierarchy, the statement of rules of monastic jurisprudence, or concrete cases of transgressions and punishments.

Inspite of the fact that the Digambara texts also give a list of ten prāyaścittas the last two items of which differed from those in the Śvetāmbara list, they seldom reveal traces of their execution so peculiar to corporate life. Even though the monk was asked not to live outside the 'gaccha', the trend seemed to favour solitary life.

Even though some of the church units were common to both, the 'sambhoga' of the Śvetāmbaras seldom gets a reference in the *Mūlācāra*. Instead of that, the 'gaccha' and the 'gaṇa' seemed to have the same prominence as revealed in the Niryuktis or even the Prakīrṇakas.

The unorganised state of the Digambara Church may be attributed, perhaps, to the fact that they had to live in a foreign region[729] and had to face new people. Hence they had to impress the people there more by their behaviour than by their Church organisation.

* * *

GAṆAS AND ŚĀKHĀS IN THE KALPASŪTRA[730]

(Order as in the Text)

Name		Originator	Disciple of
Āryanāgila śākhā	..	Ārya Nāgila	Ārya Vajrasena
Āryapadmilā ,,	..	Ārya Padmila	Ārya Vajrasena
Āryajayantī ,,	..	Ārya Jayanta	Ārya Vajrasena
Āryatāpasī ,,	..	Ārya Tāpasa	Ārya Vajrasena
GODASA GANA	..	Godāsa	Bhadrabāhu
Four śākhās:			
(1) *Tāmraliptikā*	..	(Named after regions and towns)	
(2) *Koṭivarṣīyā*	..	(Named after regions and towns)	
(3) *Puṇḍravardhanīyā*	..	(Named after regions and towns)	
(4) *Dāsīkharabhatikā*	..	(Named after regions and towns)	
UTTARABALISSAHA GANA	..	Uttara and Balissaha	
Four śākhās:			
(1) *Kauśambikā*	..	(Named after the city)	
(2) *Sautaptikā* (Pkt. Soïttiyā)			
(3) *Kauṭumbinī* (or Kuṇḍadharī)			
(4) *Candanāgarī*			

729. It is believed that the Digambaras migrated to the South in about the 4th century B.C.

730. *Kalpasūtra*, SBE., Vol. XXII, pp. 288-294.

Name		Originator	Disciple of
Trairāśika śākhā	..	Chaluka Rohagupta	
* UDDEHA GANA	..	Ārya Rohaṇa	
Four śākhās :			
(1) *Udumbarikā* (Pkt. Udumbarijjiyā)			
(2) *Māsapūrikā*	..	(Regional)	
(3) *Matipatrikā*			
* (4) *Pūrṇapatrikā*			
Six kulas :			
* (a) *Nāgabhūta*			
(b) *Somabhūta*			
(c) *Ullagaccha* (or *Ārdrakaccha?*)			
(d) *Hastilipta*			
(e) *Nāndika*			
(f) *Parihāsaka*			
UDUVATIKA GANA	,,	Bhadrayaśas	
Four śākhās :			
(1) *Kampīyikā*			
(2) *Bhadrīyikā*			
(3) *Kākandikā*			
(4) *Mekhalīyikā*			
Three kulas :			
(a) *Bhadrayaska*			
(b) *Bhadraguptika*			
(c) *Yaśobhadra*			
* VESAVATIKA GANA (?)	..	Kāmarddhi	
Four śākhās :			
(1) *Śrāvastikā*	..	(City-name)	
(2) *Rājyapālikā*			
(3) *Antarañjikā*			
(4) *Kṣemaliptikā*			

Name	Originator	Disciple of
Four kulas :		
(a) *Gaṇika*		
* (b) *Maighika* (?)		
(c) *Kāmarddhika*		
(d) *Indrapūraka*		
CARANA GANA	.. Śrīgupta	
Four śākhās :		
* (1) *Hāritamālākārī*		
(2) *Saṅkāśikā*		
(3) *Gavedhukā*		
* (4) *Vajranāgarī*		
Seven kulas :		
(a) *Vātsalīya*		
* (b) *Prītidharmika*		
* (c) *Hāridraka*		
* (d) *Puṣyamitrika*		
(e) *Mālyaka*		
* (f) *Āryaceṭaka*		
* (g) *Kṛṣṇasakha*		
MANAVA GANA	.. Ṛṣigupta Kākandaka	
Four śakhās :		
(1) *Kāśyapīyā*		
(2) *Gautamīyā*		
(3) *Vāśiṣṭhīyā*		
(4) *Saurāṣṭrikā*	.. (Regional)	
Three kulas :		
(a) *Ṛṣiguptika*		
(b) *Ṛṣidattika*		
(c) *Abhiyaśasa*		

Name		Originator	Disciple of
*KAUTIKA GANA	..	Susthita and Supratibuddha	
Four śākhās:			
* (1) *Uccanāgarī*	..	Ārya Śāntisenika	Susthita and Supratibuddha
(2) *Vidyādharī*	..	Vidyādharagopāla	Susthita and Supratibuddha
* (3) *Vajrī*			
* (4) *Madhyamikā* or *Madhyamā* (?)	..	Piyagantha	
Four kulas:			
(a) *Brahmaliptaka*			
(b) *Vātsalīya*			
(c) *Vāṇīya*			
* (d) *Praśnavāhanaka*			
Āryasenikā śākhā	..	Ārya Senika	disciple of Ārya Śāntisenika
Āryatāpasī ,,	..	,, Tāpasa	,, ,, ,,
Āryakuberā ,,	..	,, Kubera	,, ,, ,,
Āryarṣipālitā ,,	..	,, Ṛṣipālita	,, ,, ,,
Brahmadvīpikā ,,	..	,, Samita	,, Ārya Siṁhagiri Jātismara
Āryavajrā ,,	..	,, Vajra	,, ,, ,,
Āryanāgilā ,,	..	,, Vajrasena	
Āryapadmā ,,	..	,, Padma	
Āryajayantī ,,	..	,, Ratha	

Śākhās after regional names indicate the existence of the Jainas in Bengāl, parts of U.P., Central Gujarāt and Saurāṣṭra.

[* See, Part IV for details.]

Chapter 3

THE POST-CANONICAL TEXTS

Introduction

Upto now we have viewed a picture of the Śvetāmbara Jaina monachism as revealed in the earlier and the later portions of its Canon, as well as that of the Digambara monachism in its early phases.

The present chapter deals with the post-canonical literature of the Śvetāmbaras, consisting mainly of the Bhāṣyas, Ṭīkas, Cūrṇis and other independent works of Jaina scholars. Along with these are also included Digambara works of the early and the medieval periods.

On the whole, therefore, this chapter may be said to pertain to the study of Jaina monachism during the period from the Council of Valabhī to the end of the seventeenth century A.D.

THE CHURCH :

The spread of Jaina monachism over a very wide region of the north, central, western and southern India is evidenced by constant references to these parts in the post-canonical literature. It may, however, be noted that even the Bhāṣyas did not like to go astray from the traditional list of the twenty-five and a half Āryan countries[1] inspite of this spread.

For instance, countries like Mālava, Mahārāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Karṇāṭa, Draviḍa, Gauḍa and Vidarbha are mentioned.[2] Besides a mere mention of these, the post-canonical texts refer to the peculiar habits of the people and the state of Jaina monachism there. It was said that in the Damila (Draviḍa) country, Jaina monks could hardly get any shelter and hence they had to live under the trees.[3] Tosali was a great centre of the Jainas and the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[4] refers to the tradition of a certain king Tosalika who guarded an image of the Jaina. The same country was sometimes hit with torrential rains which damaged the crops, and hence the monks had to eat

1. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, p. 913.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 382.
3. *Ibid. vṛtti*, II, *v.* 1231.
4. 6, 115ff.

palm-fruits to maintain themselves.[5] Dakkhiṇāvaha (Dakṣiṇāpatha) was a region where the Jaina monks were warmly welcomed and were offered sumptuous alms.[6] Another account gives the story of Ārya Kālaka who went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma) to see his disciples there.[7]

The traditional account of the spread of Jaina monachism to different parts of India, however, attributes this spread to the religious zeal of king Saṁpaï (Samprati), the grandson of Aśoka, who, having conquered Ujjain and the Deccan, opened up new venues for the Jaina monks in Mahārāṣṭra, Saurāṣtra, Āndhra and Kuḍukka (Coorg).[8] This spread may be said to have led to "a definite feeling in the Jaina Church in the early centuries of the Christian era to know thoroughly the parts of the countries which were under the sphere of the Jain influence. This growth of geographical knowledge may be further seen in the Cūrṇis and even the Ṭīkās where an effort to record truly and scientifically the ethnological and geographical facts is observed".[9]

Against this wider background an attempt to study the Jaina Church may now be undertaken.

Persons Eligible for Church-life:

In all, forty-eight persons (eighteen among men, twenty among females and ten among the eunuchs) were debarred entry to monastic life.[10] The list did not differ from that found in the Canonical texts. Not only that but even later texts like the *Ācāradinakara* attributed to Vardhamānasūri (c. 11th cent. A.D.)[11] give but the same list.[12]

Inspite of these rules, the post-canonical texts reveal a number of cases in which exceptions rather than the rule itself, were followed. In this connection a very interesting episode of a child is to be found in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*.[13] There it is told that a child of six months was taken by the father-monk for ordination. The mother complained to the king about this. The king was baffled and asked the mother to see whether the child would go to her. The mother called out the child but it refused to go. The father-

5. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. II, 1060f.
6. *Nis-C.* 15, p. 996.
7. *Āvaśyaka-C.* II, p. 25.
8. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā. vr.* Vol. III, 3276f.
9. JAIN, J. C., *Life in Ancient India*, p. 246.
10. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. IV, 4365-66.
11. See WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 587, fn. 6.
12. See GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, Guj. transl. pp. 344-5.
13. p. 391f.

monk asked the child to hold the 'rajoharaṇa', and it did. Hence the matter was decided in favour of the father.

The *Niśīthacūrṇi*[14] gives permission to the following six types of children who could be ordained:

(1) a child all the members of whose family wanted to join the order;

(2) a child all the relatives except the father-monk of whom were dead,

(3) an orphan with right faith;

(4) an orphaned issue of the sejjāyara;

(5) the issue of a raped nun;

and (6) a child where there were chances of benefiting the kula, gaṇa or the saṅgha through state officers.

The same considerations were shown towards a eunuch who was normally not allowed entry. But if he were dear to the king, or able to look after the welfare of the 'gaccha' in cases of royal disfavour, or an able physician who could look after the ill, then he was initiated. But, even then, by hook or crook he was to be driven out of the 'gaccha'.[15]

It seems, therefore, likely that the Church tried to please the ruling power, and avoided, as far as possible, enmity with the king. On the contrary, it did not lose any opportunity of getting benefit out of it for the spread of the Order.

Initiation and Confirmation:

When a person wishing to renounce the world came to the monks, only the 'gītārtha' (well-versed) among them was allowed to give him ordination.[16] Before that, however, the candidate had to seek permission of his dependents for renunciation.

The candidate was asked various questions regarding his whereabouts and the motive of his renunciation. If he replied properly to these questions then only he was initiated (pavvāvaṇa).

Then he did the 'loya' (uprooting the hair in five handfuls), and was given the 'Sāmāïka Sūtra' on his request.

After the 'Sāmāïka', he was given instructions regarding the lessons (grahaṇaśikṣā) their practice (āsevanaśikṣā). This was called 'sikkhāvaṇa'.

14. 11, pp. 717ff.
15. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, 5172-89.
16. *Ibid.*, 5140.

If during the period of probation, the novice mastered the Sūtras, then only he was confirmed (uvaṭṭhāvaṇā) on an auspicious place either under a tree or in a caityagṛha. This 'upasthāpanā' was done on all days except the fourth and the eighth days of a fortnight, and an auspicious constellation was taken into account. If the candidate did not know the nakṣatra of his birth, then that of the ācārya was taken into consideration on this occasion. Then, taking hold of the 'colapaṭṭaka' by the elbows and of the 'mukhapotikā' by the left hand fingers, as well as of the 'rajoharaṇa', the candidate was made to repeat the five great vows, each one thrice.

If more than one candidate came for confirmation then the one who was the oldest in the group was confirmed first. If they were kṣatriya princes then the one who was closer to the ācārya [in relation(?) āsannatara ācāryasya] was made the senior (ratnādhika). Then they perambulated round the ācārya who told them that he was their ācārya and somebody else was their upādhyāya. Till confirmed, nobody was allowed to go on the begging tour along with the other monks.[17]

The requisites offered were, first the clothes, and then the pots.[18] These were acquired from any house. But articles like the broom were not easily available. In a few cases an intelligent candidate prepared them of his own accord. There were some who preferred to buy these requisites in a shop (kuttiāvaṇa).

If possible, requisites for all the members of the 'śramaṇasaṅgha' were bought by the candidate. But if he could not afford to do so, then at least seven sets—three for one's own use and four for the ācārya and other respectable monks—were to be brought.

The cost of an ordinary man's requisites amounted to five rupees; that of a merchant who wanted to renounce, came to a thousand rupees, and that of a king to a lakh of rupees. These were the minimum prices which varied according to the coin-values in different regions and according to the nature of the demands of the persons having different status in society. Such shops, it was said, were many in Ujjeṇī and Rāyagiha.[19]

Church Hierarchy:

Having once entered the order and got confirmed as a monk, the candidate rose to different posts in the Church hierarchy more on account of his conduct and learning than on account of his age.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 414, (p. 120); IV, 4357.
18. *Ogha-N. vr.* p. 108a.
19. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. IV, 4212-19.

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* refers at different places to different lists of officers all of whom, however, cannot clearly be explained. The lists as given are the following:

(a) (1) ācārya, (2) upādhyāya, (3) bhikṣu, (4) sthavira, (5) kṣullaka.[20]

(b) (1) ācārya, (2) abhiṣeka, (3) bhikṣu, (4) kṣullaka, (5) sthavira.[21]

(c) References to the (1) ācārya, (2) phaḍḍagapaï spardhakapati), (3) gaṇin.[22]

(d) Reference to the vṛṣabha.[23]

The Ācārya:

The ācārya or the gaṇadhara was one whose duties and qualifications were the same as those given in the Chedasūtras. Along with academic and moral qualifications, he had to equip himself with administrative ability as he was the head of the gaccha.[24]

He was to be a person knowing regional etiquettes, and hence a person who had studied the canon was made to tour throughout various countries (dvādaśa varṣāṇi deśadarśanaṁ kārayitavyaḥ) for twelve years.[25]

The ācārya always occupied a position of respect in the gaccha. In cases of attacks by the robbers, an ordinary monk posed as an ācārya to save the real one.[26] In cases of floods, fires, epidemics and famine he was to be saved at all costs, even at the sacrifice of other monks.[27]

It seems that he was equated with the gaṇin or the gaṇapati or the sūri. But the gaṇin was also taken to be an upādhyāya sometimes.[28]

Inspite of the high standard of qualifications expected of an ācārya, there seems to have been a degradation of the ācāryahood in this period as is clear from the following verses:

"Without undergoing a proper kind of discipleship, some fools wander as wild elephants, posing as an ācārya, being in a hurry to be so.

20. Vol. II, 1447; III, 2407.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 4336.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 2132-36.
23. *Ibid.*, 2405, 2411.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 708-09; an ācārya who could not take proper care of the gaccha was not to be obeyed; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, vs. 936-38.
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, (pp.) 379-80.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 3005ff.
27. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 4333-46.
28. *Ibid.* Vol. V, *comm.* on 5831, p. 1538.

"The ācāryatva of such persons is useless as that of a kuṇḍikā in the case of a parivrājaka. Just as the kuṇḍikā even though worshipped and saluted by the parivrājaka fails to answer to his questions, so also the false ācāryas are of no avail.

"The pupils also hurry up (towards the ācārya), the ācāryas are also pleased quickly. Therefore, the world is virtually filled with such half-instructed goblins!"[29]

Various prāyaścittas were given to those who selected an unfit ācārya as well as to those who accepted such a post.

If he, who had not studied or had studied but forgotten the Cheda-sūtras, was appointed the head of the gaccha, then[30]

(a) he who appointed him had to undergo 'catvāro bhārikā māsāḥ';

(b) he who accepted such a post had to face 'catvāro māsā gurukāḥ';

(c) if the post was given to an 'abahuśruta' and 'agītārtha,' then he who had appointed such a person had to face 'catvāro guravaḥ;

(d) .... do ....but a gītārtha......then 'caturguravaḥ';

(e) .... do ....'bahuśruta' but 'agītārtha'....then 'caturguravaḥ';

(f) one who was 'abahuśruta' and 'agītārtha' and accepted the post, then 'caturgurukāḥ');

(g) ....do....'abahuśruta' but 'gītārtha'....'caturgurukāḥ';

(h) .... do ....'bahuśruta' and 'agītārtha'....'caturgurukāḥ'.

The Upādhyāya :

The duties of the upādhyāya consisting chiefly of giving instructions to young monks (sūtrapradātā) in the lessons of the sacred texts, seemed to have remained unchanged.

The Abhiṣeka :

He is explained as being one who knew both the meaning and the reading of the sūtras, and was deemed fit for the post of an ācārya (ācāryapada-sthāpanārhaḥ).[31] Sometimes, he was equated with the upādhyāya.[32]

29. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 373-75.
30. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 703-04.
31. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4336.
32. *Ibid.* III, 2405, 2411.

The Vṛṣabha:

He remained junior both to the ācārya as well as to the upādhyāya as he had to get up out of respect to both these higher officers.[33] We have already seen that the *Oghaniryukti* commentary explains him as being 'vaiyāvṛtyakaraṇasamarthaḥ'.

The Pravartin:

He was junior to the ācārya but looked after the requirements of the members of a gaccha.[34]

It is difficult to make out the distinction between a bhikṣu (khuḍḍaga) and a sthavira (thera). Whether the sthavira meant simply an old monk or whether he had an independent status in the Church hierarchy cannot be said.

The kṣullaka was a young novice having a less standing as a monk than the sthavira who was advanced in age and who, therefore, occupied a position of respect in the hierarchy. Possibly a bhikṣu and a kṣullaka were identical.

Church Units:

The monks were divided into the following units which, it may be noted, were not exclusive but were inter-connected with one another.

(*a*) *The Gaṇa*:

The gaṇa, as we have already noted, was a unit made up of many kulas (parasparasāpekṣānekakulasamudāyaḥ).[35]

The exact strength of a gaṇa was five. (ekaikasmin gaṇa pañca pañca puruṣā bhavanti).[36] It may be noted that an earlier text, *Mūlācāra*, belonging to the Digambaras, describes in its commentary the gaṇa to be a group of three people.[37] The maximum number of the members of a gaṇa was a thousand.[38]

That the monks were constantly in the habit of changing the gaṇa is perhaps evident from remarks against it.[39] This we have already marked in the canonical texts also.

33. *Ibid.* IV, 4459-68.
34. *Ibid.* I, 615.
35. *Ibid.* *vṛ.* on 2780, Vol. III.
36. *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 430.
37. *Mūl.* 10, 92.
38. Utkarṣataḥ puruṣapramāṇaṁ sahasrapṛthaktvam—*Bṛh. kalp. bhā. vṛ* on 1443, Vol. II.
39. *Niśīthacūrṇi* (Mss.) 8, refers to 'paragaṇiccaya' or °yā--a monk or nun who keeps contact with members of another gaṇa—*Pāïyasaddamahaṇṇavo*, p. 671.

The rules of changing the gaṇa, the procedure of going to another gaṇa and other details concerning it need not be repeated as they were more or less the same as those found in the canonical texts as well.

Inspite of these rules, it should not be ignored that the place of the gaṇa was gradually being taken over by the gaccha. The commentators[40] frequently equate the gaṇa with the gaccha, and the tendency to equate the ācārya with the gaṇadhara and calling him the head of the gaccha also corroborates the dwindling importance of the gaṇa.

(b) *The Kula*:

The kula was explained in the old traditional fashion, as being the unit which formed the gaṇa (gaṇaḥ kulasamudāyaḥ).[41]

No other details regarding it can be had, and the commentators simply refer to the 'Nāgendra' and the 'Candrakulas' as illustrations of it.[42]

(c) *The Gaccha*:

The gaccha, however, is seen to have become very prominent in the post-canonical literature so as to take the place of the gaṇa.

It consisted of at least three monks (tigamāïyā gacchā).[43] That consisting of four or five monks was considered to be of a normal size, and it was defined as the 'guruparivāra' i.e. the following of a particular ācārya.[44]

The qualifications and the defects of a good and a bad gaccha have already been studied when dealing with the Prakīrṇakas. In addition to those, the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[45] gives the following:

(1) by living in a gaccha, the monk gets acquainted with unique knowledge;

(2) he gets stabilised in faith and conduct;

(3) due to the constant control of the ācārya, the monk has a chaste life;

40. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, *comm.* on 5615, p. 1486; *Ibid.*, p. 1513. Also JACOBI's remark: "Modern gaccha appears to be equivalent to ancient gaṇa"—*SBE.*, XXII, p. 288, f.n. 2.

41. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 492-93;

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1630; The gaccha has been referred to in the *Piṇḍa-N. bhā.* 40; *Samarāïccakahā* 148; "Gacchavāsa" *Dharmasaṅgraha* 3.

44. *Pañcavastuka* as quoted in *Pāïyasadda.*, p. 358.

45. Vol. V, 5713-20.

(4) there he acquires a liking for service and study;

(5) he does not come in contact with women;

(6) on the advice of the ācārya he controls his passions;

(7) it was the order of the Tīrthaṅkaras that a gurukula should not be left;

(8) the newly-ordained gets a liking for religious life in a good company; and

(9) if he lives alone then bad thoughts crowd in his mind.

Thus corporate life was more or less compulsory for the monks.

The ācārya looked to the upkeep of the morale of the members of the gaccha. If, inspite of repeated warnings, the disciples indulged in bad ways, then they were driven out of the gaccha. If, however, the monk or monks begged pardon for the offence, then they were expressly told that they were driven out with a view to avoid further moral decay, and then were readmitted to the gaccha after they had underwent the punishment of 'māsalaghu.'

If the dissenters were in a majority, and they refused to fall out, then the minority kept them awake till late at night under some pretext, and when the dissenters slept, the minority left the place before the former awoke.[46]

In cases of quarrels, the ācārya and the upādhyāya had to do their best to pacify the members involved in quarrelling. They were neither allowed to leave the gaccha in disgust without pacifying the quarrels, nor remain in it with a prejudiced mind.[47]

Normally the 'pārśvasthas' were not to be saluted. But in order to save the interests of the gaccha, one was allowed to do so to create goodwill in their mind.[48]

Monks were allowed to leave the gaccha if they thought that it did not follow a proper mode of life. That gaccha in which the members did not remind (sāraṇā) their co-monks about their proper duties or lapses in them, where transgressions were not disliked (vāraṇā) and where the recurrence of faults was not tried to be prevented by scolding the transgressors, was to be given up.[49]

46. *Ibid* Vol. II, 1272-73.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 5750-83.
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 4542.
49. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4464.

Besides such reasons, a monk could leave the gaccha if he was well-versed and qualified enough to accept the 'Jinakalpika' mode of life, the procedure of which was as follows :

Before entering this mode of life, one had to study the 'Jinakalpācāra' and compare it with the normal mode of monk life. The monk had to practise the 'utkuṭukāsana,' and sit or lie on bare slabs of stone, as he was required to do as a 'Jinakalpika' monk. Then, on an auspicious place, time, day, nakṣatra and mental mood, on gathering the saṅgha or at least one's relatives, the monk accepted 'Jinakalpatva' at the hands of either a Tīrthaṅkara, or a gaṇadhara, or a 'caturdaśapūrvadhara' or a 'daśapūrvadhara.' If neither of these was available, the monk could do so under a banyan or an Aśoka tree.

If the candidate accepting Jinakalpatva was an ācārya, then he installed somebody else in his place to look after the gaccha. The newly appointed ācārya was asked to respect the opinion of those who deserved it. Then the previous ācārya left the place and went to a lonely place with his bowl and other requisites, if any, as it was left to him whether to remain naked or otherwise. The rest of the monks accompanied him to some distance to bid him a farewell, and they returned when he could not be seen.[50]

The Growth of the Gacchas :

Inspite of frequent reference to the gaccha, the commentarial literature does not seem to refer to various gacchas with their names. The non-exegetical and the postcanonical literature, however, refers to such gacchas here and there. But the Praśastis refer to numerous gacchas.[51] BUHLER[52] mentions the tradition which says that the eighty-four gacchas originated with the disciples of Uddyotanasūri in about the 10th cent. A.D.

In this connection, it may be noted that even though the gaccha as a unit appears to go back to the period of the Niryuktis, it is not to be found with any designation, either regional or personal, or with any peculiarity of monastic practice, till possibly the 9th or the 10th century A.D. on the evidence of epigraphical sources available at present.

Other Units :

Other minor units like the 'phaḍḍaga,'[53] 'sambhoga'[54] and the 'maṇḍalī'[55] even though referred to in the commentarial literature, seem to have

50. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1363-77.
51. See the end of this chapter.
52. *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 77.
53. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 111; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 2132-36.
54. *Ogha-N. vṛ.* p. 16a; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, p. 475; Vol. III, *v.* 3282.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 5542.

fallen to the background as the references to them are scanty as well as their explanations add no new information. And we get the references only to the Gaccha, Śākhā and the Kula in abundance in later literature.

Monastic Jurisprudence :

Texts like the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, the *Jītakalpabhāṣya*, the *Mahāniśītha*, the Cūrṇis, and the *Viṁśativiṁśikā*[56] describe the same ten types of punishments which formed the basis of monastic jurisprudence in the canonical texts.

Inspite of that, however, these texts seem to bring to prominence an elaborate system of expiatory fasts like the 'caturlaghu,' 'caturguru,' 'māsalaghu,' 'māsaguru,' (which were distinguished further as 'kālalaghu' or '°guru,' and 'tapolaghu' or '°guru'), and the 'pañcarāïndiya' which the transgressor had to undergo for purification.

The Cūrṇi to the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* (V, 359), according the SCHUBRING,[57] explains 'vavahāra' (the procedure of treating the transgressor), as expiatory fasts of varied durations which were divided into nine categories like the following :

Name of the punishment	Duration	Nature of the fast
Guruö	1 month	Aṭṭhameṇa
Gurugatarāö	4 months	Dasameṇa
Ahāguruö	6 months	Duvālasameṇa
Lahuö	30 days	Chaṭṭheṇa
Lahutarāö	25 days	Caüttheṇa
Ahā-lahuö	20 days	Āyambileṇa
Lahusaö	15 days	Egaṭṭhaṇeṇa
Lahusatarāö	10 days	Purimaḍḍheṇa
Ahālahusaö	5 days	Nivvīëṇa

These punishments increased with the degree of severity of the fault as will be clear from the following example:[58]

As against the normal rule of not accepting a raw fruit, if a monk accepted it —

in a settlement (niveśana), then he had to face 'catvāro laghavaḥ';
in a pāṭaka, then 'catvāro guravaḥ';
in a row of houses,.. ṣaḍlaghavaḥ';

56. 16, 12ff.
57. See *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 267, fn. 45.
58. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. I, 786.

in a village,..'ṣaḍguravaḥ';
at the gates of a village,.. 'Cheda';
outside the village,..'Mūla';
at the boundary of the village,.. 'Pārāñcika.'

Not only that, but the punishment increased with the post occupied by the person in the church hierarchy, as for instance:

Normally, monks were not to stay in a place full of seeds. But if they stayed there, then the following prāyaścittas were prescribed:[59]

Designation	Prāyaścitta	Nature
Ācārya	'Laghuko māsa'	'Tapasā kālena ca gurukaḥ'
Upādhyāya	" "	'Tapasā gurukaḥ'
Vṛṣabha	" "	'Kālena gurukaḥ'
Bhikṣu	" "	'Tapasā kālena ca laghukaḥ.'

With all this, however, details about the 'parihāra,' 'anavasthāpya' and the 'pārāñcika' are also to be found in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.*

(a) *Parihāra*:

The 'parihāra,' as we have already seen, prescribed isolation of the monk who was given that punishment.

Other monks were not allowed to have a talk or a reading with, inquiries about the health of, salutation or rising up in respect to, scanning the requisite of, having company or an exchange of food and drink with the punished.[60]

It will be seen from this that the details are the same as those found in the Chedasūtras.

(b) *Cheda*:

'Cheda' or 'cutting the paryāya of a monk' was prescribed for the following types of offenders:[61]

(1) who was proud of his penance,

(2) who was unable to carry out penances,

(3) who had no faith in penance,

59. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3304.
60. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 5596-98; 6033-34; *Jīt. bhā.*: 2110-56, (p. 180ff).
61. *Ibid.* 2280-87; *Viṁ.* 16, 13.

(4) who could not control himself even with penance,

(5) who indulged in sexual intercourse (pasaṅgī), and

(6) who frequently broke the 'uttaraguṇas.'

(c) *Mūla* :

This involved the complete wiping out of the paryāya of the monk, and he had to begin anew his career as a monk.

This was given in the following cases :[62]

(1) breaking any one of the five great vows (pañca-mahā-vratas),

(2) constantly breaking the 'mūla' and the 'uttara-guṇas,'

(3) accepting householdership or heretical faith out of pride,

(4) causing impregnation or abortion (gabbhādāṇe sāḍaṇe vā).

(d) *Anavasthāpya* :

This was prescribed for the following transgressions :[63]

(i) stealing the requisites of co-monks,

(ii) slapping somebody with the hand,

(iii) stealing the requisites of the monks of other faiths.

One who was punished with this sentence had to undergo various fasts upto the fourth or the sixth meal. At the breaking of the fast, he took 'nirlepaka' food and drink. He remained in the gaṇa practising this mode of life upto the maximum period of twelve years.

The monk so punished had to bow down to all. He lived in the company of other monks, but did so in one corner of the monastery, i.e. separated from the rest of the monks.

Neither he nor other monks spoke with one another. They did not discuss matters pertaining to the Sūtra. Nobody got up in respect to him. He was not allowed to scan the requisites of, or keep any contact with, other monks.[64]

(c) *Pārāñcika*:

This has been explained in three ways in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*.[65]

(a) pāraṁ-tīraṁ gacchati yena prāyaścittenāsevitena tat pārāñcikam: the carrying out of which leads one to nirvāṇa;

62. *Jīt. bhā.* 2288-2300; *Viṁ.* 16, 14.
63. *Jīt. bhā.* 2301-2462; *Viṁ.* 16, 15.
64. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, 5135-37.
65. *Ibid.* 4971. (comm.).

(b) śodheḥ pāraṁ paryantamañcati yat tat pārāñcikam, apaścimaṁ prāyaścittam: The highest prāyaścitta;

(c) yena tapasā pāraṁ prāpitena añcyate: śrīśramaṇasaṅghena pūjyate tat pārāñcikaṁ pārāñcitaṁ vā abhidhīyate: the carrying out of which evokes respect from the monks.

This prāyaścitta was divided into 'āśātanā' and 'pratisevanā', the latter being further sub-divided into 'duṣṭa', 'pramatta' and 'anyonyakāraka.[66]

The 'āśātanā pārāñcika' was involved when a monk condemned the Tīrthaṅkaras, or the Saṅgha or the Canon, or the ācārya, or the gaṇadhara or the 'mahardhika'.

The 'pratisevanā pārāñciya' had three subdivisions:[67]

(a) Duṣṭa: It was either 'kaṣāyaduṣṭa' or 'viṣayaduṣṭa'.

In the former case, the monk committed a deadly injury to his superior.

In the latter, he raped the nuns of his own or other sects, or the lady who had given him a lodging (sejjāyarī).

The 'pārāñcika' was also prescribed if the monk was involved in killing the king (rāyavahago), or enjoyed the queen (rāyaggamahisī-paḍisevaö).

(b) Pramattapārāñcika:

(1) Carelessness regarding passions,
(2) Carelessness regarding improper talk (vikahā),
(3) Carelessness pertaining to the sense-organs,
(4) Carelessness in sleep.

(c) Anyonyapārāñcika: For homo-sexuality.

Other Division:

That by which the monk was expelled out of the kula was 'kulapārāñcika', that which called for his driving out of the gaṇa was 'gaṇapārāñcika', while that in which he was asked to go out of the Saṅgha was 'Saṅgha-pārāñcika'.[68]

66. *Ibid.* 4971-84; *Jīt. bhā.* 2463ff.
67. *Ibid.* 2477ff.: This is to be found in *Thāṇ.* also: See Chapt. 1.
68. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, 5012.

The Period:

One who was accused of 'āśātanā pārāñcika', had to fall out of the gaccha for a minimum period of six months and a maximum period of twelve months.

He who had to face the 'pratisevanā pārāñcika' had to fall out for a minimum period of one year and a maximum period of twelve years.[69]

The Judge in the Case:

It was only the ācārya who could pronounce the punishment of 'pārāñcika' against a monk.

Life under Punishment:

The defaulter had to lead a secluded life for twelve years. His mode of life resembled somewhat to the rigour of the Jinakalpika life. If the ācārya had to supervise him, then he had to do so everyday. If, however, the monk fell ill, then the ācārya had to wait upon him till the latter recovered. In the absence of the ācārya, either an upādhyāya or a gītārtha had to wait upon him.

Commuting the Punishment:

Under certain cases the punishment of the monk punished with pārāñcika, was commuted.

If such a monk was successful in pleasing the king who on account of that stopped giving trouble to the monks, then at the request of the king, the Saṅgha had the powers to commute the punishment of the monk. There was a set of rules regarding the proportionate lessening of the punishment. The Saṅgha could even go to length of setting the defaulter free from the blot by cancelling the rest of the duration of the punishment, if it was so pleased to do.

The Last Two Punishments:

The *Jītakalpa* and its Bhāṣya[70] seem to refer to the fact that the last two punishments, viz. 'aṇavaṭṭhappā' and the 'pārañciya' went out of use after Bhadrabāhu, the 'caturdaśapūrvadhārin.'

It may, however, be noted that the Chedasūtras like the *Kalpa, Vyavahāra* and the *Nīśītha* deal with these severe types of punishments in a summary way. They rather prefer to deal more with the 'parihāra' and its

69. *Ibid.* 5032-57; *Jīt. bhā.* 2578ff.
70. *Jīt.* 102; *bhā.* 2586-87.

divisions. The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* deals, in details, with various transgressions, the punishments for which varied from the 'caturlaghu' to the 'pārāñcika'. But, there too, the minor punishments for minor faults predominate. The view advocated by the *Jītakalpa* possily suggests the scarce use of severe types of punishments in a somewhat later phase of the Jaina Church.

Monks and Nuns:

Normally nobody was allowed to visit the nunnery without any reason. The reasons given for this prohibition were the following:[71]

(1) the arrival of the monk was likely to disturb the peace and the ease of the mind of nuns if they were sitting without putting on all their clothes;

(2) an ill nun found it awkward to ease nature in the presence of the monk;

(3) the monk's arrival was likely to delay the breaking of the fast by the nuns;

(4) that was likely to delay her in her begging round;

(5) same as above regarding study;

(6) the monk's presence was likely to lead to a discussion between the nun and the monk regarding their previous private life, and was likely to make the nun go astray.

But the ācārya was allowed to go to the residence of the nuns,[72]

(1) to give proper requisites to them, or help them in getting a proper residence,

(2) to stabilise the nuns if they were unable to put up with the 'parīṣahas',

(3) to confirm (upasthāpanā) a nun on probation,

(4) to give religious lectures,

(5) to pacify quarrels among them,

(6) to arrange matters of the nuns if their pravartinī was dead. In this case the gaṇadhara gave them reading,

(7) if a nun was possessed by a supernatural being, then the ācārya went to quell that trouble by means of spells,

(8) if the residence of the nuns was burnt,

71. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. IV, 3693-3717.
72. *Ibid.* 3722-3801.

(9) if it was damaged due to floods,

(10) if they complained of any trouble from the bad elements in the society while going to ease nature,

(11) if their son or any other close relative was dead, then to pacify them; in these cases, the gaṇadhara accompanied them to their relatives,

(12) if a nun was to begin fast unto death,

(13) if she was to undertake any other long-term fast,

(14) if a nun was dead, then the sūri went to the nunnery to pacify other nuns for two or three days,

(15) if new monks came, they went to the pravartinī to inquire about the devoted and adverse families in the town,

(16) if monks did not know that particular regional language then they went to the pravartinī through whom they managed to get a residence,

(17) if a nun was bitten by a snake or was down with high fever or cholera or bile or asthma, or if they were troubled by the Mleñchas or by the Mālavas or by wild animals, then the gaṇadhara went to the nunnery,

(18) the king, or a prince, or a minister, or his son, a merchant or his son, a priest or his son—all these could go to the nunnery if they had become monks. This, it was said, was sufficient to impress the nuns that even such big personalities had joined the order,

(19) if relatives or the guards of a king came to the monastery to take back the prince who had renounced the world and who did not wish to rejoin householdership, then that monk-prince was hidden in a nunnery, where he pretended to be a sick nun and the rest of the nuns waited upon him. This was done, it is said, to avoid condemnation by the people who were likely to accuse Jaina monks of frequently taking to worldly life again,

(20) if a nun was seriously ill then the ācārya could go to the nunnery to inquire about her, and in dangerous cases to call a physician. If the ācārya knew something of diagnosis, then he was to examine her without looking to her face, breasts, thighs or private parts.

From the above items it seems that ties based on mutual help and duty between the monks and the nuns became more close those in the previous phases. This was possibly owing to the widening of the activities of the Church to win over royal and popular support as also to increase the spirit of unity between its two wings. For instance, one of the above rules allowed the monks to approach the pravartinī in case they did not know the regional language. Thus the monks approached the safer quarters for information rather than face the strangers there.

Two other items require consideration. The first is that the Church allowed persons like the kings and persons of high social status who had turned monks, to enter the nunnery. Even if the purpose behind it was to impress the importance of ascetic life on nuns through the examples of such persons, it may be said that this concession might have possibly led to a distinction between the privileges of the monks based on their previous social position. Of course, no evidence is available to force this conclusion. But it seems likely that the Church still favoured the higher classes to win over their support.

Secondly, the hiding of the reluctant prince-monk in the nunnery tends to reveal that the Church tried its best to avoid condemnation by the society if monks retook to householdership again. For this purpose it went to the extent of making the prince pretend that he was not only ill, but was even a nun!

Monks and Society:

The Bhāṣyas reveal frequently the hostile feelings of the society towards some classes of the ascetics. It may be noted that they were not necessarily against the Jaina monks, but sects like the Caraka, Raktapaṭa, Tāpasa, Paṇḍaraṅga, Cakradhara and the Boḍiya were not favourably looked at. As a matter of fact, various superstitious ideas were associated with the sight of these. For instance, the first three were said to forecast some evil, while the sight of the Paṇḍaraṅga indicated starvation, that of a Cakradhara long touring, and that of the Boḍiya the calamity of death.[73]

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* refers to the story of the messenger of a king who postponed his visit to the court as he happened to see the Śramaṇa on his way. The messenger, however, saw the king only when his minister explained to him that the Śramaṇas were not unwelcome in that kingdom.

Inspite of that, however, we come across incidents in which the lower servants and the cowherds ridiculed the Jaina monks who were sometimes driven out by the householders on receiving the report by their servants.[74]

Festivals:

Normally monks were not allowed to attend festivals for the following reasons:[75]

(1) expecting a great rush of monks, the people were likely to prepare food specially for the monks which was unfit for the Jaina monks;

73. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 82ff.; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. II, 1451, 1548; III 2291, 2637.
74. *Ibid.* 2634.
75. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1784-1815.

(2) a novice, seeing the people paying respect to lax heretics, was likely to go astray;

(3) monks were likely to go astray by seeing women and actresses;

(4) in the crowd, they were likely to have bodily contact with women;

(5) Some people coming in contact with monks, and hence taking bath after it, were apt to spread the belief that the monks were impure;

(6) a novice seeing the disciples of heretics wearing garments and ornaments, was likely to go astray;

and (7) there was every likelihood of quarrels between monks of different faiths.

Inspite of these drawbacks, they were allowed to attend festivals under the following circumstances:

(1) to worship the Caitya,

(2) to instruct royal patrons and devoted laymen,

(3) to debate with opponents attending the festivals,

(4) to increase people's faith in religion through penance,

(5) to ask the meaning of some sūtras which was doubtful, or which was forgotten,

(6) to find out proper disciples who would look to the gaccha,

(7) for the spread of the fourfold saṅgha,

(8) for the work of the kula, gaṇa and the saṅgha,

(9) for the spread and the prosperity of the religion,

(10) for knowing the welfare of other ācāryas,

and (11) for the avoidance of the ridicule of religion.

The monks had to take great precautions, however, in seeking proper residence at such festivals, the places of giving religious lectures, and the proper places of begging food. They had to prevent their disciples from going to dramas, etc., and to avoid the company of women.

The post-canonical literature reveals a number of festivals of popular nature which were current in the society. The details and the names of these festivals will be studied later on when dealing with the social impacts on and by Jainism. It may, for the present, be noted that one of the important festivals was the Pajjosaṇa. In this connection the *Niśīthacūrṇi*[76] refers to the story of Ajja Kālaga who at the request of king Sālivāhaṇa of

76. 10, p. 632ff.

Païṭṭhāṇa changed the date of this festival from the fourth to the fifth day of Bhādrapada.

Relations with Heretics:

The Jaina monks were always asked to keep away from heretical monks, but cases of kidnapping the disciples of rival sects and their ācāryas seem to have been rampant as the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* gives numerous details about the procedure to be adopted to recover these persons.

If a monk kidnapped a novice without either taking the latter's opinion or that of his Buddhist relatives, then he had to undergo 'caturguru'. But only if the disciple had come of age or had expressly consented to accompany the Jaina monk, then alone, the latter could take away the disciple without consulting his Buddhist relatives. The text, however, expressly states that this act was to be done only after taking into consideration the local Buddhist influence as well the religious tendencies of the ruling king.[77]

It seems, therefore, that the Jainas and the Buddhists were at loggerheads. This is also corroborated by the reference in the *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[78] which mentions the quarrel between these two sects over the Stūpa at Mathurā which ended in a victory for the Jainas.

Jaina monks were allowed to go only to holy places of pilgrimage, as at other places there was a likelihood of the heretics poisoning or killing them.[79]

We have already noted that in cases of attacks by thieves, the ācārya was saved by allowing an ordinary monk to pose as an ācārya. In case, the ācārya was kidnapped by a rival king, then those monks who were well-versed in the art of fighting and of magic and spells, used all their might to release the ācārya. If nobody knew fighting or spells, then the rest of the monks remained silent for a while and then raised up a cry for help. They remained silent to avoid direct struggle which was likely to result in the destruction of many lives. Then they requested the king to bring back their ācārya. If, on the message of the king, the rival king did not release the ācārya, then his disciples went to their guru with the permission of the king from whose region the ācārya was kidnapped.[80]

Thus these texts reveal a keen rivalry not only between different sects, but also between different royal patrons of Jainism.

77. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, 5095.
78. 5, 27f.
79. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 3139ff.
80. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 2789-91.

Monks and Political Affairs:

Political tension sometimes affected the normal life of monks and nuns who were compelled to lead an irregular life.

In cases of war and the state of siege, monks and nuns had to stay in secret places. If such places were not available, then they stayed with the members of other sects like the Boḍiyas or the Bhikṣukas. In choosing such a company, they had to give preference to the 'aśaucavādins' over the 'śaucavādins' (who were particular about bodily purity). While staying with the latter in cases of emergencies, the monks were allowed to adopt some of their practices, but they had to take food away at a distance from them. No quarrels or study was done while actual war was on.[81]

If thieves or a general of the army attacked a group of monks, then such monks who were well-versed in the sacred lore tried to pacify the general. If he was not pacified then those who were masters of spells, tried to repel him by these means. If he was still not pacified, then those who could use the weapons of war resorted to the bow and arrow to defeat the general.[82]

If a monk was deadly against the rules of discipline, then the monks went to the extent of inviting the help of the king to drive him out. Not only this, but the Church went a step further in this respect. It went to the length of advising the monks to dethrone a wicked king and install another in his place, in cases of emergencies. To support this view, instances of Ārya Khapuṭa who used magic, Bāhubalin who employed strength, Saṁbhūta who used supernatural power to burn (tejoleśyā), and Kālakācārya who took the help of foreign kings to punish an unfavourable king are mentioned. Thus the Church seems to have become more assertive.[83]

At the same time, to those who were favourable, Jaina monks showed all respect. For instance, the story is told of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, and a great devotee of Jainism, who sent spies in the disguise of Jaina monks to other lands. As a matter of fact, the Church should have protested against this. There is, however, no evidence of its having done so, as the king had opened up new regions to Jainism and had given facilities to the monks.[84]

If the king was unfavourable to the monks, he often stopped their food, expelled the monks from his kingdom, confiscated their requisites and de-

81. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4818-20.
82. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 3021.
83. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 5592-93.
84. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 3287-89.

prived them of their life.[85] When their clothes and other requisites were taken away, the monks used rags thrown up on a dungheap (ucchūḍha vippaiṇṇa), took up grass or fire to save themselves from cold, used pingoes instead of the 'pātrakabandha', put on barks instead of garment, used the 'pehuṇa' or the peacock-feather broom, covered themselves with skins (camma), and ate food either on the leaves of the palāśa (palāśapatra) or in the hollow of the hand (pāṇi).[86] In such a state, they travelled only at night and hid themselves either in a dense forest or in lotus ponds.[87]

Thus the monks had to face hard and easy days, and they had to adjust their practices to the environment. The Church also became liberal enough to allow its followers the necessary concessions under critical conditions.

TOURING:

The purpose of touring, according to the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*,[88] is five-fold. It is essential for reasons of purity of the faith, the equanimity of the mind, acquiring mastery overy different languages, knowing different regions and of seeing the holy places. It may be remarked, therefore, that some of these reasons betray a wideness of outlook and the need to come in contact with new regions so essential for the spread of one's faith.

The Time for the Start:

Therefore, the monks were asked to look to the proper time for starting on their missionary tours. A number of good and bad omens were to be taken into consideration. The bad omens consisted of the sight of:

(1) one wearing dirty clothes or having a filthy body,
(2) one who put on tattered clothes,
(3) one whose body was besmeared with oil,
(4) one of a curved body,
(5) a dwarf,
(6) one wearing red clothes,
(7) the Caraka,
(9) diseased person,
(10) one devoid of limbs,

85. *Ibid.* 3121.
86. *Ibid.* 3132-33.
87. *Ibid.* 3136.
88. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1226-27.

(11) the physician,

and (12) one whose body was besmeared with ash or dust.

If any one of such persons was seen at the time of starting from the tour, then the tour was supposed to turn out fruitless.

On the other hand, if the monks happened to see or hear the following signs, then their tour was hoped to be successful :

(1) hearing the sound of a trumpet,
(2) seeing a filled pitcher,
(3) hearing the sound of a drum or of a conch,
(4) seeing chowries and umbrellas,
(5) seeing a vehicle,
(6) seeing a monk,
(7) seeing a devoted layman,
(8) seeing flowers, or
(9) modaks, or
(10) curds, or
(11) fish, or
(12) a bell, or
(13) flags.[89]

Besides these omens, the following items favourable for the ācārya (sūri) were taken into consideration :

(a) Favourable candrabala or tārābala,[90]
(b) the tithi, karaṇa, and muhūrta.

The fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and the twelfth days of the dark and bright fortnights were taken to be favourable for tour.[91]

It may be noted here that many of these details are similar to that found in the *Gaṇividyāprakīrṇaka*.

How to Start :

Looking to all these factors, the monks decided to start on their tour. The young, old and princely monks were to take only as much luggage with

89. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1547-50; *Ogha-N. bhā.* 83-86.

The latter text adds the sights of a woman on the verge of delivery, of a dog crossing one from the left to the right side, of an aged virgin, and of a man bent down due to heavy load as bad omens.

90. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2894.

91. *Vav. bhā.* p. 40a.

them as was possible for them to carry, while the rest of it was divided between the rest of the party.[92]

The exact time for departure depended on the distance of the next stop. Those who started at day time, rolled their garments right at the time of the morning 'pratilekhanā'. Then performing 'svādhyāya', and tying their other requisites properly, they started in the afternoon.[93]

While touring, the 'agītārtha' monks were to be at the head of the party, then the 'vṛṣabhas', and lastly the 'gītārthas'. This order, however, was not fixed, for, in some cases, the 'vṛṣabhas' were at the rear, or at times they were at the back of the ācārya.[94]

The ācārya was to be guarded at all costs. For this purpose, the monks never disclosed as to who the ācārya in the party was, as he was the person who was often subjected to the trouble from the king or from the thieves. To avoid this, an old monk posed as an ācārya and the latter moved about as an ordinary monk. It may be noted that such rules tend to reflect hard days for the Jaina monks.[95]

Halts along the Tour :

If while on tour, they came across a comfortable village then they stayed there for a day. The feeble among the party could prolong their stay for a couple of days more.

If, however, out of attachment for the place, the party decided to stay there for a longer period, then they had to undergo a prāyaścitta, the highest being that of pārāñciya for a stay of eleven days.[96]

Protection :

Along the tour, as well as in unsafe places of halting, the monks took perfect precautions for the safety of the whole group. In this connection it is interesting to note the story of a monk who killed three lions with his club while his co-monks slept in happiness.[97]

Countries Unfit for Touring:

We have already noted that the Chedasūtras allowed monks to wander "towards the east as far as Aṅga-Magadha, towards the south as far as

92. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1552; *Ogha-N. bhā.* 87-88.
93. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1543-46.
94. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2901-02.
95. *Ibid.* 3005-7; 3014-22.
96. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1555-59.
97. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2964-67.

Kosaṁbī, towards the west as far as Thūṇā and towards the north as far as Kuṇāla."[98] Beyond this, the monks were not to go where anāryas and mleñchas lived.[99]

To this list the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[100] adds the Sindhu country. The commentator says,

"Sindhudeśaprabhṛtiko yo asaṁyamviṣayaḥ sa bhagavatā 'pratikṛṣṭaḥ' na tatra vihartavyam."

In spite of this, the same commentator[101] adds that "now-a-days monks follow the rule as formulated in the period of king Saṁprati which is, 'yatra yatra 'jñānadarśana-cāritrāṇyupasarpanti tatra tatra vihartavyaṁ' ".

It seems, therefore, that the monks went to all regions wherever they found a congenial atmosphere for their faith.

Emergency Reasons :

Nobody was allowed to leave a good place simply out of pride. If he did so, then he had to undergo a prāyaścitta.

However, owing to calamities like the scarcity of alms, trouble from the king, constant illness, and famine, they were allowed to leave the place immediately.

The Bhāṣyas[102] constantly refer to the behaviour of monks under royal disfavour. In this calamity, the monks, if banished or starved by the king, were to leave that place immediately. If, however, he took away their requisites or intended to kill them, then the monks divided themselves in various batches and left the place.

Such calamities (aśiva) were said to be foreseen by the ācārya who interpreted various omens like the untimely blossoming of the trees, the shaking of the earth due to thunders, and cries of lamentations all around, as the fore-runners of these dangers.[103]

With all these calamities, however, the monks were allowed to travel through unfavourable regions on account of the following reasons :

(1) to visit an ācārya for important work,

98. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 51.
99. *Nis.* 16, 26.
100. Vol. III, 2881, (p. 816).
101. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 3271, (p. 915).
102. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1019-20; *Ogha-N. bhā., vs.* 15ff.
103. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. IV, 4796-4800; The *Ogha-N. bhā.* 25, gives different reasons of royal disfavour.

(2) to go to another guru for further studies,

(3) to pacify one whose parents died on account of their son's renunciation,

(4) to give 'ālocanā' to him who wanted to fast unto death,

(5) to nurse the ill,

(6) to honour the invitation of the ācārya,

(7) to pacify quarrels between monks and householders,

(8) to defeat the heretics,

(9) to pacify the king who had become unfavourable towards the monks,

and (10) to carry out works connected with the Kula, Gaṇa or Saṅgha.[104]

Not to Wander Alone :

Touring was said to be of three kinds :

(a) gītārtha-vihāra : The touring of the 'Jinakalpikas' who were free to wander alone,

(b) gītārthaniśrita°: The touring of a group (gaccha) of monks under the direction of the ācārya,

and (c) agītārtha° : Wandering at will, unpermitted by the Jinas.

The first two, therefore, were the only permitted modes of touring. For the first also, a monk was required to possess high moral qualities and a solid grounding in the sacred texts.

From this point of view, the Jinakalpika, the 'Parihāraviśuddhika' (comm. 'one who practises pratimās), the Ācārya and the Upādhyāya, were looked upon as the 'gītārthas'.

The other members of the gaccha, those who had left the gaccha due to a calamity, those holding minor posts in the Church hierarchy like the Pravartaka, Sthavira and Gaṇāvacchedaka, and ordinary monks were grouped together as 'gītārthaniśrita'.

In the 'gītārtha' category itself, three degrees were marked out. The 'jaghanya°' was one who had studied the *Niśīthasūtra;* the utkṛṣṭa°' was one who knew the fourteen Pūrvas; and the 'madhyama°' was one who had studied the Chedasūtras.[105]

The monks were allowed to tour in a group under any of these three types of 'gītārthas', and normally nobody was allowed to remain or wander

104. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 2784.
105. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 688-93.

alone. Remaining alone was likely to make a monk go astray, lose his knowledge, faith and conduct. Hence if, except the 'Jinakalpika', 'gītārthas' wandered alone then they had to undergo 'caturlaghu' punishment, while if an 'agītārtha' wandered alone he had to undergo the 'caturguru.'[106]

Besides the moral loss, a lonely monk was likely to be led astray by heretics like the Kaṇāda, the Saugata and the Sāṅkhya, or by women, or householders or his former relatives. More than that, if he had any doubts regarding study, those were likely to remain unsolved.[107]

Improper Company :

A proper company was to be sought while touring, otherwise the monk had to undergo the following prāyaścittas:[108]

For touring with heretical nuns or eunuchs in a woman's attire at day time	'Laghukaccheda' or 'Gurukaccheda'.
„ „ „ at night	'Mūla'.
With Jaina nuns at day time	'Anavasthāpya'.
„ „ „ at night	'Pārāñcika'.

In the proper company also, the monk had to choose the proper way, and had to follow the rules of walking (īryāsamiti). The following prāyaścittas were prescribed for transgression:[109]

Going by a wrong way or by a short cut at day		...	'Māsalaghu'
„ „	at night	...	'Māsaguru'
Walking without 'īryāsamiti'	at day time	...	'Māsalaghu'
„ „	at night	...	'Māsaguru'.

Exceptions :

Under exceptional circumstances and calamities, however, a monk was allowed to go alone. The following were such circumstances:

(1) to go to another teacher for further study,

(2) to wait upon the teacher,

(3) to fetch medicine for the ill.[110]

106. *Ibid.* 694-95.
107. *Ibid.* 700-02.
108. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 886-888.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Ogha-N. bhā.*, 28-29, pp. 20ab.

In cases of famine or other calamities, if a nun happened to be alone, then she was allowed to go to some other village only in the company of other women, or with a group of men and women, or with related males.[111]

Touring and Rainy Season :

In the four months of the rainy season, however, the practice of staying at one place still continued, as it is so even now.

The monks discontinued this stay when the rains stopped. They were forbidden to leave the place earlier in normal circumstances. They were especially disallowed to go about on the 'kārttikī mahotsava' when people indulging in merry-making were likely to dislike the sight of a shaven monk.[112] Thus, it seems that the Church was conscious of the habits and the opinions of the society around it.

Exceptions :

Under exceptional circumstances the monks could leave their place of stay even during the rainy season. These circumstances were the following :

(1) Asiva — Divine calamity,
(2) Omoyariä — scarcity of alms,
(3) Rāyaduṭṭha — trouble from the king,
(4) Bhaä — fear (from the thieves),
(5) Gelanna — coming to know the news about the illness of a co-monk,
(6) Ābāhā — mental trouble,
(7) Dubbhikkha — famine,
(8) Dakaugha — flood.

It may be noted that under such circumstances as well as in attacks by the enemy, the monks were given concessions to leave the place immediately even in the rainy season.[113]

RESIDENCE :

We have already noted the procedure in searching out a proper residence as given in the Niryuktis. The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* repeats more or

111. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. V, 5934.
112. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1449-1451.
113. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2738-39; *Ogha-N. bhā.* 26. In this case, the instance of the Mālavas kidnapping the people from Ujjain is given.

less the same rules while adding minor ones here and there, as will be seen from the following account.

The Time for Seeking a Residence :

A party was sent in advance to search out a proper residence and that was done with the consent of all. After hearing the reports of the party, the ācārya decided to fix a particular place for the next stay. If the ācārya did not consult all, then he, as also the monks if they refused to carry out his decision, had to undergo a prāyaścitta called 'māsa-laghu'.[114]

The proper time for seeking a residence was the first half of this day. To avoid trouble from the police or wild beasts or prostitutes and others residence was not to be sought in the evening. If, however, they did not get any other, then the monks were allowed to enter a particular suitable place even in the evening. They had to go to a garden or an empty house or a temple early next morning.

Other rules regarding the reservation of the place for the guru, the space to be kept in between the two monks, the method of sleeping and the sequence of allotting space to different members of the gaccha were the same as those given in the Niryuktis.[115]

Proper and Improper Residence :

The principal rules like the non-acceptance of such residences as were full of women, eunuchs and beasts and which were likely to make a monk go astray, seem to have remained the same.[116]

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* refers to nine kinds of residences :

(1) Kālātikrāntā — where a monk lived for a period exceeding the normal one,

(2) Upasthāpanā—that in which the monk had to return to the same place again (immediately),

(3) Abhikrāntā — that which had been formerly resorted to by heretics,

(4) Anabhikrāntā — that which was not resorted to by the heretics,

(5) Varjyā — that which had been originally built for himself by the owner, but later on handed over to the monks,

114. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1456-63; Rules regarding sending the party, its composition and other details: *Ibid.* 1479ff.

115. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4372-4412.

116. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1496-97; Vol. I, 588-9; *Vin.* 13, 15-17.

(6) Mahāvarjyā — that where sinful activity or fire-activity was always being done for the sake of the Brāhmins,

(7) Sāvadyā — that which was made specially for the monks,

(8) Mahāsāvadyā — that which was made specially for particular sādhus,

and (9) Alpakriyā — that which was made for oneself by the householder, and was devoid of all faults.

In most of these, the monk was not allowed to stay for a longer period. If he did so, he had to face 'Māsalaghu'. For staying in residences represented by the categories (2), (3), (4) and (5), he had to undergo 'catvāro laghukā'; for (6), (7) and (8), 'catvāro guravaḥ'. Only the ninth type was deemed pure for the monk.

In case there was lack of proper residence, the monk was allowed to obtain the above types of residences in the following order:

Alpakriyā, kālātikrāntā, upasthānā, abhikrāntā, anabhikrāntā, varjya, mahāvarjyā, sāvadyā and mahāsāvadyā.[117]

Places where there were paintings of objectionable nature like those of women or of deities, were to be avoided by the monks. If, however, the paintings were of mountains, rivers, creepers, swastika, etc. then he could stay there.[118] So also, a residence specially prepared, cleaned, painted or thatched for the monk was not allowed. Only an ill monk could stay in the proximity of water in the absence of any other suitable place. In this case, a curtain (cilimilī) was to be put at that direction at which there was water, and only those who had to nurse the ill remained with the latter at such a place. Nobody was allowed to accept a lodging on an island or to go over to that place by a bridge.[119]

It may be noted that the monks transgressing the rules of residence had to undergo punishments right from the 'māsalaghu' upto the 'pārāñcika'. The severity of the punishment increased with the position of the monk in the Church hierarchy.[120]

That the rules took into consideration the local environments and customs is revealed by such rules which permitted Jaina monks to stay in the company of householders in the region called 'Kaccha' (modern:

117. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 594-600.
118. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2429-30.
119. *Ibid.* 2413-22.
120. *Ibid.* 2142-43.

Cutch).[121] Among these householders, weavers, potters and blacksmiths seem to have been favourite hosts of the monks.[122]

Supervision and Protection of Residence:

Having once accepted a residence, the monks inspected it at least thrice a day because of the possibility of unchaste women leaving their children there, or the robbers depositing stolen property, or a murderer leaving the corpse there.[123]

Apart from these possibilities, there was a likelihood of a courtesan entering the monastery. In that case, the monks requested her to go. If she persisted, she was bound and was handed over to the police next morning.

Having handed her over to the police, the monks requested the king to inflict on her the highest punishment as laid down for one who stole a necklace from the king's treasury (śrīgṛha), for the prostitute had attempted to steal the jewel of celibacy from the monk. From this it appears that younger monks were sometimes accosted by courtesans.[124]

For such reasons, therefore, the monks were asked not to leave the residence empty when going to the begging round. An able and well-versed monk was left behind.

Reasons given for this show a minute observation of human psychology and a keen judgment of possibilities. For instance, it was argued that if all the monks left a particular place, then the owner was likely to become 'mithyāvādin', or some heretics or animals were likely to enter, or somebody die uncared for. Moreover, if all the monks went without asking the owner, then the latter was likely to take them to be ungrateful and discourteous, and once prejudiced the owner of the lodge was likely to stop their food. The public in general, also, was likely to ask them the reason of their all-out exit, and was likely to suspect that the monks were perhaps driven out. They therefore, refused to offer another lodge, and absence of a suitable lodge was likely to lead to acts of injury to living beings and the violation of celibacy by the monks. If an animal died uncared for in the deserted monastery, the people were likely to remark that the monks were living in a cemetery even though in the town![125]

121. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1239.
122. *Āvaśyaka-c.* p. 285; *Ṭīkā* (Haribhadra) pp. 484ff.
123. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. IV, 4747-49.
124. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 4920-25.
125. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 544-46.

If somebody entered the monastery with the intention of stealing the requisites of the monk and said that he wanted to listen to a 'dharmakathā', then the occupant-monk refused to do so on the pretext of headache.

If an army occupied the monastery, the monks requested the king or the general to evacuate it, or allow them to take out the requisites. If it was not possible to take out the whole luggage in one round, three or four monks stood in a line and threw out quickly their requisites by the system called the 'Kollūka paraṁparā', which has been ascribed by the commentator as peculiar to the country of Mahārāṣṭra.[126]

If, in the absence of the majority of monks, the owner wanted to get the house coated with cowdung or paint, then those who were left in the monastery were to see that their requisites were not besmeared with the cowdung. If the workers for that job were males, then young monks could be asked to remain in the monastery. If, on the other hand, they were females, then only old monks were to be left behind.[127]

The Time for Going Out:

The Jinakalpikas who had separated themselves from the 'gaccha' for the performance of the 'paḍimā', etc. could go out of the monastery only in the third 'porisī' of the day. The 'gacchavāsins', on the other hand, could go out without any special reason in the same period. For the purposes of bringing medicine for the ill, carrying out the work of the superiors, easing nature, study, returning requisites and for performing 'caityavandana' they could go out at any time.[128]

Residence and Nuns:

Normally, the monks were not to come in contact with the nuns. They were advised to go to the forests if they did not get a proper residence.[129]

If, however, while on tour, the monks happened to come at a place with one gate and reached the place where nuns were living, they were asked to move on to the village if the time for begging had not set in by that time. If the monks were very much tired then they waited outside the village and an elderly 'gītārtha' was sent to the nunnery. The 'sthavira' going there performed the 'naiṣadhikī' outside the lodge, hearing which either the nuns or the owner of the house came out. When the nuns came

126. *Ibid.* 571-79.

127. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1691.

128. *Ibid.* 1670-73; *Viṁ.* 16, 7, however, forbids a pupil to go beyond a limit of hundred hands from the lodge.

129. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2163.

to know about the arrival of the monk, they were not to come out suddenly in a group. Only the 'pravartinī' with some other old nuns came out. Then inquiring with bent head about their religious welfare, the monk asked whether the nuns had their begging round. Then they decided that the monks should beg in the half of the village and the nuns in the other half. Or the nuns begged in one row and the monks at another.[130]

In case the monks and the nuns did not get ideal residences, they took resort to such lodgings as were not on the same level. If the houses were on the same level then bamboo curtains were applied to the doors to avoid looking at the nuns.

When even such lodging were not available, the monks lived in a house which was situated at the side of, or along the way to, the nunnery. In this case, the monks were forbidden to go in the same direction in which the nuns went to ease nature, or to ease themselves in pots (mātraka), or go by making a loud sound.

If the monks failed to get even such lodging, then they were asked to select, as a last resort, the place which had its doors facing the nunnery. In this case, however, they closed the doors with bamboo or cloth curtains and went to ease themselves at a time different from that at which the nuns did so.

Normally, therefore, the monks had to select such a place where the roads of begging, touring and easing nature for both the monks and the nuns were separate.[131] It may be noted that in extreme and exceptional circumstances, the monks and the nuns were allowed to stay in one house, their compartments, however, being separated by a curtain of cloth.[132]

It should not be ignored that the view upholding stay in the forest to avoid contact with women in general is strongly refuted by the commentator who upholds the stay of monks in villages and towns.

In this connection an interesting story is given in the *Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya*.[133] It is said that a certain messenger of king Muruṇḍa went to Puruṣapura (Peshawar) with a message from his king. But seeing the monks (raktapaṭṭas) there and interpreting it as a sign of bad omen, he refrained from seeing the king for three days. The minister to the king of Puruṣapura coming to know of it, told the messenger that the sight of the monks was not a bad omen in that country. The commentator adds at the end:

130. *Ibid.* 2208-10.
131. *Ibid.* 2274-89.
132. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3750.
133. Vol. III, 2290-94.

'evamasmākamapi pārśvasthādayaḥ tadīyasantatyaḥ ca ratthyādau dṛśyamānā na doṣakāriṇyo bhavanti.'

The commentator, therefore, may be said to refer unknowingly to the fact that in some regions the monk was taken to be a sign of bad omen, while in other places he was not. On the latter observation he concludes that the monks and the nuns should stay in the cities as they were not deemed signs of bad omen. The solitary mode of life with ideas of least contact with the society, therefore, may be said to have fallen back by this time.

CLOTHING:

We have already seen that the Śvetāmbara texts do not advocate complete nudity to symbolize the vow of non-possession (aparigraha).

The existence of the naked monks in the Cūrṇi period, however, is indicated by a reference in the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*[134] which says that the 'Uddaṇḍagas', 'Boḍiyas' and the 'Sasarakkhas' wandered as naked monks who ate food in the palms of their hands.

Inspite of the existence of these naked ascetics and the Śvetāmbara opposition to nudity,[135] an interesting reference is to be found in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[136] which may be taken to hint that nudity was the symbol of Jaina monks.

The reference comes in connection with the mode of behaviour of Jaina monks when they were likely to face an attack from the thieves. It is advised there that the monks should keep away all their requisites and clothing in a secret place and keep a vigil throughout the night. The reason for sitting naked was 'acelatālakṣaṇaṁ jinaliṅgamapratihataṁ'. Thus, nudity being the symbol of Jaina monks, the thieves were not likely to harm the naked monks.

The *Viṁśativiṁśikā*,[137] which is attributed to Haribhadra, on the other hand, does not mention or prescribe nudity for the monks, but lays down the rule of using pure clothes free from faults.

How to Procure Clothes:

Normally the laymen were the chief source for the monk to acquire clothes for himself.

134. p. 169.
135. 'Svalpataravastrā acelakā':: *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, (p. 1092).
136. Vol. IV, 4809.
137. 13, 11-14.

Whatever piece of acceptable clothing was offered to the monk, he had to use it as it was. Various prāyaścittas were prescribed for changing, cutting or transforming pieces of clothes from one quality to another. For instance, if a monk tried to transform:

(1) a best piece into a mediocre type, then he had to face 'māsalaghu',
(2) .... do .... into an inferior type. then .... 'pañcarātrindiva',
(3) .... a mediocre one into the best type, then 'caturlaghu',
(4) .... do .... into jaghanya, then 'pañcarātrindiva',
(5) .... an inferior one into the best, then 'caturlaghu',
(6) .... do into madhyama, then 'māsika'.

The monk had to accept only such clothing as he had predecided to accept. If he violated his vow and accepted any other piece, then also he had to face prāyaścittas.

The normal procedure was that a monk who was in need of clothing, told his requirements to the Pravartin (*comm*: tṛtīyapadasthagītārtha) who conveyed it to the ācārya. Then permitted by the latter, the monks went a-begging for clothes either in pairs or groups. The ācārya was never allowed to go for begging clothes.

The group had a gītārtha in it, and then it accepted that clothing as was acceptable for it. No threatening or bringing pressure on the householder was ever allowed. The monks made proper inquiries before accepting clothing regarding their ownership, previous use, etc. If they failed to do so then they had to undergo prāyaścittas varying from 'pañcarātrindiva' to the 'māsalaghu'.

The monks were to pacify the donor if the latter got angry due to their inquiries. They told him that they had to make inquiries as they were to accept only the pure and the acceptable pieces of clothes.

After scanning the clothes offered, and avoiding the faults of improper acceptance of clothes which, it may be noted, were more or less the same as those pertaining to the acceptance of food, the monks took all the clothes thus gathered to the guru, made 'ālocanā', showed the clothes to the guru who handed over only the required pieces to the needy monks.[138]

The Method of Distribution of Clothing:

The monks and nuns had to accept that clothing which was given to them by their superiors.

138. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 607-31.

Such clothes as were strong and selected for himself by the guru were allowed to be used by him. Then the rest were distributed first to the novice, then to the ill, then to the well-read, then to one who could explain the texts very well, then to the old monks (jātisthavira), then to one who was practising a penance, then to him who did not know the language of that country, then to one who was endowed with special qualities (labdhi), then to one of the greater standing (paryāyaratnādhika) and lastly to him who was of less standing (avamarātnika).

Sometimes a different sequence was also followed in distributing clothing. According to this system, the ācārya got the clothing first, then the ill, then one who had no clothes, then the respected, then the pravartin, then the stahavira, then the gaṇāvacchedin, and lastly the well-read. The last four were the same in this system as in the previous one.

As is ordinarily natural to human nature, the monks seemed to quarrel between themselves for acquiring the best possible clothing for them out of the whole lot, and sometimes went to the extent of hiding the best clothes. The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* lays down various prāyaścittas in this case.[139]

Proper and Improper Clothing:

The principal rules concerning the proper and improper types of clothing for the monks remained more or less the same. But the Bhāṣyas and the Cūrṇis give certain exceptions to and amplifications of these fundamental rules.[140]

The normal rule was that clothing was to be used not for bodily decoration but for bodily protection. For this purpose the monks were disallowed to use complete and untorn clothes (kṛtsna). This 'kṛtsna' could be of four types:

(a) Dravyakṛtsna: that which was made of valuable material,

(b) Kṣetrakṛtsna: that which was rare in certain countries and hence valuable; for instance, the clothing from the eastern regions fetched high price in the country of Lāṭa,

(c) Kālakṛtsna: that which was of immense use in certain seasons,

(d) Bhāvakṛtsna: that which was valuable on account of colour and price.[141]

139. Vol. IV, 4314-29.
140. See also *Viṁ.* 13, 11-14.
141. *Bṛh. kalp bhā.* Vol. IV, 3884-86.

According to the price also, there were different grades of clothes. The highest was that which had as its price one lakh of Pāṭaliputra rupees (rūpaka), the cheapest was that which was valued at eighteen rupees, while the medium one stood in between these two.[142]

Various prāyaścittas were prescribed for the monk who accepted complete pieces of clothes of various prices:

Price			Prāyaścitta
18	Pāṭaliputra rupees	..	'Catvāro laghavaḥ'
20	„ „	..	'Catvāro guravaḥ'
49	„ „	..	Ṣaḍlaghavaḥ
500	„ „	..	'Ṣaḍguravaḥ'
999	„ „	..	'Cheda'
10000	„ „	..	'Mūla'
50000	„ „	..	'Anavasthāpya'
100000	„ „	..	'Pārāñcika'

Another Table :

Price			Prāyaścitta
18	Paṭaliputra rupees	..	'Laghumāsa'
20	„ „	..	'Caturlaghavaḥ'
100	„ „	..	'Caturguravaḥ'
250	„ „	..	'Ṣaḍlaghavaḥ'
500	„ „	..	'Ṣaḍguravaḥ'
1000	„ „	..	'Cheda'
10000	„ „	..	'Mūla'
50000	„ „	..	'Anavasthāpya'
100000	„ „	..	'Pārāñcika'

Another Table :

18	Paṭaliputra rupees	..	'Caturgūrū'
20	„ „	..	'Ṣaḍlaghu'
50	„ „	..	'Ṣaḍguru'
100	„ „	..	'Cheda'
1000	„ „	..	'Mūla'
50000	„ „	..	'Anavasthāpya'
100000	„ „	..	'Pārāñcika'.[143]

142. *Ibid.* 3890.
143. *Ibid.* 3893-98.

The reasons for the prohibition on the use of full and valuable clothes were based on commonsense. Such clothes were said to have the following drawbacks:

(1) They were generally heavy,

(2) There was always a likelihood of thieves attacking the monk wearing such garments,

(3) They required lot of water for washing which went against the rules of monastic behaviour,

(4) It was likely that there would be trouble from the guards. Here a story is told of an ācārya who had to face the attack of thieves for a valuable kaṁbala given to him by the king.

(5) The people condemned the monk wearing such garments.

Exceptions:

The monks were, however, given a wide latitude to conform to local habits and manners. For instance, it was said that the people of Thūṇā (mod. Thaneshwar)[144] used clothes after cutting the ends (daśikā), and the monks were also asked to do so. On the other hand, in the Indus region the people did not cut the ends of the garments, hence the monks also were forbidden to do so.

In the city of Tāmalitti[145] in the country of Nemāli (mod. Nepal),[146] and in the region called Sindhu-Sovīra, monks were allowed to use complete pieces of clothes as was the custom there.

In the country of Mahārāṣṭra, monks were allowed to use complete pieces of 'nīlakaṁbalas' as was said to be the custom there in the winter.

Kings and royal persons who had taken to monklife, were allowed to use soft garments till they got used to coarse ones.

In cases of calamities and hard life, the monks sold their valuable clothes and provided for the maintenance of the gaccha.[147]

In the country of Golla[148] the month of Caitra was very cold and the monks residing there were allowed to wear necessary garments to protect themselves from cold.[149]

144. *CAGI.*, p. xliii, f.n. 2; for 'sadaśa vastra' see *Ogha-N. bhā.* 13.
145. Identified with mod. Tāmluk, *CAGI.*, p. 732; See *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 3912.
146. *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. X, p. 274.
147. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 3900-17.
148. Identified with Goli in Guntur Distt., by JAIN J. C., *Life in Ancient India*, p. 286.
149. *Āvaśyaka-c.* p. 274.

Certain clothes were to be used in certain cases. The 'uggahaṇantaga' or the 'uggahapaṭṭaga' was not to be normally used. But in case a monk was suffering from 'bhagandara' (piles), he was allowed to use it as it was not likely to hinder his studies or evoke public condemnation. The bandage was to be washed frequently so as to avoid the wound becoming septic.[150]

The Style of Wearing Clothes:

In all, the monk put on one woollen and two cotton garments. He could not accept all the three of one type, otherwise he had to face punishment for that.

The cotton clothes were to be worn inside the woollen one. If the former was put over the latter one then it was taken as an effort of decoration on the part of the monk doing so.[151]

For putting on the clothes improperly, the monk had to undergo the following prāyaścittas:[152]

Mūla	..		For putting on an apparel like that of an householder.
Catvāro gurumāsāḥ	..	(i)	For tying the colapaṭṭaka (?);
		(ii)	For arranging the ends of the upper cloth on the two shoulders so as to resemble the garuḍa bird;
		(iii)	For placing the upper garment on one shoulder (?);
Catvāro laghavaḥ	..		For covering both the shoulders like a nun,
Māsalaghu	..	(i)	For tying the head with the garment like a turban,
		(ii)	For arranging the garment on the shoulder so as to make it hang down like the tail of a cow.

The Number of Clothes:

The normal number of clothes was three. But if a monk was unable to ward off cold with three clothes, he was allowed to use seven clothes as the maximum, only after the permission of the guru.

150. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4102-04.
151. *Ibid.* 3665-67.
152. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 758.

The combination of these seven clothes consisted as follows:

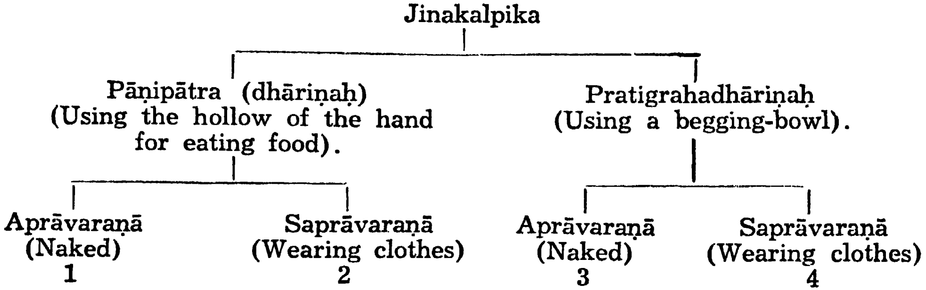
(a) either three strong clothes,

or (b) five: some strong and some of a weak texture,

or (c) *all the* seven as old ones.

There was no fixed limit to the number of clothes used by the 'gaṇa-cintaka' (the administrator of the gaṇa). The rest of the monks were allowed to keep neither more nor less number of clothes than laid down.[153]

The 'Sthavirakalpika monk' used three clothes (two of cotton and one woollen), while the different categories of the 'Jinakalpika' monks used the the following number of clothes:



Monks belonging to category (4) used either one, two or three clothes; those of category (2) used either one cotton garment, or one cotton and one woollen (i.e. two), or two cotton and one woollen (i.e. three) garments.[154]

That cloth was deemed good which was likely to last at least for a period of six months.[155]

The measure of the cloth used by the 'Jinakalpika' monks was such that in length it was two 'ratnis' or four hands, and in breadth it was one and a half hands.[156] The length of the cloth used by the 'Sthavirakalpins' was either three and a half or four hands, and the breadth two and a half hands.[157]

Stitching and Repairs:

Stitching of clothes could be done with the due observance of rules for it, and only when necessary.

153. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3985-50.
154. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1087.
155. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3967.
156. *Ibid.* 3966.
157. *Ibid.* 3969.

Washing also was to be done for a sound reason, and not for the sake of decorating the body.

If the monks happened to get untorn cloth, then they were to tear it to the size they wanted. In tearing the cloth no hiṁsā was supposed to take place.[158]

Emergencies:

Normally no exchange of clothing was allowed between the monks and the nuns. But it seems that when they were robbed of their clothes by the thieves exchange of clothes was allowed under very strict rules of proper conduct.

In this case, the monks and the nuns were allowed to offer clothes to one another through the youngest members of their respective groups. If such a one was not available, then the middle-aged could do so in the presence of either a sthavira or a sthavirā.[159]

In extreme cases of the shortage of proper clothing, the commentator goes to the length of advising the monks to put on the garments of other sects. He remarks:

'śākyādiveṣeṇa tadīya upāsakānāṁ yatibhyo
vastradāpanāya prajñāpanārthaṁ svayaṁ vā grahaṇaṁ —
vastrasyotpādanaṁ tadarthaṁ paraliṅgaṁ kartavyaṁ/'[160]

If cotton clothing was not available, the monks were advised to get bark (valkaja), or 'paṭṭavastra' (of tirīṭa) or the 'kauśikāra vastra'. In the absence of woollen cloth, he was allowed to have either first the bark-cloth, or secondly the 'kauśeya' or lastly the 'paṭṭaja' cloth.[161]

On the whole, it may be said that the Church was alive to the different customs of different regions and it adjusted its rules regarding the clothing of monks according to the social environment around it. At the same time, however, it did its best to retain the fundamentals of the rules of proper clothing, simultaneously going a step further in giving more concessions than those in the texts of the Canon.

Requisites:

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[162] gives the same list of requisites used by the Sthavirakalpikas and the Jinakalpikas as given in the *Oghaniryukti,* which

158. *Ibid.* 3919-51; 3992-98.
159. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2976-88.
160. *Ibid. comm.* on 2995, Vol. III.
161. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3668.
162. *Ibid.* 3962ff.

need not be repeated here again. Not only that but even the 'utkṛṣta', 'jaghanya' and the 'madhyama' number of requisites in the case of both of these modes of monastic life are identical in both these texts.

It may, however, be noted that the former text describes a number of other requisites which were used by the Jaina monks at that time.

Duplicates in the Rainy Season:

The monks had to stay at one place in the rainy season when it was difficult to procure requisites in case the older ones got out of use. For instance, the broom generally got wet owing to the monk's stay in the potter's house, and it was, therefore, difficult to use the wet ends of the broom. If the monk used wet broom then there was a likelihood of killing living beings with it.

So also in the case of the 'Colapaṭṭa' the same thing happened. Putting on a wet colapaṭṭa led to indigestion and fever, and there was, therefore, a strong need for the monk to have duplicates in the rainy season.[163]

Hence, the following articles were used by the monks in rainy season:[164]

Ḍagala—A piece of stone or of brick (to clean the anus ?);

Kūḍamuha—A pot to deposit the medicines for, of the excreta of, the ill;

Mattagatiga—Three pots for excreta, urine and cough;

Leva—Coating for the pot;

Pāyalehaṇiyā—A wooden apparatus to take out mud from the feet;

Santhāra—Bedding for sleeping as well as for protection to living beings;

Pīḍha—A stool;

Phalaga—A plank to sleep over;

Duguṇa ṇijjogo—Double the number of pots normally used.

Besides this provision for the rainy season, the following articles are mentioned as forming the requisites of monks during the tour:[165]

(1) Talikā—Shoes bound to the feet both at day and at night to save the feet from thorns,

163. *Ibid.* 4249-62.
164. *Ibid.* 4263-77.
165. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2882ff.

(2) Puṭaka—A kind of shoe meant to save the feet from having crevices due to cold,

(3) Vardhna—A stitching instrument to bind together the torn soles of the shoes,

(4) Kośaka—The protector of nails, made of leather,

(5) Kṛtti—A piece of skin-leather which was worn by the monks if their clothes were stolen by the robbers,

(6) Sikkaga (śikyaka ?)—Pingoes to be used for hanging the alms-bowl when other requisities were stolen away.

(7) Kāpotikā—Same use as above, or to carry the ill monk,

(8) Pippalaka—Razor;

(9) Sūcī—A needle (to stitch clothes),

(10) Ārī—to stitch the soles of shoes,

(11) Nakharadana—Nail-cutter,

(12) Kośa—Used in taking out that part of the skin where the snake had bitten a monk,

(13) Some medicines,

(14) Rare articles which were not available in the region where the monk wanted to go,

(15) Wholesome corn like 'sattu' which was good in hot seasons,

(16) Everything that was needed by the ācārya,

(17) Nandibhājana[166]—Pot used for begging (?),

(18) Dharmakaraka—A pot with a straining arrangement for water,[167]

(19) Paratīrthika upakaraṇa—The requisites and an apparel of the heretics. Jaina monks were advised to put this on when they were in a heretical region in order to seek food and drink.

(20) Gulikā—It is explained as the 'valkala' by the *Viśeṣacūrṇi*. These were to be used by the Jaina monks when they were touring in the region where the worshippers of Śiva (Paṇḍaraṅga) were predominant, as for instance, in the caves and mountains.

Another meaning suggested is that of a pill. In cases of shortage of water, the 'gītārtha' told the agītārtha that he had used a 'tuvaravṛkṣaguṭikā' got from other travellers to purify water. Thus, he pretended that he used pure water so that the 'agītārtha' might not suspect the action of the 'gītārtha'.

166. Also *Ogha-N. bhā.* 321 : 'Nandibhāṇa.'
167. Also in *Cullavagga*, V, 13, 1.

The latter, however, made 'ālocanā' for this. It seems that to keep the mind of the novice free from prejudice, the 'gītārtha' went to the extent of telling him a lie!

(21) Khola—It signified clothes dripped in milk (and then dried) (?).

If while touring, the 'gītārtha' did not get pure water for washing clothes, he washed his clothes with any sort of water which, after washing, took the colour of milk in the dried clothes.

When the 'agītārtha' saw it, he was likely to have no doubt regarding the water used by the 'gītārtha' for washing purposes, as the water left behind by the latter had already took white colour of milk which resembled normal colour of water in which clothes are washed.

This was done to prevent the 'agītārtha' from losing confidence in the 'gītārtha' for laxity of behaviour!

It is interesting to note that a monk was allowed to wear a heretic's clothes in hostile regions. So also the action of the 'gītārtha' regarding 'gulikā' and 'khola' speak for the attempt of the Church to preserve its moral appearance at any cost.

The Begging Bowl:

Details regarding the begging bowl and the process of coating it are the same as those given in the *Oghaniryukti*, with this difference that the following prāyaścittas are given in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[168] pertaining to the following faults.

'Catvāro gurukāḥ'—If a person, not knowing the details of the chapter on 'pātraiṣaṇā' from the *Ācārāṅga'*, was sent to bring the lepa,

'Catvāro laghukāḥ'—if one who had studied it, but did not remember the details about it, was sent,

'Māsalaghu'—(i) for coating the pots without the permission of the ācārya,

(ii) for not taking the permission of the cart-owner for the oil,

Catvāro laghukāḥ'—(i) for taking the oil at night and using it at night,

(ii) for taking the oil when dew is falling, or when bulls or calves are tied to the cart,

168. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 471-529.

'Catvāro gurukāḥ'—(i) for taking the oil when a dog is sitting under the cart,
(ii) for coating the pot for decoration,

'Māsika'—(i) for accepting a mediocre pot when decided to accept the best,
(ii) determining to accept the inferior but accepting the mediocre.

'Pañcaka'—(i) for accepting an inferior pot when decided to accept the best,
(ii) for determining to accept a mediocre one, but accepting an inferior one,

'Caturlaghu'—(i) for determining to accept a mediocre one, but accepting the best,
(ii) for determining to accept the inferior but accepting the best,

The Cilimilikā (Curtain):

This requisite, as we have already seen,[160] was used to cover the entrances of the lodging without doors.

The details, however, are to be found in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*.[170] The following account of it is based chiefly on the above text.

Kinds of Curtains:

They were fivefold and were made either of yarn (sutta), or of strings (rajju), or of bark-pieces (vakka), or of bamboo (kaḍaga), or of sticks (daṇḍa).

Measurements:

The 'cilimilikā' was supposed to be of the standard size when it was five hands in length and three in breadth. This size was uniform for the 'aurṇika', 'kṣaumika' and the 'valka' curtains.

The total quota of cloth secured for this purpose was such as could be sufficient for the requirements of all the members of the gaccha.

Each member of the gaccha was not necessarily given a separate curtain. The practice of obtaining that quota of cloth which could serve the

169. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 18.
170. Vol. III, 2374ff; Vol. IV, 4804-17.

purpose of several members of a gaccha as a single unit was also sometimes followed.

(athavā yāvatyo gaccham̐ sakalamapi veṣṭayanti tāvatyo gṛhyate, na pratyekamekaikasyā grahaṇaniyamaḥ iti).

The Distribution :

The gaṇāvacchedaka had the full quota of the total cloth in his control. He then distributed it according to the needs of each monk.

When to Use a Particular Type of Curtain ?

It was said that the 'cilimilī' was an essential article of the 'gacchavāsins' or the 'sthavirakalpikas'.

The 'śūtramayī', 'rajjumayī', 'valkamayī' and the 'daṇḍakamayī' curtains were to be used while on tour. The last, however, made of bamboo (kaḍaga), was used when the monks were not touring.

The Uses of a Curtain:

The following were the occasions when the 'cilimilikā' was used:

(1) while doing 'pratilekhanā',
(2) when studying,
(3) to avoid women gazing at the monks,
(4) to prevent foul smell getting in from a particular direction,
(5) to avoid sight of blood or fat,
(6) to avoid servants (ceṭa) peeping in,
(7) to protect oneself from flies and gnats,
(8) to enable the ill to ease nature,
(9) to prevent the ill from taking nearby objects like milk, etc.,
(10) to close the entrance with a bamboo curtain to prevent thieves and others getting in,
(11) at the time of giving medicine to the ill,
(12) to close the doors till the dead was not disposed of.
(13) to carry the dead by the 'daṇḍaka cilimilī',
(14) to prevent rain coming in,
(15) to spread wet requisites over the curtain for drying,

and (16) to prevent the ill from being the victim of spirits and ghosts. This was very often the case in the country called Golla.[171]

171. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2378-81; See 'Cilimikā' in *Cullavagga* VI, 2, 6. It has been translated as 'a carpet': *SBE.*, XX, pt. III, p. 167.

The Use of Skins:

We have already seen that the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* permitted the monk to make use of skins with hair. But such skins were not to be a complete (kṛtsna) piece. The reasons for the non-use of complete pieces of skins was that they led to pride, cruelty and indifference to animals. Moreover, the fact remained that a living being getting into such a shoe could not get out easily.[172]

The skins were generally used for various kinds of shoes as also to cover oneself if the clothes were stolen by robbers.

Such monks whose feet were delicate (asahu), who were on tour (viha), who were troubled by thieves and wild animals (saṁbhama), who were ill (atara), who suffered from leprosy (koṭṭha) or piles (arisa), who had eye-trouble (cakkhudubbala), and who were young (bāla), were allowed to make use of shoes.

The following types of shoes are mentioned:[173]

Egapuḍa — having one sole,
Dupuḍādīyaṁ — having two or more soles,
Khallaga — (a) 'ardhakhallaka': covering half the feet,
(b) 'samastakhallaka': covering the entire feet,
Khaüsa — which covered the ankle (ghuṇṭaka),
Vagguri — which covered the toes as also the foot,
Kosaga — which covered the toes to save them from getting struck against stones, etc.,
Jaṅghā — which covered the whole thigh,
Aḍḍhajaṅghā — which covered half the thigh.

With all this, however, only the persons previously mentioned and those who had to walk quickly for some urgent work of the kula, gaṇa or saṁgha, were allowed to use such shoes. This is clear from the various prāyaścittas laid down for those who used such shoes without any reason.[174]

Other articles:

Besides the requisites noted up till now, there were others which were used by monks occasionally or in certain regions.

For instance, if the monks happened to go to the Golla country, where people were very particular about purity, they were allowed to use the 'ghaḍimattaga', and not otherwise.[175]

172. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 3856-61.
173. *Ibid.* 3847.
174. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3852-55.

In regions of excessive rain like the Konkaṇa, Jaina monks were permitted to use an umbrella.[176]

The *Oghaniryukti* commentary[177] refers to 'nālikā' which was a stick, four aṅgulas more than one's own height, used to test the depth of water in the rainy season.

Total Number of Requisites:

With all these various articles occasionally used by the monks, the list of fundamental articles used by the Sthavirakalpika monks remained unchanged, inasmuch as the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* mentions the same list as that given in the *Oghaniryukti.*

The number of requisites, however, differed with different types of the Jinakalpika monks.

(1) Such of the Jinakalpika monks who went about naked and ate food in the hollow of their hand, used only two requisites: the 'rajoharaṇa' and the 'mukhavastrikā';

(2) Those who wore clothes but ate food in the palm of their hand used either three, four or five requisites consisting of:

(a) 'Rajoharaṇa', 'mukhavastrikā' and a cotton garment,

or (b) 'Rajoharaṇa', 'mukhavastrikā' and one garment of wool and one of cotton,

or (c) 'Rajoharaṇa', 'mukhavastrikā', two clothes of cotton and one of wool;

(3) Those who went about naked but carried a begging-bowl used the following articles:

(a) pātra, (b) pātrakabandha, (c) pātrasthāpana, (d) pātrakesarikā, (e) paṭalakāṇi, (f) rajastrāṇa, (g) gocchaka, (h) rajoharaṇa (i) mukhavastrikā.

(4) Those who put on clothes and carried an alms-bowl, used the above nine articles besides one, two or three clothings.[178]

Fundamentals Unchanged:

Inspite of these distinctions and a variety of new requisites which the monk was allowed to use, even a later text like the *Viṁśativiṁśikā* does

175. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2369.
176. *Āvaśyaka-c.* p. 366.
177. p. 218a.
178. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, p. 1087.

not seem to have changed its views regarding 'aparigraha'. The text explains 'ākiñcaṇṇa' as follows:

Pakkhīë uvamāë jaṁ dhammovagaraṇāïregeṇa |
Vatthussāgahaṇaṁ khalu taṁ ākincaṇṇamiha bhaṇiyaṁ ||[179]

'That is non-possession which implies the non-acceptance of articles other than those sanctioned by religion, like the birds who keep nothing with them except their wings which are instrumental to their flying".

Begging and Food :

As more or less the same rules regarding this item of monastic life are to be found in the post-canonical works, only such rules as are described in details and somewhat new to the canonical texts are described below.

Who was sent on the Begging Tour ?

As pure food begged in a proper way led to the perfect mode of monk life, only those who were well-versed were sent on the begging tour.

One who had not studied the chapter on 'piṇḍeṣaṇā' in the *Daśavaikālika* was not allowed to go to beg food. One who had read it but was unaware of its meaning, was also deemed unfit for the purpose. He who had read it but had not understood it properly even when explained, or had no faith in it, or was not tested regarding it, was not allowed to go. So also a novice who was not confirmed (upastrāpita) was not permitted. Those who were not taught the 'sāmācārī' (pratidinakriyākalāparūpā) were not sent on the begging tour.[180] If these were sent, then, various prāyaścittas were prescribed.

The monks had to go in pairs or in groups. Nobody was encouraged to go alone, and more so a nun who was likely to be bitten by a dog or attacked by young men or enemies.[181]

Mode of Begging :

At the time of begging, the monk had to take all his requisites with him. If that was not possible he took at least the bowl, the staff, the pair of clothes, a small pot (mātraka), the paṭalas and the broom, all of which were termed 'āyārabhāṇḍaga'.[182] The shoulder and the pots were to be covered with the cloth.[183] The mode described is the same as laid down in the canonical texts.

179. 11, 13.
180. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 531; Vol. II, 1265.
181. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 5933; *Ogha-N. bhā.* 221-22.
182. *Ibid.* 227.
183. *Ibid.* p. 213a; *Ogha-N.* 701.

The various modes of peculiar begging under an 'abhigraha' (vow) as described in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[184] are the same as those in the *Uttarādhyayana.*

The monk walked with a calm mind, following the rules of 'samitis' properly. If, however, he happened inadvertently to enter a house which had a wild dog or a cow, then he took shelter of a wall or repelled them with his stick.[185]

If the householders questioned about his rules, the monk was expected to explain them the faults of improper begging and of impure food.[186]

Time for Begging :

The *Oghaniryuktibhāṣya* says that the monks went out twice a day. They went out once for obtaining water, and at the normal begging time they sought food.

A monk, who was not on fast, had to beg only once a day. If food was insufficient, then he was allowed to undertake a second round. This concession, however, seemed to be very rare as otherwise he had to face a prāyaścitta for the number of rounds he undertook during one day without any reason.

Number of Rounds in a day		Prāyaścitta
Two	..	'Māsalaghu'
Three	..	'Māsaguru'
Four	..	'Caturlaghu'
Five	..	'Caturguru'
Six	..	Ṣaḍlaghu'
Seven	..	'Ṣaḍguru'
Eight	..	'Cheda'
Nine	..	'Mūla'
Ten	..	'Anavasthāpya'
Eleven	..	'Pārāñcika'.

A monk undergoing a 'caüttha' or a 'chaṭṭha' fast was allowed to beg twice, while one practising an 'aṭṭhama' (eighth) fast could beg thrice. Those who fasted for a long period were allowed to beg for more than three times.[187]

184. Vol. II, 1649.
185. *Ibid.* (p. 503).
186. *Ibid.* 1602-08.
187. *Ibid.* 1697-1700.

The young, the old, and those on fast were also allowed to beg earlier than the scheduled time for begging.

Proper and Improper Food:

The forty-six faults pertaining to improper food are to be found repeated in the post-canonical texts[188] also, and hence they need not be cited here again.

Besides these, the same old rules about the non-acceptance of food from the person who gave lodging to the monks (sejjāyara),[189] the non-eating of food kept overnight,[190] the giving up of 'vikṛtis',[191] and the non-acceptance of food from heretical ascetics[192] are found to be repeated.

It may, however, be noted that the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[193] and the commentary on the *Jītakalpa*[194] give a definite system of prāyaścittas for the violation of the forty-six faults pertaining to begging:

Udgama Faults:

Fault		Prāyaścitta
Ādhākarma	..	'Catvāro gurukāḥ'
Auddeśika	..	" "
Miśra	..	" "
(Bādara)	..	" "
Abhyāhṛta	..	" "
Kṛta	..	'Māsaguru'
Pūtika	..	"
Adhyavapūraka	..	"
Sthāpita	..	'Māsalaghu'
Prākaṭa	..	"
Prāmītya	..	"
Parivartita	..	"
Krīta	..	"
(Svagrāma abhyāhṛta)	..	"
Pihita	..	"
Mālāpahṛta	..	"
(Itvara sthāpita)	..	'Pañcarātrindināni'
Sūkṣmaprābhṛtikāyam	..	" "
For the rest of the Udgama doṣas		'Catvāro laghukāḥ'

188. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 533ff; *Viṁ.* 13.
189. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 3540-49.
190. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 6005.
191. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 1705-13; *Ogha-N. bhā.* 18.
192. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V, 5089.
193. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 532ff.
194. *Jīt.* 35; *bhā.* vs. 1087-1719.

Utpādana Faults :

Nimitta	..	'Catvāro gurukāḥ'
Māyāpiṇḍa	..	'Māsaguru'
Cikitsāpiṇḍa	..	'Laghuko māsaḥ'
Vacanasaṁstava	..	„ „
Mūla	..	„
For the rest of the Utpādanadoṣas	..	'Catvāro laghukāḥ'

Eṣaṇā Faults :

Lipta	..	'Pañcarāïndiya'
'Lipta' with articles like wine, excreta, flesh	..	'Catvāro laghukāḥ'
'Lipta' with oil, ghee, etc.	..	„ „
Purekarma	..	„ „
Paścātkarma	..	„ „
Accepting food containing powdered bulbs, roots, etc.	..	'Māsalaghu.'
Besides these, if he accepted food from a eunuch or a leper	..	'Catvāro laghukāḥ'
Accepting food from one who was doing activities like cutting, spinning and pounding	..	'Māsalaghu'.
If he ate in excess		'Catvāro laghavaḥ'
If he ate with hatred	..	„ „
If he ate 'sadhūma'	..	„ „
If he ate 'niṣkāraṇa'	..	„ „
If he took food in the festival of the heretics[195]	..	'Caturlaghavaḥ'
If he took with permission the fruit belonging to a heretic	..	
„ „ the Bhogika	..	'Caturguru'
„ „ the Grāma	..	'Ṣaḍlaghu'
„ „ the Vaṇik	..	'Ṣaḍguru"
„ „ the Gosṭhī	..	'Cheda'
the householder		'Mūla'
„ „ the police	..	'Anavasthāpya'
„ „ the king	..	'Pārāñcika.'[196]

195. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V. 5089.
196. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 906.

Exceptions:

Ample exceptions to these rules about food are to be found in this phase of monachism.

Against the general rule of not accepting or eating food at night, the following exceptions were allowed:[197]

(1) in cases of illness;

(2) in cases of the unbearable severity of trouble from hunger, thirst and weakness;

(3) under the practice of penances like 'Candagavejjha' if that was likely to lead to 'asamādhi';

(4) along travel.

In Mahārāṣṭra, monks were allowed to take food along with the Kalpapālas or Kalāls, and in the country of the Indus, monks could take food with the washermen (rajaka). In the Konkaṇa, people were said to be in the habit of eating various kinds of fruits and flowers, and in the Sindhu region people being predominantly of non-vegetarian habits, the monks were asked to adjust their mode of life with these surroundings.[198]

Sometimes the monks were forced by the king, wishing to ward off some calamity or to please some divine being, to take food at night.[199]

Under circumstances of siege of the place of residence, the monks were not allowed to beg out of the gates of the town if the guards suspected them. If, however, they assured them about the alms, then the monks were permitted not to go out but accept even impure food from them.[200]

If a monk happened to go to a settlement of robbers or to a deserted village where only flesh was available for eating, then the monk was allowed to partake of flesh as an exception to the general rule of not eating flesh.[201]

In the northern part of India (Uttarāpatha), people generally took food at night. If monks happened to travel there under exceptional circumstances like famine, then they had also to follow the local practice of eating food at night.[202]

Under sickness, the monks were allowed to take wine with the advice of the doctor. The commentator goes on to add that the monks should secure

197. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2872-81.
198. *Ibid.* Vol. II, (p. 384).
199. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 4962-64.
200. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4826-30.
201. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2906-11; *Nis-C.* p. 134.
202. *Ibid.* p. 139.

wine in such cases even by wearing other types of garments if it be necessary for that! (yadi svalingena na prāpyate uḍḍāho vā bhavati tato liṅgabhedādikamapi kartavyam).[203]

As against these exceptions, cases of refusing to take advantage of such concessions were not wanting. The *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*[204] describes the story of one Jinadatta who refused to eat flesh even though prescribed to him by a physician. The *Vyavahārabhāṣya*[205] depicts the tale of some five hundred Jaina monks who met death by fasting and let their bodies exposed to the jackals and vultures when they could not get food owing to a famine in Kosala.

Way of Eating Food:

The rules about eating food were the same. The monk was not to consume food with attachment either for its taste or for its quality. No sound of teeth or of mouth was to be done while eating.[206]

The Jinakalpikas and the Sthavirakalpikas:

The following were some of the differences regarding food between the monks of these two modes of discipline:

(1) The Jinakalpikas ate food in the same 'porisī' in which it was obtained, while the Sthavirakalpikas were allowed to preserve it upto the fourth 'porisī.'[207]

(2) The Jinakalpikas were not to go beyond the chief garden (agrodyānāt parataḥ) for obtaining food, while the Sthavirakalpikas were allowed to go to a distance of half a yojana for this purpose.[208]

(3) The Jinakalpikas never accepted food from a lady right from the day she had conception, while the Sthavirakalpikas could do so till she was very much advanced in pregnancy.

(4) The Sthavirakalpikas did not accept food from a lady whose child was being nourished on breast-feeding. The Jinakalpikas, however, did not do so till the child was old enough to be independent.[209]

(5) The Jinakalpikas had to beg and obtain food in the peculiar way they had decided to follow. The Sthavirakalpikas, however, begged food which was secured with the normal rules of 'piṇḍeṣaṇā.'

203. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV. 3413.
204. II, p. 202.
205. 10, 557-60.
206. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 289.
207. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V, 5264-74.
208. *Ibid.* 5290.
209. *Ogha-N. Comm.* 165ab.

Thus, in short, it may be said that though the fundamental rules about food remained the same, yet there was allowed a wide latitude for adjustment with local customs and social habits.

Penance and Fasting:

The same division of penance into internal (abbhantara) and external (bāhira) is to be found in the various commentaries[210] and the works of later Jaina writers.[211] In the story literature of the Jaina commentaries and romances, casual references about these are abundant.

Besides these, fasts of minor magnitude viz., 'caüttha,' 'Chaṭṭha,' 'aṭṭhama,' 'dasama' and 'duvālasa' were current also in the post-canonical period, and even now there are hundreds of Jaina monks who practise fasts of such magnitudes.

One thing, however, may be noted regarding the length of the fasts. The commentaries seem to hint that fasts of peculiar nature and of longer periodical length were fast disappearing as early as the times of Abhayadeva. While explaining the different 'pratimās' he says that the 'subhaddā paḍimā' is 'apratītā' (not clear).[212] Regarding 'egāvali' penance also the commentator adds: 'na anyatropalabdheti na likhitā.' This may, therefore, suggest that the practice of some of the 'paḍimā' types of fasts and penances had gone out of vogue at his time.

The same view is corroborated by the Vṛtti of Malayagiri on the *Piṇḍaniryukti*.[213] There he opines that the maximum length of a fast can be six months, and adds: 'parato bhagavadvardhamānasvāmitīrthe tapasaḥ pratiṣedhāt.'

Vidhiprapā, (14th cent. of Vikrama era), clearly states that the members of the Kharatara gaccha do not practise penances called the 'māṇikkapatthāriya,' 'maüḍasattamī,' amiyaṭṭhamī, 'avihavadasamī,' and others, as these fasts are not permitted by the Āgama. Besides these, penances like the 'egāvalī,' 'kaṇagāvalī,' 'rayaṇāvalī,' 'muttāvalī,' 'guṇarayaṇa,' and 'siṁhanikkīliya' (which we have already come across in the Aṅgas and the *Aupapātika*), being very difficult to follow in these days, are not described in the text (te saṁpayam dukkara tti na daṁsiyā).[214]

210. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 108.
211. *Samarāiccakahā*, pp. 107-8, (Modi's Ed. 1935)
212. *Aup. comm.* p. 59.
213. p. 178a.
214. *Aup.* p. 29.

Such remarks reveal a gradual decrease in the practice of harder types of penances though the commentaries, cūrṇis and later works refer to the fundamentals of the internal and the external penances.

Inspite of this, however, we come across stray instances of long term fasts undertaken by different persons.[215]

In this respect, it may be noted that fasts unto death (saṁlehaṇā), 'pāövagamaṇa' and 'bhattapariṇṇā'[216] are also referred to in post-canonical works and commentaries. As late as in 1945 a Jaina nun in Poona made a fast of 42 days which ended in her death.[217] In the rainy season, the monks still make short term fasts constantly during the four months.

Supernatural Powers:

As compared with the texts of the canon, the books which are of a commentarial nature as well as full of stories of legendary and romantic type refer to a number of magical practices resorted to by monks in general.

Especially the Ṭīkās and the Cūrṇis are full of such material. In this connection it may be noted that Siddhasena ācārya had gone to the extent of building magic houses according to the rules given in a book called *Joṇipāhuḍa*.[218] The monks were allowed to make use of spells like 'thaṁbhaṇi' and 'mohaṇī'[219] if they were attacked by thieves. So also in order to know the person who had stolen something, a spell called the 'ābhogiṇī' was uttered.[220] In cases of snake-bite the monks used a charmed piece of cloth which when rubbed to the patient made him normal.[221] A story is told of Pādaliptā who created a magical figure of a princess.[222] 'Kāyotsarga' also was effective in certain cases to ward off the trouble from forest deities to the monks.[223] The practice of applying charmed ash to the body to save oneself from the thieves is also referred to.[224] The power to fly up in the air seems to have

215. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1283-84; Vol. V, 4992.

216. Jinaprabha's *Tīrthakalpa* (c. 14th cent. A.D.) mentions two Jain ascetics 'who performed austerities for one, two and three months by (partaking of every) sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth (meal) or by fasting for half a month.'—BÜHLER, *I.A.* Vol. XXVII, p. 70.

217. She belonged to the Sthānakvāsins. Her name was Rambhākũvarjī Mahārāj. (Information given by Shri J. H. OSWAL, Poona).

218. See also *Nis-C.* 4, p. 375; *Bṛh-kalp.bhā.* Vol. III, 2681.

219. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 4809.

220. *Ibid.* 4633.

221. *Ibid.* 3907.

222. *Ibid.* Vol, V, 4915.

223. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 3108.

224. *Nis-C.* 13, p. 850.

been a very common supernatural qualification and a monk possessing that was designated a 'cāraṇa-muni.'

The *Kalpalatāvyākhyā*,[225] or the commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* gives numerous stories about supernatural feats by different monks. It is related there that Rohagupta used different spells like the 'mayurī,' 'nakulī,' 'biḍālī,' 'vyāghrī,' 'siṁhī,' 'alūkī' and 'hoūlāvakī' in his debate with Poṭṭasāla who was endowed with 'vṛścika,' 'sarpa,' 'mūṣaka', 'mṛgī,' 'vārāhī,' 'kākī' and 'śākunikā' spells. The same commentary refers to an 'abhimantrita rajoharaṇa' or a charmed broom.

Besides these, a number of other spells are referred to. They are the 'addaā' (curing the patient by making him see his reflection in a mirror),[226] 'anteūrī' (curing the ill by wiping one's own body),[227] 'jāṇāvaṇī' (which let one know the whereabouts of a person),[228] 'pannatti' (prediction about future),[229] saṅkarī' (which made the reciter surrounded by friends and servants to carry out the orders),[230] and such others.

Along with the practice of such spells, the monks in this phase seemed to have an implicit faith in dreams and superstitions. Sneezing, stumbling while going somewhere, going to a physician in odd numbers, studying only on auspicious times, renouncing the world on proper muhūrtas, and sprinkling the dead with bodily excreta if a ghost entered it,[231]—all these reveal the element of superstition prevalent in the monastic life of this period.

Before concluding, it may be noted that many of the stories are of a legendary nature. Secondly, these magical practices are mostly ascribed to the 'paribbājakas', and it is not clearly stated whether in all these cases Jaina monks participated. Lastly, it may be that the Bhāṣyas and other texts were written under the influence of the contemporary conditions which perhaps encouraged these practices. It may, therefore, be concluded that the monastic life in general was full of the practice of spells and the Jaina monks could not totally abstain from them.

Study:

Study of a particular book was threefold, as it pertained either to the text (sūtra), or to the meaning (artha) or to both these categories (tadu-

225. p. 229b.
226. *Vav. bhā.* 5, 136-38.
227. *Ibid.*
228. *Uttar. Ṭī.* p. 189a.
229. *Ibid.* p. 138.
230. *Ibid.* p. 189a.
231. *Bṛh kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1921-24; V, 5500-2.

bhaya.[232] In mastering all the three aspects, one had to be very careful in learning and reciting it.

Way of Reciting:

The fundamental rules of reciting the sūtra remained the same, and the following prāyaścittas were prescribed for improper reading:[233]

Omitting some words	.. 'Māsalaghu'
Transgressing the sequence of the Tīrthaṅkaras	.. 'Caturguru'
Mixing or adding some other words	.. 'Māsalaghu'
For wrong faith	.. 'Caturlaghu'
Transgressing the order of the guru	.. 'Caturguru'.

Unfit Students:

The sūtra was taught only to the deserving. Those, therefore, who were quarrelsome with the guru, had no devotion for the teacher, acted like a swan in learning only the selected portions, or like the buffalo in making the whole pond (i.e., group of students) dirty, who were like the cat who liked drinking milk only when it was spilt on the ground, i.e., who liked to listen only when the whole congregation had got up—all these were not to be taught the sūtrārtha.[234]

Proper Students:

Those, on the other hand, who were well-versed, with a long standing in the order, of stable mind, intelligent, and well stabilised, were taught the sūtra.[235]

Higher Texts:

There were, however, certain texts which were taught only to the qualified. The Chedasūtras, for instance, were not revealed to those who grumbled against the guru or who mixed food for taste or who made residence or apparatus decorative (tintiṇika), who were of a fickle mind (calacitta), who changed the gaṇa frequently within six months (gāṇaṅgaṇika), who were of weak morals (durbalacāritra), who humiliated the guru (ācāryaparibhāvī), who acted against the dictates of the ācārya (vāmāvarta), who were wicked (piśuna), who had not studied the preliminary books like the *Āvaśyaka* upto

232. *Āvaśyaka. bhā*. 150, p. 434.
233. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā*. Vol. I, 288-99.
234. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 347-61.
235. *Ibid.* 400-401.

the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (ādyadṛṣṭabhāva), who were not taught the 'sāmācārī' (akṛtasāmācārī), who had spent less than three years in monk life (taruṇadharmā), and those who repudiated or disowned the guru at whose hands they had learnt the sūtra (guruninhavī).

Those who revealed these texts to unfit students had to undergo prāyaścittas.[236]

The Qualities of the Teacher:

Only those who were born in the 'Ārya deśa,' in good family and race, those who had a dignified appearance, those who were endowed with fortitude, who used less words, who were not greedy or deceitful, who were impartial, having constant practice of study, knowing the local customs, practices, languages and the method of study, knowing the 'nayas' as well as one's own and rival systems, were allowed to teach.[237]

How to Learn the Sūtra:

The students sat in a circle (maṇḍalīnisijjā),[238] by giving up sleep and gossip, and joining the palms of their hands, they listened to the upādhyāya with devotion and respect.

Such rapt attention in proper study was said to lead the disciples to their own welfare (ātmahita), knowledge of control (parijñā), stoppage of karman (bhāvasaṁvara), the maintenance of religious and ascetic feeling (navanavaśca saṁvegaḥ), stability of the mind (niṣkaṁpatā), penance (tapas), dissipation of karman (nirjarā) and the ability to guide others (paradeśikatva).[239]

Even to the layman who had come to listen to the sermon, the 'yatidharma' was to be taught first and not the 'upāsakadharma'. The reason was that by listening first to the 'upāsakadharma' the listener might think, "If 'saugati' is possible by following the layman's religion, why unnecessarily go in for the harder 'yatidharma' at all?", and thus he was likely to turn away from the thought of becoming a monk. Therefore, the ācārya who recited the 'upāsakadharma' first to the audience had to undergo the 'catvāro guravaḥ' which were severe both in time and penance (tapasā kālena ca).[240]

236. *Ibid.* 758-90.
237. *Ibid.* 241-44; *Viṁ.* 12, 8.
238. *Ibid.* 12. 10-11.
239. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II. 1162.
240. *Ibid.* 1139.

The Hurried Reading:

Normally, the monks were to study the sūtras with proper care, digesting all the material they read. Hence, a hurried and a superficial reading of a text (utsāra) was not allowed, as it led to mutual competition, half-hearted knowledge, 'mithyātva', extinction of proper knowledge and the endangering of self-control. This half-hearted study was likely to lead to the condemnation not only of the disciple but even of the guru.

In cases of calamities and emergencies, however, only those who were well-versed in the lore, who knew the fit and the unfit persons, who were desirous of liberation and who made efforts to understand the sūtra day and night, were allowed to consent to others doing the hurried reading.

Even when permitted, only he who had acquired tranquillity of mind, who was always engaged in the studies, or was attached to the guru (pratibaddha), was of ideal behaviour (saṁvigna), had special powers with him (salabdhika), who never gave up his proper appearance or mode of life (liṅga), who was intelligent (medhāvin), who was easily enlightened, and who was careful in his movements (yogakārakaḥ), was allowed to perform the 'utsārakalpa.'

Why was this done?

In case the members of a certain gaccha were not able to procure clothes, bowls, bedding, etc. in a certain village where people were disinterested in religion, then such a monk who could procure these things was made to study the rules of 'vastraiṣaṇā' hurriedly, and sent for that purpose even though he was normally not fit for it.[241]

If a certain text was unique and a particular ācārya was the only person who knew it, then, in order to save the text from extinction, its reading was given even to an unfit disciple if there was nobody else available.[242]

Types of Books:

Five kinds of books were taken to be unfit to be carried by the monks. They were the 'gaṇḍīpustaka,' the kaccha°,' the 'muṣṭī°,' the 'saṁpuṭaphalaka° and the 'chedapāṭī°.' These, being heavy, were difficult to carry. The other defects of such books were that they generally gave rise to small insects, were likely to injure the shoulder, and were misinterpreted by the robbers who suspected the burden as containing some valuables.[243]

241. *Ibid.* Vol. I, 715-40.
242. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 5210.
243. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 3822-27.

Time for Study :

The *Oghaniryuktibhāṣya*[244] lays down the rule that study was to be done after 'paḍilehaṇa.'

The terms 'sūtrapauruṣī' and 'arthapauruṣī' suggest that there were two procedures — one in which simply the reading of the text was done, or lessons were taken from the guru, and the other in which the meaning of the text was explained.

Places for Study :

The old rules of avoiding such places as were full of women, eunuchs and beasts, and where injury to living beings was likely to take place, still held good.

In a place, however, which was close to he nunnery, no monk was allowed to recite the canon loudly at night, as that was likely to attract the nuns. The whole affair was likely to lead to mutual intimacy between a particular nun and the monk which proved a cause for their going astray. In such a place, therefore, all the monks recited the sūtra simultaneously so that it was difficult to find out sweet voices of particular monks.[245]

Higher Studies and Debates :

We have already seen that the practice of leaving one's gaṇa and going to other ācāryas for higher studies was practised at the time of the Cheda-sūtras. The same practice seems to have been current[246] and the monks were allowed to meet reputed scholars and ācāryas while on tour.

There were debates frequently, and for this purpose the disciples were to prepare themselves not only in logic and religious philosophy, but also in the various regional languages and the tenets of rival faiths. Therefore, a major portion of the monk's life was spent in studies.

The views of Haribhadra on this point may be said to be liberal, and are after the manner of a person who craves for liberation. He remarks that "all the wise (budha) who are desirous of getting liberation, should grasp the meaning not only of one's own system (svasamaya), but also that of the rival sect (parasamaya), by tantra, nīti and yukti".[247]

244. 173, (pp. 114b-115a).
245. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2264-71.
246. *Ibid.* Vol. V, 5425-31.
247. *Viṁ.* 11, 19.

In the craze for defeating the opponent in debate, the monks, it seems, were allowed to use all sorts of tactics, including the use of a false speech. In this case, the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[248] gives the example of Rohagupta who used a lie by saying that there was a third category called 'nojīva', which, in reality, did not exist.

Study of other Arts and Sciences:

Even though other arts like that of fighting, spells and magic were not allowed to monks, we have numerous instances where the monks, who knew fighting, did resort to it when their ācārya was kidnapped, or when they were attacked by robbers or by the general of the army. In protecting the nuns also, fighting as a last resort was allowed.[249]

Literary Activity of Jaina Monks:

As we have remarked elsewhere, the literary output of Jaina monks and scholars in the post-canonical period is considerable, and scholars like Siddhasena (c. 7th cent. A.D.), Śīlāṅka (c. 9th cent. A.D.), Abhayadeva, Śāntisūri and Devendra (11th cent. A.D.), and Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.) have distinguished themselves as commentators. Persons like Haribhadra weilded their pen effectively both in the branches of romances and religion, while Hemacandra and Mallisena excelled in grammar and logic. The extensive literary output of authors like Hemacandra shows that their vigorous ascetic life gave them ample leisure for study and writing. Curious enough, the Jaina monks wrote treatises even on medicine like the one called *Vaidyavallabha* by Hastiruci (17th cent. A.D.).[250] Voluminous work in all branches of literature like mythology, history, paṭṭāvalīs, kathākośas and prabandhas was the outcome of this literary effort.

The Bhāṇḍāras:

This literary activity, it seems, must have received a setback in the reign of the Muslims who followed a policy more or less of destruction. This was one of the causes that led to the establishment of various Bhāṇḍāras where this literary and Mss. wealth was stored and saved from the onslaught of the invaders.

These Bhāṇḍāras which are more numerous in Punjab, Rajputana, Gujarat, Bihar and South India, have played an important role in preserving

248. Vol. I, 756.

249. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4106; Vol. V, 5254-59, etc.; For the use of spells, see under supernatural powers.

250. GODE, P. K. in *J. A.*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 6.

the documents containing wisdom of the past. Till recently no stranger was allowed to have access to these, but the Jainas have admirably brought out some of the wealth by publishing many of the Mss. as well as preparing exhaustive catalogues of the contents of these Bhāṇḍāras.

It should also be noted that the Jaina monks did not rest content only with writing in Sanskrit and Prākrit, but they have mastered the New Indian languages like Gujaratī, Rājasthānī and Hindī, and have, of late, produced literature in these languages, though instances of Sanskrit and Prākrit works can also be pointed out.

This effort of study and literary activity blended with a pure mode of life has given peculiar powers of memory to some Jaina monks. In this connection, the instance of a Jaina ācārya who performed wonderful feats of memory in Bombay in the recent past are too fresh to be forgotten.

Daily Routine :

The items of daily routine did not change in theory, though in abnormal circumstances, they had to.

Early morning either before (as in the case of the Sthavirakalpikas) or after sunrise (in the case of the Jinakalpikas) the monks did the scanning of the requisites. Some texts lay down that, this 'paḍilehaṇā' was to be done after the performance of the 'āvaśyakas'. The things to be examined were the 'muhapattī', 'rayaharaṇa', two 'nisejjās', 'colapaṭṭa', 'santhāra', 'uttarapaṭṭa' and the three clothings. After scanning, the requisites were to be kept bound except in the ra..ny season. Under calamities, the monk was allowed to do 'paḍilehaṇā', at any time he got leisure to do so.[251]

Nowadays, after the 'āvaśyakas', the monk goes to 'caityavandana' or to the temple. This item, it may be noted, has come to more prominence, due to the Jaina laity building palacial temples to the Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus the 'caityavandana' has become an important item in the daily routine of the monk. In the temple, he does not worship the deity but merely bows down and performs what may be called mental worship (bhāva-pūjā).

After return to the monastery, the monk or whoever is chief among them gives a lecture to the laymen at about 9 a.m. After that, he goes on the begging tour and accepts food with the proper rules for it. Then showing the food to the guru and making 'ālocanā' he eats the food.

After taking food, he takes rest for an hour or two. Then again at four in the afternoon, he scans his requisites, engages in studying, goes to

251. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 1661-65.

the temple and again makes 'ālocanā'. He sleeps very early as no lights are allowed in the monastery.

The scanning of the requisites and the 'ālocanā' involve the use of the 'sthāpanācārya' i.e. the shells which are placed as substitutes for the 'pañca-parameṣṭhin' (the five dignitories). Now-a-days, the shells are placed in an exquisitely embroidered piece of fine cloth and are often gold-plated. They are tied in silky pieces of clothes and are placed on a wooden tripod.

Even though, most of the time of the monk is to be allotted to study, the sphere of his activities has increased, and he spends more of his time in lecturing to the laity and organising its religious life. Mrs. STEVENSON[252] notes that the Jaina laymen pay the paṇḍits who are employed to teach the monks. The present author, however, found that all the monks with whom he had the opportunity to meet, were such as could read and write Gujaratī and Hindī, and were equipped with the knowledge of the basical, if not detailed, information of their tenets.

Death and Funeral Rites:

We have already seen that the texts of the canon fail to give details about the funeral rites of a monk. It is only in the Bhāṣyas[253] that we come across the details of disposing of the dead. It is likely that these Bhāṣyas picture contemporary or even earlier, and hence somewhat traditional, practices in this matter.

The following information can be had from these texts.

Choosing a Place of Residence:

The monks who decided to stay at a particular place either for the rainy season or otherwise for one month, took into consideration the possibility of easily obtaining wood and a proper place for the disposal of the dead nearby.

Along with these two fundamental necessities, they had to keep a piece of cloth ready with them to cover the dead, perchance a monk died.

What to do if a Monk dies:

If death overtook a monk at night, the rest of the monks kept a vigil around him.

252. *Heart of Jainism*, p. 231.

253. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V, 5500-5557; *Vav. bhā.* 7, 442-446; *Āvaśyaka-c.* II, pp. 102-09; *Āvaśyaka-N-Dīpikā*, Vol. II, 95ff. The above account is based mainly on the first two texts.

Then noting a proper nakṣatra, they took out the dead.

The Proper Direction of Placing the Dead:

The dead was to be disposed of either at the south-western or the southern or the western or the south-eastern or the north-western or the eastern or the north-eastern direction.

Various superstitious elements seem to have been connected with this matter. For instance, it was said that if the dead was placed to the north, illness overtook the rest of the monks; if he was placed to the east, it suggested either a future rift in the gaṇa or a decay in morals; if to the south, then the monks were not likely to get food.

The Funeral Ground:

The monks were to find out previously three places for the funeral so that any one of these could be used in times of emergency. Out of these three, however, that which was the nearest to the village or to the place of stay was preferred.

The place was to be free from living beings. The monks did not choose other's funeral ground as there was a likelihood of the heretical people throwing away the corpse of the dead monk elsewhere.

How the Dead was Carried:

The dead was carried over strong bamboos or pieces of wood obtained from the houses of the laymen.

Covering for the Dead:

Three pieces of cloth were used to cover the dead. All these three were to be clean white sheets of cloth, one of which was spread below the dead, another over the dead and the third spread over the second so as to hide the string-ties with which the corpse was tied.

The cover-cloth was to be very clean to avoid condemnation by the public for the dirty clothes as well as to avoid would-be monks from turning away from monk-life. So also, no lamentations for the dead were allowed.

The Tying of the Dead:

The thumbs of the hands and the toes of the feet were tied, and the face of the dead was covered by the mouthpiece (muhapattī). A small cut was made between the fingers.

Time for taking out:

Whenever a monk died, either at day or at night, he was taken out without delay.

In the following cases, however, the dead was not taken out at night:
(1) if there was hail-storm,
(2) if there was trouble from thieves and wild animals,
(3) if the gates of the city were closed down,
(4) if the local custom was not favourable for the taking out of the dead at night,
(5) if the dead was a well-known person,
(6) if the relatives of the dead objected,
(7) if the monk had done a long fast previous to his death,
(8) if the cover-cloth was not pure white,
and (9) if the king was to enter or go out at that time with his paraphernalia.

Preserving the Dead:

In the above circumstances, the monk, if not long dead, was kept in a straightened position with his hands and legs straight, and his mouth and eyes closed. The rest of the monks kept a vigil and gave sermons to the devoted laity.

The Possessed Corpse:

If some supernatural being entered the body of the dead and made it get up, then it was sprinkled over with bodily excretion (?) (kāyikī) with the left hand and then ordered not to get up from the bamboo bed.

The following superstitions prevailed in this connection:

The place of getting up by the possessed corpse	The places to be left by the monks due to this
Monastery	.. Monastery
Settlement	.. Settlement
Village	.. Half the village
Village-gates	.. The whole village
Interval between the village and the garden	.. The district (viṣayamaṇḍala)
Interval between the garden and the place of study	.. The country (deśa)
The study room	.. The kingdom (rājya)

If the possessed corpse cried aloud the name of a particular monk, then the head of the latter was tonsured, and he was asked to undergo fasts by separating himself from the gaccha.

An Image of Grass:

If at the time of the death of a particular monk the constellation was unfavourable, then two images of Kuśa grass were made. Failure to do so was supposed to result in the death of two more monks.

The Funeral:

Taking all these precautions, the dead, after being well tied, was carried by the monks or by the laymen to the funeral ground, and was placed there with its head towards the village. This was done to prevent it from entering the village again if it got up.

Then the ground was cleaned and a grass bed was spread over it evenly.

The requisites like the broom, mouthpiece and the colapaṭṭa were kept by the side of the dead. That was deemed essential to prevent the suspicion of the king who might otherwise think that the monks were responsible for the death of a non-monk. The pots, etc. used for the deposition of bodily excreta of the dead were allowed to be kept for the use of other monks who were ill. Otherwise, they were thrown away.

Body Left to the Jackals?

It appears from the description given in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* that the body of the dead was left to the mercy of the jackals.

This practice is hinted by the fact that different superstitions were based on the direction in which the body was dragged by these wild animals. Plentiful alms and a happy sojourn were supposed to be indicated to that direction in which the body was dragged by jackals without wounding the dead. If, on the other hand, the jackals dragged the corpse to a particular direction after wounding it, then famine was supposed to take place in that particular direction.

These rules, however, were said to be applicable only to the bodies of an ācārya or of one who had done a long fast previous to his death. In the case of others, no such predictions could be done even if their bodies were dragged by jackals.

The Return:

The party was not allowed to return by the same road by which it had taken the dead to the funeral ground. Before returning, they were not to perambulate round it.

In the meantime, the owner of the residence, or the novice who was left behind, wiped the lodge clean. Then the returning monks performed 'kāyotsarga' before their guru and then recited hymns in praise of Ajitanātha and Śāntinātha.

If an ācārya or any other famous monk expired then the rest of the monks went on fast that day and abstained from study. In the case of the death of ordinary monks, this rule was not necessarily followed.[254]

The *Vidhimārgaprapā*, a work belonging to the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era, gives more or less the same details about the funeral rites of the monks of the Kharatara Gaccha.[255]

The death of a famous monk or of one who had resorted to fast unto death (saṁlehaṇā) is celebrated with great pomp and ceremony now-a-days, and many popular elements seem to have been included in this matter. The list of articles required for the performance of death rites of a monk, as furnished to the author by a Jaina monk, includes such material as sandalwood, camphor and various other costly and fragrant items.

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

The fundamental tenets of moral discipline and self-control are to be frequently met with in the Bhāṣyas and other post-canonical literature, in the same way as in the canonical texts. The following discussion embodies only the changes or otherwise in these fundamentals as revealed in the texts of this period. The details of the oft-repeated terms like the 'mūla-guṇas', the 'uttara-guṇas', the 'mahāvratas', the 'caraṇakaraṇa', the 'guptis', the 'samitis', etc. need not be explained again.

Ahiṁsā:

In all his thoughts, words and acts the monk was careful regarding injury to living beings. For this purpose he avoided even an attempt that was likely to lead to that effect.

Hence he was not allowed to stand near water, occupy a residence full of living beings, or even ease nature on a place containing living beings in any form. He had to undergo various prāyaścittas for carelessness in this matter.[256]

254. For funeral rites of a Brāhmanical sannyāsī, see *Manu*, X, 55. For Buddhist: B. C. LAW, *India as described in Early Buddhist and Jain texts*, p. 93.

255. For its date, see Intr. page 'ā'; Vidhiprapā is another name for Kharatara, *Ibid.* page 'a'.

256. Prāyaścittas for standing close to water and killing living beings; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2389, 2399; Punishment for improper way of easing nature: *Ibid.* Vol. I, 460-66: For details regarding this matter, *Ibid.* 430ff.

Minuteness of details regarding everything seems to have, however, led to a difference of opinion among the various leaders of the Church. Against the rule not allowing the monk to do any activity near the proximity of water (udakatīra), the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[257] refers to a number of interpretations regarding the exact definition of the 'udakatīra'. This may suggest the existence of some members of the Church who favoured liberalism in interpretation and were inclined to have a liberalisation of moral discipline than the others.

This liberalism is corroborated by some statements of the commentators also. It was said that even though the normal rule of choosing a path devoid of living beings was to be followed, under exceptional circumstances touring along a 'sacitta' road was also allowed, and the rule was that 'vastvantaramāśritya vidhiḥ pratiṣedho vā vidhīyate',[258] i.e. the exceptions were to be adjusted to the circumstances. On this basis, the monks who were the victims of royal displeasure were allowed to disguise and eat that food which was normally not allowed.[259] The view prevailed that only he was a 'hiṁsaka' who was 'pramatta' (careless).

When there was no occasion for exceptional conduct the monks behaved according to the normal rules of monastic discipline, and had to care much for the social condemnation as will be clear from the following case:

The monks were not allowed to eat raw fruits. But if a young man saw a monk accepting it then the monk had to face 'caturlaghu'. If that young man had a doubt regarding the exact thing the monk had accepted—for he was likely to doubt whether the monk had accepted gold—then the monk had to undergo 'caturlaghu'. If he was sure of it, then 'caturguru'. If the young man told his wife about it, and if she repudiated it, then 'caturguruka'. If she did not repudiate his statement, then 'ṣaḍlaghavaḥ'. If he told about it to his friends or his parents and if the latter did not repudiate it, then 'cheda'. If he told it to the guards, and if they put faith in it, then 'mūla'. If they repudiated the man's statement, then 'cheda'. If the king came to know of it through his ministers, and if he repudiated it, still the monk had to face 'anavasthāpya'. But if the king also believed in it, then the monk was punished with 'pārāñcika'.[260]

Inspite of these precautions, the post-canonical literature reveals rules more for the exceptional circumstances, which possibly suggest that environ-

257. Vol. III, 2385.
258. *Ogha-N. comm.* p. 37b.
259. *Mis-C.* 9, p. 518.
260. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. II, 866.

ments which were fast changing, were also influencing the normal rules of ascetic discipline.

Satya :

The *Viṁśativiṁśikā*[261] lays down 'vacanakṣānti' (absence of anger in speech), 'vacanārjava' (gentleness of speech) and 'vacanamukti' (unattachment in speech), as the fundamental requirements of a monk's speech. He was never to speak a lie, or use an injurious speech.

We have, however, already seen that the 'gītārthas' themselves violated this rule when they pretended that they had used pure water to wash clothes, when they actually used any water and dipped their milk-dried clothes (kholla) in it. The same was the case regarding the 'gulikā'.[262] Even though such practices were resorted to with the good intention of not allowing the raw novice to indulge in improper behaviour regarding water, yet the 'gītārtha' also came a step lower in his moral qualifications to gain a worthy end.

Harsh words could be addressed to a novice who had done a grave offence so that he left the gaṇa.[263]

Asteya :

Against the theoretical existence of the vow of 'adattādāna', the stealing of requisites was perhaps a very common offence among the monks as is clear from the various punishments ascribed to different types of stealing.

The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[264] prescribes punishment for the ācārya who stole valuable or ordinary requisites of his co-religionists, a monk who gathered for him excess requisites secretly besides those for the gaccha, the monk who acquired another set of requisites on the false pretext that his old set was burnt, and the monk who appropriated for himself the requisites which he was asked to hand over to somebody else.

Stealing the requisites of a monk of rival sect was deemed a greater offence. If the monk was exposed in this attempt, and if a case was filed against him, then he was punished by the Church with 'cheda'. If the king expelled him from his kingdom, then the Church punished the offender with 'pārāñcika'.[265]

261. 11, 7-8.
262. See above page.
263. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. I, 756.
264. Vol. V, 5064-87.
265. *Ibid.* 5091.

Even though a general conclusion regarding the demoralisation of the Church would be unjustified from such stray cases, it may be noted that the human crave for storage and striving for the beautiful, persisted even in monk life in some cases.

Aparigraha :

We have already seen that the Niryuktis as well as the later texts like the *Viṁśativiṁśikā* define aparigraha as 'svalpaparigraha' which included articles allowed for religious purposes or for the maintenance of a perfect mode of life. A list of articles like the one given in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, and which was used by the monks while on tour reveals a number of new things.

Even though literary evidence is scanty to prove the violation of this vow by the monks, inscriptions, as we shall see in a separate chapter, refer to a number of instances in which the monks were given gifts of land by royal patrons in connection with temples. It is a moot point what kind of ownership was implied by such dedication of lands. GLASENAPP[266] and Mrs. STEVENSON[267] refer to instances of monks who used spects of golden frame and travelled in a train, as also of those who kept with them bank-notes.

Brahmacarya :

The monks were to practise perfect celibacy, and were to abstain from the fivefold enjoyment of speech, taste, vision, smell and touch.[268]

This vow enjoining upon the monk the practice of celibacy had to be followed in the strictest possible sense. He had to keep under control all his five sense-organs.[269] Any violation of this was likely to lead to a ruffled state of mind which was unbecoming of a true monk.[270-271] Equanimity and indifference towards worldly objects, aims and modes was the principal motto of monk-life. It was likely that if he fell a prey to the excitation of any one of the sense organs, he would be subject to the excitation of other sense organs also. For instance, the eating of spicy food, principally a matter of taste, was likely to lead to the constant demand for it, or to ponderings over it in case the monk could not get it. Both these were not worthy of a true monk as such slavery to tasty food is principally the characteristic of worldly men. Moreover it was likely to distract his attention from spiritual matters.

266. *Der Jainismus*, Guj. Transl., pp. 348-50.
267. *Heart of Jainism*, p 211 f.n. 2.
268. *Der Jainismus*, Guj. Transl., pp. 348-50.
269. For instances of exemplary practice of celibacy under abnormal conditions, see *Bṛh. kalp. Bhā.*, vol. V, 5261-62; 4923-25.
270-271. He had to be celibate even at the cost of his own life: *Ibid.*, 4948-49.

This control of the five organs of sense had to be rigorously followed even under abnormal circumstances like famine,[272] political revolutions and an unsympathetic society.[273] Purificatory punishments were laid down even for the seemingly trifling violations.

Under all these circumstances, however, the monk had to undergo various punishments upto the 'pārāñcika.' He had, therefore, to be very careful in not giving any cause for suspicion about his behaviour to the society at large.[274] He had to be more particular about his relations with the nuns, and he had to undergo the following prāyaścittas in this case :

If after seeing a nun, the monk pondered over her	.. 'laghuka-māsaḥ'
....desired to see her again	.. 'guruko māsaḥ'
....gave out long sighs	.. 'catvāro māsāḥ laghukāḥ'
If after seeing a nun, the monk had fever	.. 'catvāro māsāḥ gurukāḥ'
....had burning sensation	.. 'ṣaṇmāsā laghavaḥ'
....had no taste for food	.. 'ṣaṇmāsā guravaḥ'
....had swooning	.. 'cheda'
....had hysteria	.. 'mūla'
....lost understanding	.. 'anavasthāpya'
....died	.. 'pārāñcika.'[275]

Inspite of these rules, however, the idea that the maintenance of the body was essential for the sake of the carrying out of proper self-control seemed to have gained ground. It was advocated that under exceptional circumstances, the monk may violate certain rules and then after atoning for these violations may practise self-control more rigorously. But if he decided to lose his life then the very purpose of carrying on life was done away with.[276]

272. *Ibid.* 4955-8.

273. See, *Ibid.*, II, (p. 503) for precautions on begging tour.

274. *Ibid.* Vol. III, 2397: As against this, Mallikādevī, queen of king Pasenadi, made the following arrangements (regarding Buddhist monks): "Golden boats were placed in the middle of the pandal, and each kshatriya daughter threw scents standing in the midst of the two bhikkhus. Each kshatriya princess fanned standing in the middle of two bhikkhus"—LAW, B. C., *I.A.*, Vol. 57, p. 87.

275. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, Vol. III, 2258-62.

276. "Savvattha saṁjamaṁ saṁjamāü appāṇameva rakkhijjā /
Muccaī aīvāyāo puṇo visohī na yāviraī //
Saṁjamaheüṁ deho dhārijjaī so kaō ū tadabhāve? /
Saṁjamaphāī nimittaṁ dehaparipālaṇā iṭṭhā //
—*Ogha-N.* 47-48.

Illness and Bodily Care:

It was expected of every monk that he should wait upon the ill. Even if the ill belonged to his own or other gaccha, or was at a distant place, the monk had to go to him.

Proper food for the ill was begged in the same village. If it was not available there, then the monks could go to another place to secure the necessary requirements of the ill. If the things required were such as did not last long, then the monk sent for bringing such articles was allowed to pass the night there, and start early next morning.

If anybody among the group of monks knew something of medicine then he was allowed to treat the ill. Different kinds of fasts were also prescribed for different illnesses. A monk suffering with fever was asked to undertake fasts and drink hot water, till the temperature came to normal. Those who suffered from rheumatism (vāta) were administered ghee (ghṛta), while those who were down with bile (pitta) were asked to eat sugar (śarkarā).

In extreme cases, a physician was called. While going to the doctor, however, good omens were to be taken into consideration. We have already noted the procedure of approaching the doctor and bringing him to the monastery as given in the *Oghaniryukti*. The same procedure is described in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.*[277]

The maximum period that an ācārya could stay at one place for the ill monk was six months. If within this period the patient was not cured, then the ācārya asked the 'kula' to wait upon the ill. The 'kula' did so for three years. If uncured during this period, then the 'gaṇa' nursed him for a year, and after that the diseased was handed over to the care of the 'saṅgha' till the former was alive.[278] Normally, monks waited upon the ill till he was able to go on the begging round or was able to undertake touring life.[279]

During the illness, the acts done by a hysteric or a possessed monk were pardoned, and anything whether pure (prāsuka) or impure (aprāsuka), acceptable (eṣaṇīya) or unacceptable (aneṣaṇīya) was to be secured in serious illnesses like cholera and other bodily pains (śūla).[280]

Regarding the question of paying the fees of the physician, the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*[281] refers to the miserable plight of the monks. In order to fulfil

277. Vol. II, 1870-2001.
278. *Ibid.*
279. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 47.
280. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 756; Vol. II, 1026.
281. 5, 89, p. 20.

the demands of the doctor, the monks had to provide for it from the savings they had done before entering monkhood, or had to depend on some money which were found without any claimant for it, or they prepared small toys, the sales of which were sufficient for the bill of the doctor.

Ālocanā, Pratikramaṇa, etc.:

Rules about 'ālocanā', 'pratikramaṇa', 'kāyotsarga', 'pratilekhana', the ten qualities of an ideal monk and other items of moral discipline remained the same.[282]

A remark by Haribhadra in his *Viṁśativiṁśikā,* reveals the author's strong dissatisfaction regarding the efforts of the Church merely to swell the number of its followers without minding their 'ācāra'. He remarks, "The degree and quality of ācāra that is followed and not simply the number of followers, should be the aim of a religion. Religion suffers more by its precepts followed in a bad manner than by people not doing it at all. It can be illustrated by the difference between the mṛta (dead) and the mārita (murdered). The people who follow religious instructions improperly, definitely commit murder of the Church. It would be better to let the Church die if it gets no followers at all!"[283]

It may be that Haribhadra was picturing the condition of the Jaina Church of his own times!

GENERAL REMARKS:

The following few characteristics regarding the state of monachism in the post-canonical period may be noted:

(1) Jainism spread to different parts of India with the efforts of Samprati. This brought the monks face to face with new conditions.

Naturally, they were allowed to undergo exceptions to the general rule which permitted them to the extent of eating abnormal types of food, wearing the apparel of heretics, and change the requisites according to local practices.

(2) The monks resorted to a lot of magical practices and spells to thwart the progress of inimical kings and robbers. Sometimes, the able among them was allowed even to take resort to the use of weapons.

(3) Efforts were made not to incur the displeasure of ruling kings. Ministers of states and eunuchs, dear to the king, were allowed entry to the

282. *Viṁ.* 11, 2-12; 15, 2-20; 16, 1-15; 17, 12-20.
283. *Ibid.* 17, 14-16.

order. The policy of saluting even the 'pārśvasthas' (persons of lax discipline) was advocated in case it was likely to prove beneficial to the gaccha. The saṅgha could commute the punishment of a person if he was likely to be of help in pacifying the king.

(4) The monks were allowed, under certain circumstances, to dethrone a king and install another in his place if he was very wicked, and if the circumstances were favourable to the monks. The willing disciples of the Buddhists were allowed to be kidnapped only after taking into consideration the latter's influence on the society residing in a particular region.

(5) Moral standard of the monks seemed to have remained high, even though we find that instances, like those cited in connection with the 'gulikā' and 'kholla', suggest the view that even a lie may be told to prevent a disciple from going astray.

(6) Royal patronage as in the case of Hemacandra was very well manipulated by the Jaina monks who made use of it to the utmost in spreading their religion.

(7) In later days, some of the officers of the hierarchy lost their importance, and only the ācārya or sūri, upādhyāya and vācaka retained their prominence. Inspite of the fact that a high standard of academic, administrative and of general knowledge of the social environments was required for the posts, the various elements getting into the Church may be said to have resulted in a very uneven formation of the monk order.

(8) Along with the spread of the Church, the monks retained their contact more or less with a particular region which resulted in the formation of various gacchas on regional basis. Minor differences of practice and personal aspirations also led to the formation of certain gacchas.

(9) The monk living in a wider sphere of society replete with new ideas, had to resort to various activities like the creation of the Bhāṇḍāras, arranging religious congregations and educational institutions, and publishing and writing of new books, at the same time maintaining a high standard of monastic life.

(10) The constant touch with the laity by the monks acted as a double check. There was mutual watch over one another, and the conscious laity exercised its rights against lax monks, as we have already seen.

(11) There was a clear-cut bifurcation of the two sects which are referred to freely as the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras in the literature of this phase.

THE STHĀNAKAVĀSIN SECT:

We have up till now seen the reaction of the social conditions on the Śvetāmbara monastic practices, wherever it was possible to do so.

The origin of the Sthānakavāsin branch of the main Śvetāmbara sect may be said to be another instance of the triumph of environment on the mould of thought of the Jaina Church, as Mrs. STEVENSON attributes the origin of this sect to the Muslim influence in Gujarat. She remarks, "If one effect of the Mohammedan conquest, however, was to drive many of the Jainas into closer union with their fellow idol-worshippers in the face of iconoclasts, another effect was to drive others away from idolatry altogether. No oriental could hear a fellow oriental's passionate outcry against idolatry without doubts as to the righteousness of the practice entering his mind."[284]

Origin: The Lonkā:

Against this influence of the Muslim practice of non-idolatry, one can, perhaps, see the seeds of the origin of this sect.

The story goes that a gentleman from Ahmedabad, called Lonkā Sā belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect, had appointed several persons to get the canon copied. In about 1474 A.D., a Śvetāmbara monk called Jñānajī requested Lonkā Sā to copy some of these texts for him. While reading these texts Lonkā came to know that there was no reference to idol-worship in those texts. He, therefore, pointed this fact to the Jaina Sādhu who, however, refused to accept Lonkā's views. Lonkā, therefore, started a sect with a single follower by ordaining himself, and started the sect after his name. The system of nominating the next head of the sect by the existing ācārya was started by Lonkā.

Out of the Lonkā sect, there arose a further split on the basis of an advocacy of a stricter monastic life. One Vīrajī of Surat, started another sect called the 'Sthānakavāsins' or the 'Ḍhuṇḍīā' (The Searchers), and converted many of the followers of the Lonkā sect to his fold.

Their Canon:

According to the list of the Canon as given by Mrs. STEVENSON,[285] the Sthānakavāsins seem to recognise the same texts of the Aṅgas and the Upāṅgas as the Śvetāmbaras do. The only difference seems to be regarding the Chedasūtras, Prakīrṇas and the Mūlasūtras.

The Sthānakavāsins do not seem to recognise the *Mahāniśītha* and the *Jītakalpa* in the list of the Chedasūtras of the Śvetāmbaras. They also do

284. *Heart of Jainism*, p. 19.
285. *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

not recognise the Prakīrṇakas, and include *Nandi* and *Anuyogadvāra* in the Mūlasūtra category.

The Sthānakāvāsins do not allow their laymen to read the Chedasūtras.

Differences with the Idolatrous Śvetāmbaras:

Besides the difference pertaining to some of the texts of the canon, the following items are different from those of the idolatrous Śvetāmbaras:

(1) The Sthānakavāsin monk retains his original name even after renunciation, while it is changed in the case of the idolatrous Śvetāmbara.

(2) The Sthānakāvāsin monks and nuns constantly use the 'muhapattī' and tie it over their mouth by fastening the strings round the ears. The Śvetāmbaras, on the other hand, do possess the 'muhapattī' but are not very particular about it, inasmuch as they hold it, perhaps, simply symbolically, at a distance of about a foot or so from the mouth only when delivering a religious sermon, or making 'ālocanā' or giving 'khāmaṇā'.

(3) Since this sect does not admit of idol-worship, there are no temples of this sect. Therefore, their monks and nuns spend practically all their time in study and meditation in the Sthānaka.

(4) Whereas, the idolatrous Śvetāmbaras celebrate the fifth day of the month of Bhādrapada as the birthday of Mahāvīra, the Sthānakavāsins do not do so, as items like the procession and other things done by the Śvetāmbaras are, according to them, not to be found in the canon.[286]

Other Details:

Except for these differences, the course of life of the monks of the Sthānakavāsin and of the idolatrous Śvetāmbara sects does not differ. The rules of monastic discipline, moral discipline, food and begging and such other items of ascetic life are more or less the same fundamentally. The rules for Church hierarchy and discipline are also more or less identical, and the Sthānakavāsins have affinity more with the Śvetāmbaras than with the Digambaras.

Inspite of the fact that Mrs. STEVENSON[287] quotes instances of lax behaviour among the monks of this sect, it would not be justifiable to make a sweeping conclusion about the whole sect. As a matter of fact, one still comes across a number of ideal monks and nuns who have profound know-

286. I am indebted to Sādhvī UJJVALAKUVARJI and the Sthānakavāsin monks and gentlemen for this account.

287. *Op. cit.*, p. 211, f.n. 2.

ledge of the scriptures. Even though monks and nuns of this sect knowing English and many of the modern Indian languages are few, yet, there are some who have complete mastery over some of these languages.

With their mode of life away from the splendour of costly worship in magnificent temples, both the monks and the laity seem to lead a very simple and an unassuming mode of life.

Subsects:

In due course of time, there arose a number of gacchas and subsects among the Sthānakavāsins also. At present there are not less than eleven gacchas among them.

THE DIGAMBARAS:

We have already seen the early phase of the Digambara monachism as revealed in the *Mūlācāra* and in the works of scholars like Kundakunda and Umāsvāti. These were followed by a long line of distinguished Digambara writers like Pūjyapāda (c. 5-7th cent. A.D.), Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka (c. 7-8th cent. A.D.), Jinasena (9th cent. A.D.), Amitagati (10th cent. A.D.), Nemicandra, Āśādhara (13th cent. A.D.), Sakalakīrti (15th cent. A.D.) and others.

Besides this, another point which may be noted is that the Jaina monks mastered the South Indian languages like Kannada and Tamil, and contributed important works in those languages.[288]

It should be made clear, however, that the following account is based solely on the Sanskrit and Prākrit works of the Digambara writers.[289]

THE CHURCH:

The entrant, qualified for monk life, had to be devoid of any physical defects, as also he had to seek the permission of his dependents before embracing monkhood.

When that permission was sought, he approached the gurus and requested them to allow him entry. After questioning about his whereabouts and other details, his day of renunciation was fixed.

On that day, he went to the ācārya, who asked him to uproot his hair (luñcana). Then he was given another name (nāmakaraṇa), and was asked

288. It seems more probable that due to the establishment of Digambara Jainism in South India, several Digambara scholars came up from South Indian population itself.

289. Mainly taken from Āśādhara's *Anagāradharmāmṛta* (13th cent. A.D.), and Cāmuṇḍarāua's *Cāritrasāra* (c. 11th cent. A.D.?).

to give up his entire clothing (nāgnya). He was then given the requisites like the peacock-feather broom (piccha). After that he was instructed regarding the duties of a Sādhu which deprived him of bath, teeth-cleaning, and clothes (vicelatā).[290]

Thus he became a probationary member of the Church; and only pure and proper conduct later qualified for confirmation.

The Paryāya :

The seniority of a monk was counted generally by the number of years he had spent in monk-life as also by his moral qualifications and administrative capacity.

The bhikṣu[291] or the sādhū[292] became either a 'rādiṇīä'[293] or a 'laghīya'[294] according as he had spent a greater or a lesser number of years in monklife. He had to spend the period of probation under a guru who made him perfect in the practice of monastic discipline.

This guru was either the 'dīkṣāguru' or the 'śrutaguru'.[295] The former gave him instructions, while the latter initiated him into monkhood.[296]

The Hierarchy :

Once the novice had complete mastery over the scriptures, and had acclimatized himself to monastic life, he could aspire for higher posts in the Church hierarchy.

The *Anagāradharmāmṛta* refers to various officers of the Church, like the 'sūri', 'pravartin', 'upādhyāya', 'gaṇin', 'sthavira' and the 'rātnika'.[297] The 'ācārya' and the 'gaṇadhara' are also mentioned in many places.[298]

It may be noted here that this list does not give any new names, as all these are to be found in the *Mūlācāra,* as we have already seen.

290. *Angd.* 9, 83; See also account from the *Ādipurāṇa*, Chapt. 38, as given by GLASENAPP, in Guj. Transl. of his *Der Jainismus*, p. 438; also pp. 432-5.
291. *Angd.* 6, 83.
292. *Ibid.* 6, 45: explained by comm. as 'cirapravrajitamunī', p. 406.
293. *Ibid.* p. 517.
294. *Ibid.* 9, 82: 'dīkṣayā laghutaraḥ', *comm.* p. 676.
295. The 'śrutasūri' is also mentioned: *Ibid.* 9, 2.
296. *Ibid.* 7, 77; *comm.* p. 517.
297. *Ibid.* 8, 50: *comm.* p. 575.
298. *Ibid.* pp. 516, 521, etc.; 7, 73.

The explanation given of these officers in the commentary[299] is as follows:

Sūri	..	śāraṇavāraṇakārī',
Pravartin	..	'pravartakaḥ',
Upādhyāya	..	'pāṭhakaḥ',
Gaṇin	..	'gaṇarakṣako rājasabhādividitaḥ',
Sthavira	..	'maryādākārakaḥ',
Rātnika	..	'ratnatrayādhikaḥ'.

These explanations fail to explain clearly either the duties or the qualifications of these officers. It is however, possible that the ācārya, sūri, gaṇin and the gaṇadhara[300] were one and the same person.

The qualities expected of an ācarya were that he was to be an 'ācārin' (of good conduct), 'ādhārin' (knower of the *Pūrvas* and of the *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra*), 'paricārin' (able to guide the monk who makes a long fast), 'āyāpāyādik' (able to tell the faults and merits of a particular case), 'utpīḍaka' (exposing the purposely hidden transgressions of the disciples), 'nirvāpaka (able to carry out the requirements of his followers), and 'vyavahārapaṭu' (knowing the process of meeting with the transgressor).[301] Besides this he was a monk knowing well the twelvefold tapas, six āvaśyakas, eightfold ācāra and possessing tenfold excellences. In short, he was to be endowed with not less than thirty-six qualities.

Church Units:

We get but a scanty reference to different church units in the *Anagāradharmāmṛta*.

The units referred to are the 'gaṇa',[302] 'kula',[303] and the 'gaccha'.[304] Out of these only the last is explained by the commentary as being a group of seven monks (saptapuruṣasantāna), which is identical with the explanation given in the *Mūlācāra*.

It is, however astonishing to find that the text is absolutely silent over the various 'gaṇas', 'gacchas', 'kulas', 'anvayas' and other units which, as we shall see in a separate chapter, are copiously referred to in the epigraphs of this period.

299. *Ibid.* p. 575.
300. We also come across the word 'gaṇeśa' which is explained by the Comm. as the 'saṅghanātha': *Angd.* 7, 77, *comm.* p. 518.
301. *Ibid.* 9, 75-79.
302. *Ibid.* 7, 56.
303. *Ibid. comm.* p. 505.
304. *Ibid.* p. 521.

Monastic Jurisprudence :

Various prāyaścittas were prescribed for different 'aticāras' (transgressions). They were, however, prescribed after taking into consideration the nature of the case, the physical state of the transgressor as also the local conditions (deśabala, prakṛti, and vayas).[305]

The 'vyavahāra' or the process of treating the transgressor was said to be fivefold, according as it was based on 'āgama', 'śruta', 'ājñā', 'dhāraṇā' and 'jīta'.[306] It may be noted that the Śvetāmbara texts also give the same division.[307]

The list of the tenfold prāyaścittas remained the same,[308] and the details about them, the proper time for these and the faults which required the undergoing of these punishments[309] are almost identical with those given in the earlier texts like the *Mūlācāra* and in some of the Śvetāmbara texts. This being the case, only important punishments are discussed below.

(a) *Cheda* :

It has been explained as 'dinapakṣādinā dīkṣhāpanam'[310] (the lessening of the 'paryāya' by days or fortnights).

This was prescribed for the transgressor who had spent a long period in monkhood (cirapravrajita), was able to put up with it (śakta), was endowed with fortitude (śūra) to put up with it, and was devoid of pride (adṛpta).

The *Anagāradharmāmṛta*, however, does not give the details of the transgressions in which 'cheda' was prescribed. Probably, they were the same as those given in the Śvetāmbara texts.

(b) *Mūla* :

It is explained to be the complete wiping out of the paryāya, and re-initiation (punardīkṣādānaṁ paryāyavarjanāt).[311]

305. *Ibid. comm.* p. 508.
306. *Ibid.* p. 671, for explanation.
307. For details, see Schubring, (translation of *Kalpasūtra*) *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 267, f.n. 45.
308. *Angd.* 7, 35ff.
309. Ālocanā: *Ibid.* 7, 39; Improper one: 40-44; when to do: *comm.* pp. 503-04; Pratikramaṇa: 7, 47; Tadubhaya: 7, 48; Viveka: 7, 50; Vyutsarga: 7, 51: *comm.* p. 502.
310. *Ibid.* 7, 54.
311. *Ibid.* 7, 55.

It was prescribed to the following types of persons:

(1) pārśvastha—one who was attached to a particular residence and stayed there, being of lax behaviour,
(2) saṁsakta—one who maintained his livelihood by practising medicine and astronomy, and who was the servant of the king,
(3) svacchanda—one who wandered alone and condemned the law of the Jinas,
(4) kuśīla—one who was devoid of the practice of the 'vratas' being under the sway of passions, as also who brought shame to the saṅgha,
(5) avasanna—one of loose morals, not knowing the scriptures, reluctant to study and lax in the practice of monastic duties.

(c) *Parihāra*:

This is explained as 'vidhivad-dūrāt-tyajanaṁ',[312] i.e. the expelling (of the transgressor) from the group of monks as per injunctions.

It was threefold:

(i) *Nijagaṇānupasthāpanam*:

The expelling of the monk from his own gaṇa.

In this case even if the transgressor was well-versed in the lore, well-controlled and of good behaviour, he was expelled from his own group if he kidnapped the disciples of others or any living or non-living articles belonging to the heretics.

The guilty had to stay at a distance of thirty-two 'daṇḍas' from the lodge of the monks and had to bow down even to the juniors. Nobody saluted him or talked with him and he held his broom in a reverted manner (? vidhṛta-parāṅmukha-piccha). He had to undergo fasts upto the fifth meal (pañca) or upto six months, and had to live like this for a period of twelve years.

(ii) *Saparagaṇopasthāpanam*:

In this case, if the transgressor did the same fault again out of pride, then the ācārya informed the name of such a person to other ācāryas as well. If the transgressor went to another ācārya and confessed before him, then the latter did not prescribe any punishment to him, but asked him to go to another ācārya. Thus he wandered from one ācārya to another for

312. *Ibid.* 7, 56: *comm.* pp. 506-07.

seven times. The last, however, sent him back to the first ācārya, and the transgressor then carried out the prāyaścitta as prescribed by his original ācārya.

(iii) *Pārañcika*:

If a monk condemned the Tīrthaṅkaras, gaṇadharas, gaṇins, the sacred lore, or the saṅgha, or behaved against the king, or initiated his ministers, or enjoyed royal ladies, then such a monk was expelled in the meeting of the saṅgha where he was declared an unfit and sinful person. The punished went to another country and practised the prāyaścitta as given by the gaṇins.[313]

(d) *Śraddhāna*:

This was also termed 'upasthāpana',[314] and consisted of re-initiation (dīkṣāgrahaṇa) of one who had taken to wrong or heretical faith. In this case, such a person was disowned as a Jaina monk, and hence he had to seek initiation again. This was prescribed even in the case of the violation of the 'mūlavratas' (principal vows).

Schisms and Subsects:

Medieval Digambara Jaina literature gives ample proof of the fact that the Church was divided into 'saṅghas' and 'anvayas' the distinctions primarily originating from the ascetic community. But no further details are available regarding their details.

But besides these groups the noteworthy feature is the presence of different sects in the Digambara Church itself. The following are some of the sects which are mentioned:[315]

(i) Yāpanīya,
(ii) Kūrchaka,
(iii) Terāpanthī,
(iv) Bispanthī,
(v) Sāmāïyapanthī,
(vi) Gumānpanthī,
and (vii) Totāpanthī.

It is very difficult to get details about these, as their texts, if any, are mostly unknown. The following are the characteristics of some of these:

313. *Ibid. comm.* pp. 506-07: The meaning of each item is not clear.
314. *Ibid.* 7, 57: *Comm.* p. 507.
315. See, NAHAR and GHOSH, *Epitome* of *Jainism* Chapt. XXXVII; GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, (Guj. transl.), pp 351ff.

(i) *Bispanthis* :

They originated probably in the thirteenth century A.D. according to GLASENAPP. He remarks that one Vasantakīrti laid down that "so long as these monks live amongst people, they should wear one garment". The monks belonging to this opinion are called 'Viśvapanthīs'. These monks live in a monastery under the leadership of a 'Bhaṭṭāraka'. BÜHLER says that the Bhaṭṭārakas are completely naked while taking food and one of their disciples rings a bell so that other people keep away.[316]

Terāpanthis :

They advocate nudity, and are said to have originated in the seventeenth century A.D. They instal images but have differences in the details of worship.

Sāmāiyapanthis :

Their founder was Tāraṇaswāmin (1448-1515 A.D.). They are non-idolatrous, and worship the texts of the canon.

Gumānpanthīs:

It was founded by Gumān Rāi in about the eighteenth century A.D.

Totāpanthīs :

No information regarding these can be had.[317]

Yāpanīyas :

There are two theories advocated regarding the origin of this sect.

According to Devasena's *Darśanasāra*, a Śvetāmbara monk called Śrīkalaśa started it at Kalyāṇa when 205 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed.

According to another source, the origin of this sect belongs to the story of the queen of the king of Karahāṭaka. This queen, in order to impress the king, asked these monks not to wear clothes. Thus the Yāpanīyas practised nudity like the Digambaras, and carried on the rest of the practices of the Śvetāmbaras. They were, therefore, disowned by both these sects. Hence the writer of *Nītisāra* called them "jainābhāsā".

Afterwards they either dwindled into extinction or merged themselves into the Digambara fold, according to Dr. UPADHYE.

316. *I.A.*, Vol. 7, p. 28.

317. The above information is based mainly on NAHAR and GHOSH. *op. cit.*, chap. XXXVII; and GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, pp. 351ff.

No specific scriptures of this sect have come down to us, and only the epigraphs refer to them.[318] It may be noted, however, that Śākaṭāyana or Pālyakīrti belonged to this Saṅgha: three works of his are known, one on Sanskrit Grammar and two dealing with Strīmukti and Kevalibhukti.

TOURING:

The monks led a wandering life in the eight months of the year except the rainy season. They toured only at daytime walking slowly, looking to the proper distance before them in order to avoid hiṁsā.[319]

Wandering was deemed essential not only for acquiring knowledge of various regions and languages, but also for qualifying oneself for varied knowledge which was essential for a post in the Church hierarchy.

In the rainy season, however, they stayed at one place from 'āṣāḍha-śukladaśamī' to 'kārtikapaurṇimā'. Sometimes due to incessant rain or physical inability to travel or study or service to the sick, stay could be prolonged. In the case of epidemics (māri), famine (durbhikṣya), evacuation of population (grāmajanapadacalana) and urgent works of the gaccha, stay could be shortened.[320]

The normal period of stay at one place during the other seasons seems to have been one month (māsaikavāsitā).[321]

RESIDENCE:

The old rule of having a residence devoid of women, beasts and animals still prevailed. Besides it, the lodge for a monk was to be pure (i.e., devoid of living beings: prāsuka), and empty (śūnya).[322]

Such places were said to be free from quarrels (kalaha), noise (rola), trouble (saṅkleśa), and disturbance to meditation and study. There the monk had no possibility of coming in contact with others (saṅkara), as also no likelihood of his getting attached to that place.[323]

In such places, the monk had to enter or leave the residence only with the permission of the owner.[324]

318. See UPADHYE, A. N., article on the Yāpanīyas in *BUJ*, Vol. 1, pt. VI, (May, 1933), pp. 224-31.
319. *Angd.* 4, 164; 6, 97; 'bahudeśacaryāḥ',—6, 103.
320. *Ibid.* 9, 80-81; *comm.* p. 675.
321. *Ibid.*
322. *Ibid.* 7, 30: *comm.* pp. 489-90.
323. *Ibid.* p. 491; also 8, 24.
324. *Ibid.* 8, 132.

It will be noticed, however, that the epigraphs mention kings and laymen building basadis or places of stay for the monks.

FOOD AND BEGGING:

The *Anagāradharmāmṛta*[325] refers to various modes of begging which were resorted to by monks who had decided to beg in that particular way. They were the 'gomūtrikā', 'pataṅgavīthī', 'śaṁbūkāvarta', 'śalabhamālābhramaṇākārā' and others which we have already come across in the *Uttarādhyayana.*

It may be noted that the details regarding the forty-six faults of begging and food, the time of taking food, its measures, the fit and the unfit donors, the way of eating in the palm of the hands, the purpose of eating, the effects of eating more than the normal quota, the nine 'vikṛtis' and other items are exactly identical with those given in the *Mūlācāra,* and hence need not be repeated here.[326]

REQUISITES:

The monks, being nude, had no clothes over them. The 'saṅgatyāga' and the 'aparigraha' are always explained by the Digambaras as embodied in the practice of nudity,[327] and those who used clothes are condemned.[328]

Devoid of clothing, they required very few articles for personal use. These were the broom (piccha) made of peacock feathers,[329] the vṛsī' or the seat used by the monks, and the 'kuṇḍī' or the pot for water (*comm:* kamaṇḍalu).[330]

PENANCE AND FASTING:

The same division of penance into external (bāhya) and internal (abhyantara) is to be obtained in later texts also,[331] and need not be repeated.

The body being the means of practising the religion (śarīramādyaṃ kila dharmasādhanaṁ), it was deemed proper to put it to a proper disci-

325. 7, 26: *comm.* pp. 484-85.
326. See *Ibid.* Chapt. 5; also 7, 22-23; 7, 27; 9, 92-96; and *comm.* p. 409.
327. *Bhagawatī Ārādhanā,* p. 392, quoted in *JSB.,* Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 23; *Angd. comm.* p. 146; 'Nagnācārya', *Ibid.,* p. 340.
328. *Ibid.* 2, 12.
329. *Ibid.* 6, 38: Its five excellences are identical with those given in the *Mūlācāra;* called 'barhi': 4, 54.
330. *Ibid.*
331. *Angd.* 7, 4ff; anaśana: 7, 11-21; avamaudarya: 22-25; vṛttisaṅkhyā 26; rasaparityāga: 27-29; viviktaśayyāsana: 30-36; kāyakleśa: 32.

pline.[332] Hence, various bodily postures like the 'śavādiśayana' (lying like the dead), 'vīrāsana' (the hero-posture), "utkuṭikāsana' (sitting with closed knees), 'godohikā' (sitting in a posture adopted in milching a cow), 'kāyotsarga' (letting the limbs hang down), 'makaramukha' (keeping the feet in a position resembling the mouth of a crocodile), 'nīcamastaka' (hanging the head down), 'gṛdhra' [keeping the hands raised so as to resemble the (wings of the) vulture] and 'ūrdhvārkādyayana' (to stand looking at the sun), are mentioned.[333]

Along with these, fasting of varied periodical magnitudes was practised. Fasts like the 'caturtha', 'ṣaṣṭha', 'aṣṭama', 'daśama', 'duvālasa' upto 'ardhavarṣānta' were done.[334] The 'Pratimās', however, seem to get a very scanty reference and it is difficult to say whether they were practised on a mass scale in this phase. Those who did them, however, were respected even though they happened to be juniors.[335]

The minor fasts were of three categories: 'uttama', 'madhyama' and 'adhama'. The first consisted in taking one meal only on the days of commencement and end of the fast. It was also called 'caturvidha'. The 'madhyama' was the same as the first with the difference that the monk took water during the period of fasting. The last category was that in which the monk ate food many times before and after the fast. The last two types were not favoured.[336]

Fasting was done according to one's capacity,[337] and nobody was allowed to practise them out of pride or haughtiness as that was supposed to lead one to mental disturbances. (ārta and raudra).[338]

SUPERNATURAL POWERS :

It seems that resort to spells and supernatural powers was a common thing. Various feats of these are to be met with in the literature, as well as in the paṭṭāvalis of the Digambaras. The following are a few of them.

It is said that Siddhasena Diwākara performed a miracle by producing an image of Pārśva out of the Liṅga at Ujjain to influence the Gupta emperor Candragupta.[339] Samantabhadra produced an image of Candraprabha out of Bhīmaliṅga.[340] Kumārasena relieved king Allāüddin, of the pain of the

332. *Ibid.* 7, 9.
333. *Ibid.* 7, 32: *comm.* pp. 492-93.
334. *Ibid.* 7, 11; also 6, 110: *comm.* p. 463.
335. *Ibid.* 9, 82; Kanakāvalī and other fasts: *Ibid. comm.* p. 478.
336. *Ibid.* 7, 15.
337. *Ibid.* 7, 18.
338. *Ibid.* 7, 16.
339. *J. A.*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 2; Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 68.
340. *Ibid.* Vol. 13, No 2, p. 2.

arrows.[341] Bhāvadevasūri caused a heavy rain by means of spells.[342] Tāraṇaswāmin is said to have created a magic pillar in water when the boatmen tried to drown him.[343] Besides this, the practise of flying into the air was also resorted to.[344]

STUDY:

It was said that medicine and food quelled physical trouble only for a short time, but knowledge was a panacea for all worldly troubles.[345] Study led to proper meditation (dhyāna), and both these combined, opened the gates to liberation.[346]

Against this background, study played an important part in the life of the monk, and most of his time was spent in taking instructions from his guru.

The normal method of study was fivefold. It consisted of reading the text again and again (parivartanā), the reading of the text in a proper way (vācanā), asking questions about the difficulties, if any, (pṛcchanā), digesting the material (anuprekṣaṇā) and the liking of religious literature (dharmakathā).[347]

A text was to be read with full knowledge of the meaning of the words, it was to be read neither hurriedly nor in a lingering manner, uttering it properly, reading it at the proper time with full concentration and with due respect to the guru.[348] Not a single doubt was to be harboured in the mind regarding any portion of the text.

This being the case, only those who were intelligent, devoid of passions (kaṣāyas), well-versed in penance, free from the practice of transgressions, able to keep up the traditions of the 'Śruta' and who had an auspicious mould of mind, were deemed proper students.[349]

Study was to be done day and night (aharniśam).[350] The normal time in the morning was two 'ghaṭikās' after sunrise and two 'ghaṭikās' before sunset.[351]

341. *Ibid.*
342. *Ibid.* Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 16.
343. *Ibid.* Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 34.
344. *Angd.* 5, 25, refers to 'vidyās', etc.: *comm.* p. 350.
345. *Ibid.* 6, 53.
346. *Ibid. comm.* p. 411.
347. *Ibid.* 6, 53; *comm.* p. 524.
348. *Ibid.* 7, 67 and 83.
349. *Ibid.* 7, 89.
350. *Ibid.* 9, 2; also *comm.* p. 8.
351. *Ibid.* 9, 3.

The times improper for the study of the texts advocated by the gaṇadharas, the pratyekabuddhas, the śrutakevalins and the daśapūrvins were the same as those given in the *Mūlācāra*.[352]

Chastened by such rules, the genius of Digambara writers flowered into a variety of literary accomplishments. Their associations, from early times, being in South India, they mastered the local languages like the Kannaḍa,[353] and Tamil,[354] and contributed their mite in enriching the literature in these languages.

Added to this came the patronage of various royal dynasties who helped the Jaina scholars to keep up their literary traditions. Writers like Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka, Jinasena, and Nemicandra Siddhānta Cakravartin came forward and contributed books on religion, philosophy, grammar and logic. It should be noted, however, that works even on medicines for sexual efficiency were also not left unwritten by some scholars, and it is said that Pūjyapāda wrote a book called '*Madanakāmaratnam*' which deals with medicines on sexual deficiencies.[355]

Royal patronage combined with a natural tendency for study resulted in the creation of a number of centres of education like Madurā and Kāñcī, along with the building up of Bhāṇḍāras at Mūḍabidure and at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷā where valuable mss. were deposited. As in the case of northern India, in the south also, with the waves of Muslim aggression under Malik Kafur, Jaina monks faced hard days, added to which was the rivalry of numerous Brāhmanical sects, which possibly gave a temporary set-back to the studious habits of Jaina monks.

MORAL DISCIPLINE:

The fundamentals of moral discipline consisting of the five vows,[356] 'triratnas,'[357] three 'guptis' and five 'samitis',[358] the 'parīṣahas',[359] the 'anuprekṣās',[360] and the ten principal qualities of monkhood like forgiveness and others,[361] remained the same, and no basical change in the ideas about

352. *Ibid. comm.* p. 630.
353. See for details: *JSB.*, Vol. III No. 3, pp. 117-128.
354. *J. A.*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 69-76; Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-20: (Articles by A. CHAKRAVARTI: Jaina Literature in Tamil).
355. *JSB.*, Vol. 12, No. 1, p. 34.
356. *Angd.* 4, 19.
357. *Ibid.* 6, 79.
358. *Ibid.* 4, 154ff., 163ff.; 7, 69; 6, 50: 56.
359. *Ibid.* 6, 83ff: various examples of those who put up with bodily troubles: 6, 111.
360. *Ibid.* 6, 57-82.
361. *Ibid.* 6, 2ff.

moral principles took place at least in theory. Hence, only such items among these as are specifically amplified may be noted.

The fundamentals of monk life were four, to wit: nudity (ācelakka), tonsure (loca), indifference to the body (vosaṭṭa sarīradā) and scanning the requisites and places of occupation (paḍilihaṇa).[362]

The Body:

No attachment towards the body was shown, and hence no efforts of decoration or of bodily purity were allowed. The monk had, therefore, to abstain from teeth-cleaning (radāgharṣa), and bath (snāna).[363]

Nudity:

The Digambara monk was naked for two reasons. Firstly, nudity was the symbol of bondlessness and hence was respected in the world, and secondly, being completely unattached to the body, the naked monk was the least attacked by passions.[364] Hence, even the later Jaina texts advocate it. We have, however, seen that later on a sect among the Digambaras—The Viśvapanthīs—advocated the use of clothes.

Uprooting the hair (*Loca*):

'Loca' was done for four reasons: to exhibit non-attachment towards the body (naissaṅgya), for least dependence on others (ayācanā), for protection of living beings (ahiṁsā), and for the training of the body for the putting up with bodily trouble (dukkhābhyāsa).[365]

The monk uprooted the hair from his head and beard with hand, either after two, three or four months. Every two months, however, was deemed as the ideal period for that. Fasting and 'pratikramaṇa' were to accompany this practice.[366]

Sleep:

The monks slept on bare ground or on slabs of stone spread over with grass. Sleeping on planks of wood was also recommended.

The monk slept on one side. Keeping the face up, or facing the ground was not allowed. He was to take no cover when sleeping on a piece of ground of his own measure.[367]

362. *Bhag. Arā.* quoted in *JSB*, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 23, f.n. 4.
363. *Angd.* 9, 84-85; 6, 106.
364. *Ibid.* 6, 92.
365. *Ibid.* 9, 97: *comm.*
366. *Ibid.* 8, 58; 9, 86: 97.
367. *Ibid.* 9, 91.

Sleeping in caves full of triangular pointed stones (trikoṇapāṣāṇaśarkarākarparādi ākīrṇe) was also prescribed. Without moving his limbs or fearing for the beasts, he slept like the dead (śavavat) only for two ghaṭikās.[368]

Service:

Mutual service, irrespective of seniority or otherwise, was advised in the case of all. It consisted in offering residence, seat, instructions, food, medicine and deposition of bodily excreta in illness, epidemics, famine, and rescue work in attacks by thieves or wild animals along the tour.[369]

Respect to the Elders:

Apart from service, the monks had to show complete respect to the elders through acts of getting up when they came, not sitting on a higher seat, giving them a seat, going a few steps with them to bid them farewell, and showing complete devotion and respect to them at all times.[370]

Celibacy:

No contact with women was to be kept, and the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* goes eloquent in describing the horrible nature of women.

The monk was to remain controlled like the tortoise (kūrmavat)[371] and was to avoid all occasions of the excitement of passions.

Thus, complete mental and physical control, and a life of purity and service was the motto of the monk. He was the friend of all and the enemy of none.[372] Even if somebody tried to kill him, he bore no ill-will against his murderer.[373] He avoided all transgressions for he knew that the prāyaścittas could not purify him if he was devoid of the 'mahāvratas.'[374]

Moral Degradation:

Certain remarks of Āśādhara, the author of *Anagāradharmāmṛta*, however, tend to reveal that there had crept in a lot of moral corruption in the Church of his time. For instance, at one place,[375] he laments the shortage of people who are endowed with straightforwardness (ārjava), and those who

368. *Ibid.* 6, 99.
369. *Ibid. comm.* p. 521.
370. *Ibid.* 7, 71.
371. *Ibid.* 6, 96.
372. *Ibid.* 8, 35.
373. *Ibid.* 6, 101.
374. *Ibid.* 9, 89.
375. *Ibid.* 6, 20.

behaved according to their words. At another place, he clearly states that some maṭhapatis who pretend to be monks (dravyajinaliṅgadhāriṇo) behave like the mleñchas. He says:

> Paṇḍitairbhraṣṭacāritrairvaṭharaiśca tapodhanaiḥ/
> Śāsanaṁ jinacandrasya nirmalaṁ malinīkṛtaṁ//[376]

For the historical corroboration of the details and the amount of corruption of the Church, we shall have to study the epigraphs of this period, which is done in a separate chapter. For the present, it may be noted that such remarks of Āśādhara could not have been made without any basis.

DAILY ROUTINE:

The chief items of the daily routine of the monks were:

(1) The six 'āvaśyakas' like 'sāmāïka,' 'caturviṁśatistava,' 'vandanā,' 'pratikramaṇa,' 'pratyākhyāna' and 'kāyotsarga,'[377]

and (2) other items like begging, study, meditation, etc.

Sāmāïka:

It was the practice of the equanimous mood of mind for a certain period. Due to the practice of this, the monk got training in the mental as well as physical discipline which helped him in remaining neutral to happiness or misery, praise or humiliation, gain or loss.[378]

Caturviṁśatistava:

It consisted of singing the hymns in praise of the Jinas. It pertained to the glory of, and other chief events in the lives of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.[379]

Vandanā:

It consisted of showing respect to the superiors like the sūri, pravartin, upādhyāya, gaṇin, sthavira and the rātnika.

These superiors were to be bowed down to by the juniors thrice a day—after doing the morning duties, in the afternoon after the 'devavandanā,' and in the evening at the time of the 'pratikramaṇa.' Even otherwise, when undertaking any work, or when seen along the road, the monks had to bow down to the guru.[380]

376. *Ibid. comm.* on 2, 96.
377. *Ibid.* 8, 17.
378. *Ibid.* 8, 19-36.
379. *Ibid.* 8, 37-45.
380. *Ibid.* 8, 46-56.

Pratikramaṇa :

This means the condemnation of transgressions committed by the monk. It was either done by day (aha), or by night (nisā), fortnightly (pākṣika), four-monthly (cāturmāsika), yearly (abde), pertaining to faults of movement (īryā), or before entering upon a fast unto death (uttamārtha).

This 'pratikramaṇā' was either 'gurvī' (extensive), or 'laghvī' (short). The former was to be done on the following occasions:

(1) at the time of accepting the vows (vratāropaṇī),
(2) fortnightly (pākṣikī),
(3) at the end of Kārttika,
(4) at the end of Phālguna,
(5) yearly at the end of Āṣāḍha,
(6) at the time of condemning all faults done throughout monk life (sarvāticārī), and
(7) at the time of entering upon a fast (uttamārthī).

The 'laghupratikramaṇa' was to be done on the following occasions:

(1) at the time of uprooting the hair (loya),
(2) at night (rātrau),
(3) at daytime (dine),
(4) after begging food (bhuktau),
(5) for faults of movement (niṣedhikāgamane),
(6) for bad dreams (doṣa), and
(7) along the tour (pathi).[381]

Pratyākhyāna :

It was the determination to give up all sinful and unmonkly activities at any time.

The ten types of 'pratyākhyāna' are the same as those given in the *Mūlācāra*.[382]

Kāyotsarga :

It was done for the purification of sin (āgaḥśuddhi), enhancement of penance (tapovṛddhi), and dissipation of karman (karmanirjaraṇā).

381. *Ibid.* 8, 57-64.
382. *Ibid.* 8, 65-69.: *comm.* p. 591.

In this practice, the monk stood by letting his hands hang loose, and by keeping a distance of four aṅgulas between his legs without shaking any limb. He breathed slowly during this position and meditated upon the nature of the pure soul.

The different durations for which 'kāyotsarga' was done in cases of different transgressions,[383] and the thirty-two faults[384] arising out of improper practice of it as given in the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* are the same as those detailed in the *Mūlācāra.*

It would be clear from the above discussion, that there occurred no change in the practice of the six essential duties as well as in faults pertaining to them.

The increase in details in the case of 'kṛtikarman' or the salute to the Tīrthaṅkaras, the various 'mudrās' involved in doing so, the method of perambulating round the Jinas, etc. are details peculiar to the *Anagāradharmāmṛta.* As such, they cannot be ignored.

Kṛtikarman :

This was to be done at the proper time (kāla), in a proper posture (āsana), place (sthāna), facial expression (mudrā), mental state (āvarta) and position of the head (śironati).[385]

It was done early morning, at mid-day and evening.

The place where the monk sat for its practice was called 'pīṭha.' There he sat in the 'padmāsana' posture.

The place was to be pure, free from living beings, devoid of causes of trouble, pleasant to the mind, auspicious and favourable to concentration (samādhi).

The 'pīṭha' or the seat was to be either of grass, or of wood, or of stone. It was to be devoid of living beings, soundless, smooth to touch, stable, devoid of nails and holes, and favourable to the maintenance of self-control.

The proper postures were either the 'padmāsana', the 'paryaṅkāsana' or the 'vīrāsana.' The first was that in which the feet touched the thighs (padmāsanaṁ padau jaṅghābhyāṁ śrayato yateḥ). In the second the feet were placed one over the other (jaṅghe . . . . uttarādharyeṇa sthāpite). In the last, the knees touched the chest (ūrvopari kurvāṇaḥ pādanyāsaṁ).[386]

383. *Ibid.* 8, 71-76.
384. *Ibid.* 8, 112-121.
385. *Ibid.* 8, 78ff.
386. For difference of opinion regarding these, see *ibid. comm.* p. 602.

The monk did 'vandanā' either by standing or by sitting. It depended on his physical strength.

The 'mudrās' adopted were four: 'jainī,' 'yaugikī,' 'vandanā,' and 'muktāśukti.'

The first consisted in standing in a 'kāyotsarga' position, with hands let loose, and keeping the feet parallel and at a distance of four aṅgulas from each other.

The 'yaugikīmudrā' was that in which the monk sat in the 'padmāsana' or the 'vīrāsana' with the hands placed on the lap.

The 'vandanāmudrā' was formed when the standing monk folded his hands from the elbows and rested them on his belly (sthitasya addhyudaraṁ nyasya kūrparau mukulīkṛtau).

The 'muktāśuktimudrā' was the same as above with the difference that in this the fingers of the hands were brought close together (saṁlagnāṅguliḥ).

These 'mudrās' were to be used on different occasions. The 'vandanāmudrā' was to be practised at the time of the salute to the Jinas. The 'muktāśukti' was used at the reciting of the 'sāmāyikastava.' The 'yogamudrā' was done at the practice of 'kāyotsarga' in a sitting posture, and the 'Jinamudrā' at the time of 'kāyotsarga' in a standing posture.

The mental attitudes were to be auspicious, being free from any defiling thoughts.

The folded hands were to be moved in a round fashion thrice at the time of reciting the 'sāmāïka sūtra.' The head was also to be bent low thrice.

The faults pertaining to improper 'vandanā' were thirty-two.[387] They were the same as those given in the *Mūlācāra*.

Thus, it will be seen that though the fundamental rules about 'vandanā' remained the same, there clustered around it a lot of an element of 'āsanas' and of bodily movements in a peculiar fashion.

In short, the six essential duties and salutation to the five dignitaries (arhat, siddha, ācārya, upadhyāya and sādhū) were deemed essential items of daily routine.

387. *Ibid.* 8, 98-111.

Other items like 'ālocanā,'[388] 'pratikramaṇa',[389] and meditation and the rules regarding these were the same. Only a few points regarding 'ālocanā' and 'kāyotsarga' may be noted below:

'Ālocanā' was done in the following cases besides on the routine occasions:

(1) practising penance without asking the ācārya,
(2) taking requisites like books or brooms belonging to others,
(3) condemning others in their absence,
(4) not carrying out the orders of the ācārya,
(5) going out without asking the ācārya,
(6) leaving the other saṅgha without telling the members of that saṅgha, and rejoining one's own,
(7) forgetting to do the āvaśyakas (?) .

'Pratikramaṇa' pertained to the following faults:

(1) touching the ācārya by hand or foot,
(2) violation of the 'vratas,' 'samitis' and 'guptis,'
(3) for quarrels and acts of cruelty,
(4) transgressions pertaining to study and service,
(5) getting passionate on the begging round,
(6) troubling others.

'Kāyotsarga' was done on the following occasions:

(1) for improper 'ālocanā,'
(2) at the fall of worms,
(3) transgressions pertaining to flies, mosquitoes (i.e. living insects),
(4) walking over wet ground or over grass or mud,
(5) making use of the rule of crossing knee-deep water for purposes other than those allowed by Law,
(6) crossing the river in a boat,
(7) letting the book or an image fall down,
(8) inflicting injury on immobile beings,
(9) easing nature on an unscanned region.

Besides these there were other occasions which required 'kāyotsarga' to be done.

388. *Ibid.* 7, 38ff; its faults: 40-44; time: 39.
389. *Ibid. comm.* pp. 503-04.

Meditation:

Meditation also had an important part to play in the life of a monk. Even though the fundamental forms of good and bad 'dhyāna' remained the same,[390] some of its forms resembled the 'prāṇāyāma' practice. For instance, in the 'kāyotsarga' the monk's position was like the following:

Jinendramudrayā gāthāṁ dhyāyet prītivikasvare/
Hṛtpaṅkaje praveśyāntarniruddhya manasānilam//
Pṛthag dvidvyekagāthāṁśacintānte recayecchanaiḥ/
Navakṛtvaḥ prayoktaivaṁ dahatyaṁhaḥ sudhīrmatāṁ//

Thus he stood taking in the breath slowly, holding, it in for some time and then slowly letting it out, at the same time uttering the 'namaskāra' formula slowly.[391]

Worship:

Worship of the Jinas, as we have already seen, formed an important item. The monks went to the Jinālayas and performed the 'bhāvapūjā' in such places.

The *Anagāradharmāmṛta* gives details about the 'jinamudrāsthāpanā' (installation of the Jina image). It was said that only the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, who born of a good family, caste, country and endowed with a good body, were allowed to do so.[392]

DEATH AND FUNERAL RITES:

The basic types of death accepted as proper ones were the 'bhaktapratyākhyāna,' 'iṅginī' and 'prāyopagamana.'[393] Other forms of death like entering fire, eating poison and hanging etc. were not deemed proper.

Even though Digambara literature refers frequently to death by fasting (saṁlehaṇā), the treatment of the subject can be had on a historical basis only when we get corroborating evidence of the epigraphs of various periods. Moreover, the personalities referred to are more or less legendary figures which make it difficult to verify their historicity.

The funeral rites of the Digambara monks, as given in the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*—looking to the proper time and muhūrta for taking out the dead,[394] superstitions about the dead body,[395] the rules about the 'thaṇḍila' (funeral

390. *Ibid.* 7, 103.
391. *Ibid.* 9, 22-23.
392. *Ibid.* 9, 88.
393. *Ibid.* 7, 98.
394. *Bhag. Ārā.* V, 1988.
395. *Ibid.* 1982; 1996ff.

ground)[396] and placing the dead in a particular direction,[397] etc.—are the same as those we have noted from the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* of the Śvetāmbaras.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

From the survey of the items of Digambara monk-life of the post-canonical period, the following observations may be noted:

(1) From the literary sources, it may be said that the fundamentals of monastic life remained unchanged.

(2) Literary sources reveal but a few gaṇas, etc. as compared with those in the epigraphs.

(3) Nudity was still advocated. But the Viśvapanthīs advocated wearing of clothing due, it may be granted, to pressure from society.

(4) Along with the Śvetāmbaras, even the Digambaras had a schism which did not believe in images of the Jinas.

(5) Digambara monks enriched the field of Kannaḍa and Tamil literature, and thus made a good effort of completely associating themselves with the local conditions.

(6) Their Bhāṇḍāras have played an important part in preserving the literary wealth.

(7) Various 'mūdrās' and 'āsanas' seem to have crept in the practice of meditation and 'vandanā.'

(8) Even though fasting and other practices were continued, there seems to have arisen a class of the 'maṭhapatis' who pretended to be monks, and had, in reality, gone astray from the path of moral discipline.

(9) Inspite of the attempts carried on by the leaders of both the parties, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras still remain distinct from each other, and they still have difference of opinion regarding nudity, the liberation of women, the nude images of the Jinas, the transfer of the womb of and the marriage of Mahāvīra, and the intake of food by the Kevalin, besides many other details regarding the history of the Church.

396. *Ibid.* 1974ff.
397. *Ibid.* 1970ff.

GAṆAS, KULAS, GACCHAS AND ŚĀKHĀS

Mentioned in the Praśastis

The following units of the Śvetāmbara Church are to be found in the various praśastis so far published.

GAṆAS:	Possible Origin
Kharatara	
Nāgendra	
Saṇḍera	Saṇḍeraka Village (N. Gujarat)
Tapā	

KULAS:	
Cāndra	
Vidyādhara	

GACCHAS:	
Āgama	
Āgamika	
Añcala	
Bhartṛpurīya	Bhartṛpura village
Brahmāṇa	Brahmāṇa village near Mt. Abu
Brahmāṇīya	
Bṛhad	
Candra	
Devānanda	
Devānandita	
Devasūri	Name of an ācārya
Ghoṣapurīya	Name of a town
Harṣapurīya	,,
Jālyodhara	Name of a village
Kharatara	
Koraṇṭa	
Kṛṣṇarājarṣi	Personal name?
Maladhārī	Personal name or epithet? (maladhārin)
Nāṇakīya	

Pallī	.. .. ..	Place-name in S. Rajputana
Pallīvāla		
Rāja		
Saṇḍera	.. .. ..	Saṇḍeraka village
Tapā		
Ūkeśa } perhaps identical (?)		
Upakeśa }		
Vālabha	.. .. ..	Name of a place
Vṛddhatapā		

ŚAKHAS:

Vairī

UNCLASSIFIED:

Candrakula
Pallikā (?)
Pārṇimā Pakṣa.

A survey of these names of various gaṇas and gacchas as taken from the *Jainapustakapraśastisaṅgraha*[398] reveals a few characteristics which may be summarised as follows:

(1) Some of the gacchas seem to have originated at a particular place and hence were, possibly, named after it.

(2) A few of them came into being after a particular ācārya who gave his name to that gaccha.

(3) The distinctions of each and every gaccha, and their points of mutual difference cannot be found out in every case.

(4) Only a few of these—The Kharatara, Tapā, Sāgara and the Añcala gacchas—are in existence at present.

(5) The inscriptions, as we shall see in a later chapter, reveal a number of other gacchas besides those found in literature.

(6) There seem to have been peculiar practices of every gaccha, and we find separate books written on that account. For instance, the *Vidhimārgaprapā* deals with the rules of monastic life pertaining to the Kharatara gaccha.

(7) More contact with other sects seems to have influenced the ritualism of the members of the gaccha. The *Vidhimārgaprapā*, for instance, gives mantras like 'oṁ, hrīṁ, hrāṁ', etc. which may be the result of Tantric influence.

398. Vol. 1, published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1943.

Chapter 4

THE ORDER OF NUNS

Antiquity of the Jaina Order of Nuns:

Unlike the Buddhists, the Jaina order of nuns has been a distinct feature of their Church right from the times of their first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabha. It is said that Ṛṣabha had a following of 3,00,000 nuns under the leadership of Brāmhī and Sundarī;[1] Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara had 40,000 nuns;[2] Pārśvanātha had 38,000 nuns[3] and Mahāvīra, the last in the list of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, had in his congregation 36,000 nuns,[4] under the leadership of Candanā. It is difficult to verify these numbers as different texts differ in the details;[5] but that the order of nuns was organised can be accepted as a historical fact.

Causes of Renunciation:

One thing, however, seems certain. It is that women, attending the sermons of the Tīrthaṅkaras in large numbers and impressed by the religious principles, embraced the life of a nun. Many references can be cited[6] in favour of this statement revealing thereby that women belonging even to the higher strata of society renounced the world. As in the case of males, so in the case of females also, a variety of reasons led to their renunciation. Vāśiṣṭhī, the wife of a purohita, renounced the world seeing that her husband and all her sons had become monks.[7] Rājīmatī, hearing the news of her would-be husband's renunciation, became a nun.[8] Mallī, the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara, renounced the world at the same time enlightening her six suitors[9] by means of putting food in a statue which, when the food got rotten, gave out foul smell so as to bring home to the lovers the filthiness of human body. As against these, on several occasions, ordinary causes led to renunciation. Poṭṭilā, the wife of a minister, became a nun when she

1. *Kalpasūtra*, p. 211-12.
2. *Smv*. p. 66a.
3. *Kalpasūtra*, p. 168.
4. *Āvaśyakasūtra*, *Comm*. p. 209ab; *Kalpasūtra*, p. 157.
5. For instance, The *Samavāyāṅga*, p. 88, says that Śāntinātha, had 89000 nuns, and the *comm*. notes that in the *Āvaśyaka* the number is 61600.
6. *Uvāsaga*., p. 25; *Nāyā*. pp. 248-49; *Niryā*. p. 65.
7. *Uttar*. Chapt. XIV.
8. *Ibid*., XXII.
9. *Nāyā*. Chapt. VIII.

found that her husband had lost all love for her.[10] Generally, when the husband became a monk, his wife or wives also became nuns.[11] Cases of child-widows becoming nuns were also not wanting.[12] Even courtesans coming under the spell of religion became nuns, and the example of Kosā who loved Sthūlabhadra and ultimately became a nun is well-known.[13]

The *Sthānāṅga*[14] gives the list of persons who were debarred from entry to the Order. The list is the same also in the case of women who wanted to become nuns. Pregnant women and those who were very young or very old, as also those who could not secure the free consent of either their husband or parents, were not allowed entry. Other physical disabilities that made women unfit for nunlife were the same as in the case of men.

The Ceremony of Renunciation:

Only the fit candidates, therefore, were allowed to enter the order of nuns, and the ceremony which preceded nunhood is described in great details in various texts.

The description of the renunciation of Mallī[15] devoid of all the divine and supernatural element in it, comes to this. She first of all asked the permission of her parents for renunciation. Having got it, together with her parents, she gave a big feast to all her relatives and at that time took a ceremonial bath. Then, putting on all her ornaments and finaries, she sat facing the east in a palanquin which was carried in great procession and pomp outside the town. Getting out of it near a tree, she took out all her ornaments, uprooted her hair in five handfuls (pañcamuṭṭhiya loya), and saluting the Siddhas accepted the life of discipline (Sāmāïyacāritta).

Similar descriptions in the case of other ladies[16] show that this ceremony did not differ much from that which was carried out in the case of monks. Two things may, however, be noted. First, even women had to take the permission of those on whom they depended—husband, parents or son —, and secondly all had to do the 'loya' or the uprooting of the hair whether they were royal queens or ordinary women.

10. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intro. p. 20; also *Nāyā.*, Chapt. XIV; for the mother-in-law renouncing the world to escape the harassment from her daughter-in-law: *Therī-gāthā* XLV; see *I.A.*, Vol. 57, pp. 49ff.

11. Jambūswāmin and his wives: *Kalpasūtra, comm.* p. 218; Queens of Kaṇha-Vāsudeva: *Ṭhāṇ.*, p. 433b.

12. *Āvaśyaka-cūrni*, p. 526.

13. *Uttar.*, *Tīkā*, 2. 29ff.

14. p. 164a, 165a.

15. *Nāyā.*, VIII, pp. 117ff.

16. *Nirya.*, p. 51-52; 65-66; *Nāyā.*, XIV; *Antg.* p. 28.

Exceptions to the above conditions are also found as in the case of Subhadrā[17] who renounced the world even against the wish of her husband (akāmaë), and in the story of Queen Padmāvatī[17a] of Campā who became a nun when she was pregnant but separated from her husband at that time.

Church Administration :

A nun was called 'bhikkhuṇī', 'nigganthī', 'sāhuṇī' or 'ajjā'. The texts of the Aṅgas give the same general rules of moral discipline as they do for the monks. But the rules regarding their period of probation, their confirmation, their rise to different officers, their designations and duties and the rules which governed the details of group-life among nuns are not to be found so exhaustively enumerated as in the Chedasūtras and Niryuktis which are later than the Aṅgas.

The Aṅgas simply refer to groups of nuns under a head-nun and the 36,000 nuns of Mahāvīra are said to have lived under Candanā[18] (Candaṇāppamuhā). The term signifying the chief of the nuns—as the ācārya in the case of monks—was perhaps 'Pavattiṇī' (Pravartinī). The ācārya himself had to look after the nuns, and the *Sthānāṅga* expressly states that one of his duties was to take proper care of the nuns.[19] The same text refers to 'Khuddiā' (Kṣullikā) which signified a young nun who had as yet not attained any responsible post in the church hierarchy. Thus, the Aṅgas fail to give any complete picture of the actual working of the order of nuns.

It is, however, in the Chedasūtras—especially the *Kalpa*, *Vyavahāra* and *Niśītha*—and the Niryuktis, that a somewhat better picture of the internal working of the order of the nuns is available.

Before entering into a discussion of various officers in the order of nuns, it should be noted that the nuns as a whole were always treated on an inferior basis in relation to the monks. It is said that "a monk of three years' standing (paryāya) may become the upādhyāya of a nun of thirty years' standing; and a monk of five years' standing can become the upādhyāya of a nun of sixty years' standing".[20] That the nuns were under stricter control than the monks is revealed in the remarks, "the Ācārya, Upādhyāya and the Pravartinī—these three are the protectors of the nuns".[21]

17. *Niryā.*, p. 51.
17a. *Uttar.*, *Ṭikā*, 9, p. 132a.
18. *Kalpasūtra*, *SBE.*, XXII, p. 267.
19. *Āryikāpratijāgarako'*, *comm.* p. 244b; *Vav.* 3, 12.
20. *Ibid.*, 7, 15-16; Inferiority of Buddhist nuns in their Church: See *Cullavagga* X, 1, 4, where it is stated that a nun even of a hundred years' standing should bow down to a monk who has quite recently been initiated.
21. *Vav.* 3, 12.

The following officers controlled the order of nuns:

Āyariya (ācārya):

The role of the ācārya, as seen above, was that of a protector and a guide of the 'bhikkhuṇī saṅgha'. In cases of difficulties, he was expected to manage to get proper requisites and residence for the nuns. The nuns had to live under an ācārya at all time, and in case of his death, the nuns were required to affiliate their group to another ācārya, then to an upādhyāya and then to a pravartinī. Under no circumstances were they to remain without any of these three officers.[22] The ācārya had the responsibility of letting the pravartinī know the nature of offences which the nuns were to refrain from.[23]

Uvajjhāya (upādhyāya):

Next to the ācārya, the upādhyāya weilded power over the nuns. He was taken to be one of the protectors of the nuns, and he perhaps looked to the educational aspect of the group. For, he solved the difficulties of the nuns regarding the texts which they studied.

Gaṇiṇī (gaṇinī):

According to the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya,* a gaṇinī was superior to a pravartinī,[24] and was the head of a gaṇa or a group of nuns. What the ācārya was to the group of monks, a gaṇinī was to a group of nuns (gaṇa). She looked after both the administrative as well as the spiritual aspects of the group. In cases of quarrels, she asked the pravartinī to pacify the nuns.[25] If she failed to pacify them, then the gaṇinī tried to bring peace and prevented the pravartinī from taking part in it. A high standard of moral qualities and a long study of scriptures was required for this post, as is clear from the following epithets applied to her: 'guṇasampannā' (endowed with good qualities), 'samā' (equal to all her disciples), 'anālasā' (energetic), 'svādhyāyadhyānayuktā' (indulging in study and meditation). She was expected to be severe in cases of faults (kāraṇe ugradaṇḍā), and was to be skilled enough in increasing the number of the followers.[26]

Pavattiṇī (pravartinī):

A mention to this officer is chiefly to be found in the Chedasūtras even though the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* attributes a subordinate position to her. She

22. *Ibid.*
23. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V, 6048.
24. Vol. III, 2222.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Gacchācāra.* 127-128.

used to be the head of the group of nuns and managed all their affairs. Implicit allegiance to her by every nun was expected. The texts are not very clear about the exact position she enjoyed, for she sometimes takes the place equal to an ācārya[27] and sometimes that of an ācāryopādhyāya,[28] while one of the Aṅgas[29] reduces her position to be on par with that of a thera before whom nuns confessed their transgressions.

The right of nominating her successor was given to the pravartinī. But a democratic practice prevailed in this method. Supposing that a pravartinī nominated her successor and if that successor was deemed unfit from the point of view both of management and of qualifications, the nuns had a right to find out an abler head. Getting such a one, they could ask the temporarily appointed candidate to withdraw in favour of the newly selected candidate. In case, however, there was no occasion for finding out a better candidate, then the temporary pravartinī was confirmed and the rest obeyed her. In case a proper candidate could not be found out, they could request the ācārya to depute them such a one.[30]

The educational qualifications required for this office consisted of the knowledge of 'āyārapakappa' which dealt with the rules about conduct and about punishment for transgressions. If a nun was fit for the office but had forgotten the text even in her young age due to idleness then she could not aspire for that office. If, however, she forgot it owing to illness, then she was made to study it again, and was appointed to that post. Old nuns who had forgotten the text and were unable to study it again due to advanced age, were deemed qualified on the ground that they generally never forgot the essence of the rules of monastic conduct.[31]

The pravartinī also had to undergo certain restrictions regarding stay and touring. She was to remain always in the company of two other nuns in winter and summer.[32] In a place where there were many monks and nuns, she was to remain with two nuns in the eight months of summer and winter, and with three others in the rainy season.[33]

The chief duty of a pravartinī was to maintain the ideal conduct of the members under her command. The ācārya was to let the pravartinī

27. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 41f; 3, 13; *Vav.* 5, 1f.
28. *Ibid.*, 4, 1f. 5f. 13f.
29. *Bhag.* p. 375ab.
30. *Vav.* 5, 13-14.
31. *Ibid.*, 5, 13-14; 5, 17.
32. *Ibid.*, 5, 1-2.
33. *Ibid.*, 5, 9-10.

know the nature of the faults and the prāyaścittas for them, and the pravartinī was to inform the same to the nuns under her.[34]

Gaṇāvaccheiṇī (gaṇāvacchedinī):

As the very name suggests, she controlled a part of a group (gaṇa) of the nuns. It appears that she was subordinate to the pravartinī. Her duties were those of gaṇāvaccedaka among the monks.

Her position in the Church hierarchy is not clear as it is described differently in different texts. Sometimes she follows immediately the pravartinī and then the abhiṣekā comes,[35] sometimes she is altogether dropped in the list.

No clear idea about her duties in the order can be had, but she was not as highly rated or put confidence into as the pravartinī as is clear from the rule which lays down that she was to remain with three other nuns—while the pravartinī with only two—in winter and summer, and in the company of four others in the rainy season.[36]

Abhisegā (abhiṣekā):

She is to be met with in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.* Sometimes she is equated with the gaṇinī,[37] sometimes simply explained as 'pravartinīpada-yogyā'; fit for the office of a gaṇinī,[38] while in some places she comes after the pravaratinī.[39] It is very difficult, therefore, to understand her exact nature and the duties she was expected to do. It may be that she was next to a pravartinī or to a gaṇinī in point of respect by others, if not of authority.

Therī (sthavirā):

As in the case of some of the other officers, her place was also not certain in the church hierarchy as in some places she is mentioned after bhikkhuṇī and in some other places before her.[40] Her designation suggests the factor of age in her case as 'therī' means an old nun.

34. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. V, 6048 (*comm.*).
35. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, pravartinī, gaṇāvacchedinī, abhiṣekā and bhikṣuṇī.
36. *Vav.* 5, 3-4; 5, 9-10.
37. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* III, 2410 (*comm.*).
38. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, 4339 (*comm.*).
39. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, 2407 (*comm.*).
40. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, 4339 (*comm.*); III, 2407 (*comm.*).

Bhikkhuṇī (bhikṣuṇī):

It was a very general term signifying a nun, but she perhaps stood higher than the 'Khuḍḍiyā'.

Khuḍḍiyā (kṣullikā):

The word probably stood for a young nun[41] who was not confirmed or who was still under probation.

Besides these, another officer called the 'mahattariyā'[42] (mahattarikā) is referred to and it is laid down that the nuns should remain under her control. It may be that she was an old and respected member of a gaccha or a group of nuns and her duties were administrative as well as spiritual.

Execution of Church Discipline:

As in the case of the monks, so also about the nuns, the early texts do not give details about concrete examples of transgressions and the punishments for them. The Chedasūtras, and later on the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*, give numerous details about them.

The initiation of women was solely left to the nuns and the ācārya, and no monk could initiate a woman for personal motives. The monk was to take advice from an elderly nun regarding this matter and then hand her over to the therī.[43]

After initiation, if a nun wanted confirmation (upasthāpanā), she had to go to that particular group for that act; on the other hand, a monk who had received initiation could choose a guru belonging to any other group.[44]

No nun or monk was allowed to initiate a person below eight years.[45]

Under no circumstances were the nuns to remain without a chief. If, while touring, the leader among them died, then they were to appoint the immediate subordinate to that post, or else were to merge themselves in a major group. If they remained without a head, then they had to undergo either 'cheda' (i.e. shortening of the period of nunhood) or 'parihāra' (i.e. an isolatory penance for the offence).[46]

41. Explained as 'bālā', *Ibid.* Vol. IV, 4339.
42. *Gacchācāra*, V. 118; 'Mahattara' is a term used in epigraphs to denote an officer in local administration.
43. *Vav.* 7, 4-5.
44. *Ibid.*, 7, 6-7.
45. *Ibid.*, 10, 16-17.
46. *Ibid.*, 5, 11-12.

It was not in the hands of either an individual nun or a group of them to punish the transgressor. They were not expected to severe all connections with the offender of their own accord, but they were to inform the ācārya about it, and prescribe a certain period to that nun for improvement. If she improved, well and good; but if she did not, then they told her about it beforehand and then severed all contact with her.[47]

The *Bṛhatkalpasūtra* gives several rules and prescribes punishments of varied magnitudes both to the monks and nuns. A single instance may not be out of place here which goes to prove the increasing severity of punishment with the higher position of the transgressor in the church hierarchy.

Standing near the shore of water involved a fault. For this, if a nun were seen by somebody doing it, she had to undergo 'gurupañcaka'; if she stood there for a porisī and was seen by somebody then 'laghudaśaka'; if unseen, then 'gurupañcaka'; if she lay down near water, then she had to undergo prāyaścittas varying between 'laghurātrindiva' and 'laghuviṁśatirātrindiva'; if she slept there, then 'guruviṁśatirātrindiva'; if she ate food there, then a prāyaścitta upto 'gurupañcaviṁśatirātrindiva'; if she eased herself there, then 'laghumāsa'; if she studied there, then 'māsaguru'; if she kept a night vigil (dharmajāgarika) there, then 'caturlaghuka'; and if she performed 'kāyotsarga' there, then 'caturguru'.

This was only in the case of the kṣullikā, i.e. a junior nun. The punishment increased with the position of authority. The sthavirā had to undergo for the same offence prāyaścittas varying between 'gurupañcaka' and 'ṣaḍlaghu'; for the bhikṣuṇī: 'laghudaśaka' upto 'ṣaḍguruka'; for the abhiṣekā: 'gurudaśaka' upto 'cheda'; and for the pravartinī: 'laghupañcadaśaka' upto 'mūla'.[48]

The 'caturguru' consisted of a fast of one day, the 'caturlaghu' of a day's fast with 'āyambila'; the 'māsalaghu' consisted in taking meals when half the day is gone, and the 'pañcarātrindiva' consisted of:

(a) not taking food in the first 'prahara' of the day,
(b) not eating food in the first one and a half praharas of the day,
(c) the same with regard to the first two praharas,
(d) taking food once (ekāśana)
and (e) āyambila.[49]

47. *Ibid.*, 7, 3.
48. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.*, III, 2409, (*comm.* pp. 684-85).
49. I am indebted to Muni KEVALAVIJAYAJI for this information. He was kind enough to explain some of the Chedasūtras to me and spared no efforts to solve my difficulties.

The rest of the punishments for transgressions are more or less the same as those prescribed to the monks. One thing, however, may be noted, and that is with regard to the 'parihāra'—i.e. keeping the transgressor separate from the group and severing all contact with her. According to the *Vyavahārasūtra*[50] the nuns underwent this punishment, while the *Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya*[51] exempted the nuns from undergoing it.

A spotless life and the practice of rigorous discipline was expected of every nun and it was said that a nun could reach the rank equal to that of the upādhyāya after thirty years, and that of an ācāryopādhyāya only after sixty years which shows that the Church was very strict towards them.

Bound by these rules of discipline and working under the different officers of the Church, the nuns lived in groups. No details about the limit put on the number of the members of a group are to be found. The earliest texts refer to as many as five hundred nuns remaining under one head (gaṇinī).[52] Later on, it seems that both monks and nuns formed one group (gaṇa) as the expression 'sa-gaṇicciyāë vā para-gaṇicciyāë vā nigganthīë[53] (a nun belonging to one's—i.e. a monk's—own gaṇa or to an other gaṇa) suggests. When the gaṇas gave place to the gacchas, the nuns were grouped in gacchas, which, according to the *Mūlācāra*, consisted of three and seven persons, respectively.[54]

Touring:

Controlled by these rules and disciplinary regulations, the nuns led a wandering life like that of the monks. In the eight months of summer and winter they wandered from village to village (gāmāṇugāmaṁ), and no rules fundamentally different from those in the case of the monks are given for this aspect of their life. As a matter of fact, right from the time of the composition of the *Ācārāṅga*, different texts give a rule starting with the formula: "Je bhikkhū bhikkhuṇī vā", or "Nigganthо nigganthī va" which shows that the rule was common both to the monks as well as to the nuns. The rules pertaining to the mode of their travel, the time for it, stay at one place during the four months of the rainy season (vassāvāsa), the limit of staying at one place, etc. are almost identical with those for the monks. Only a few distinct rules are henceforth noted.

The nuns were prevented from going beyond Aṅga-Magadha in the east, Kauśāmbī to the south, Sthūṇā to the west, and Kuṇāla in the north, for

50. 5, 11-12; also *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 38.
51. Vol. V, p. 1561.
52. For references to wandering groups of nuns: *Nāyā.*, pp. 151, 173, 224.
53. *Nis.* 8, 11.
54. *Mūl.* 10, 92.

"so far extends the land of the pious".[55] *These roughly comprise the modern provinces of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. According to some texts,*[56] *it was Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, who opened up other parts of the country for the Jaina monks and nuns by spreading Jainism to those parts.*

A lonely nun, under no circumstances, was to stay or tour, or enter a place of rest or relief,[57] or enter a house for seeking food or drink. She was disallowed to go out even to a distance of two hands out of her residence at night.[58] In this connection the story of Mṛgāvatī,[59] who could not keep proper time owing to the presence of the Moon and the Sun for the sermon of Mahāvīra and was reprimanded by the chief nun Candanā for this, is well-known.

Residence:

As in the four months of the rainy season, so also during the rest of the year, nuns had to search a proper residence. The quarters were not to lie beyond the limits of the householder's premises.[60] Moreover, such a lodge was not to contain cobwebs or living beings.[61] Specially cleaned or prepared lodges for the nun were not allowed.[62] All the rules of the procedure of seeking a lodging were the same both for the monks and the nuns.[63]

Common residence for monks and nuns was normally disallowed. But in cases of calamities and unforeseen circumstances, like the stay in a forest, or in the vicinity of the colonies of Nāgas and Suvarṇakumāras, in places where there was danger from robbers, and in such regions where either the monk or the nun could find no other shelter, they could have a common residence.[64]

According to the *Bṛhatkalpasūtra,* nuns were disallowed to live in a shop, a main road, a cross-road, a triangular place or quadrangular place or court or bazaar,[65] in a house with open entrance if there was no curtain put over

55. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 51.
56. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 327ff.
57. *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 15-18.
58. *Gacchācāra,* 108.
59. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 258a.
60. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 22ff.
61. *Ācār.* II, 2, 1, 1 (p. 120).
62. *Ibid.,* II, 2, 1, 3 (p. 121).
63. *Ibid.,* II, 7, 2, 7ff (p. 175ff.).
64. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 314a; Buddhist nuns were not allowed to live in a forest: LAW, *I.A.* Vol. 57, p. 53.
65. 1, 12.

it,[66] in a house with paintings on the wall,[67] in a lodge where only males lived[68] or which was close to the road,[69] which contained wine,[70] which was a meeting house or an assembly house or a house with gallery or an abode built on the roots of a tree, or open to the rain.[71]

The reasons behind these rules were based on commonsense which helped the nuns to maintain a pure and unharassed life in the society which was and is always crazy about the chastity of women. For instance, the reasons behind forbidding her to stay in a square or a crowded place were based on the doubt that a nun might go astray by looking at young men in the street, or at courtesans or at marriage processions. Another reason was the fear of public which found an easy ground for scandal and criticism in the case of the nun's stay at such a place.[72] Moreover, heretics took it a good cause to scandalise the religion on that account. A place with open doors or one devoid of doors provided an easy access to thieves or robbers or such other wicked fellows who stole the requisites or raped the nun; hence the precautions.[73]

In cases of difficulty when no proper residence could be had, the nuns were allowed to take resort to other lodgings in an order of preference. In the unfit lodgings also, they were to take utmost precautions and were asked to study loudly all together, go to ease nature together and never to allow young men to enter the lodge.[74] An elaborate procedure is described by which the nuns, in cases of not getting any other proper lodge, had to stay in a place having open doors. In such a place they had a pair of bamboo or grass-curtains, one each at the inner and the outer sides of the frame of the door. These curtains were joined by a piece of cloth. The inner curtain had two holes through which strings were passed and tied in such a way that the knots of the outer curtain remained inside the inner curtain. Only the nun who stood guard at that curtain knew the mechanism of the knots. The qualifications of the guard-nun were that she was a lady of stout body, well-versed in the sacred lore, of mature age and intellect, of pure family, bold and full of stamina. She stood at the door

66. *Ibid.*, 1, 14.
67. *Ibid.*, 1, 20.
68. *Ibid.*, 1, 29.
69. *Ibid.*, 1, 32.
70. *Ibid.*, 2, 4.
71. *Ibid.*, 2, 11.
72. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2304-24.
73. *Ibid.*, 2330.
74. *Ibid.*, 2320-2324.

with a stick in her hand. The nun who wanted to come in was touched by the guard at her head, chest, and cheeks to verify whether the person wanting entry was a nun or somebody else. Then her name was asked and then she was let in. If with all these precautions, the trespassers attacked them and pushed in, then the older nuns stood out with sticks and warded off the raiders while the younger nuns remained inside with sticks. A great uproar was also made to get help from the people.[75]

With the intention of safety, the nuns were given a differential treatment as compared with that given to the monks. The places prohibited for the nuns were not always treated so for the monks. For instance, the monks were allowed to stay in shops, bazaars,[76] etc. with or without the consent of the owner,[77] as also in a place with open entrance.[78]

As seen already, the *Sthānāṅga* permits common residence for the monks and nuns only under exceptional circumstances.[79] But in the *Bṛhatkalpa* they are allowed to have a common lodge on other occasions also. They were allowed to stay together in a place which had no barriers and gates but had free exit and entrance.[80]

The maximum period of stay in a village was one night (i.e. day) and in a town five nights.[81] But later on, it seems, a longer stay was permitted, and in a village, etc. "enclosed and without outside houses, the nuns (remained) two months, summer and winter; when enclosed and with outside houses, four months, two within and two without".[82] At twilight or at night they were to remain in their lodge.[83] The rainy season, of course, compelled them to stay at one place and many rules regarding this are common for the nuns and the monks.[84]

Various punishments for the transgressions of these rules are cited in great details in the Chedasūtras.[85]

75. *Ibid.*, 2331-52.
76. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 13.
77. *Ibid.*, 1, 24.
78. 'gāme egarāiyā nayare pañcarāiyā'.
79. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 8-9 (*I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 260, transl.).
80. *Ibid.*, 1, 15.
81. P. 314a.
82. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 11.
83. *Ibid.*, 1, 47.
84. *Ācār.* II, 3, 1, 1 (p. 136); *Kalpasūtra*, (SBE., Vol. XXII), transl. pp. 296ff; *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 36.
85. See Appendix 1; also *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, *vs.* 2312, 2328, 2431.

Begging and Food:

Once a proper residence was obtained, the next important item in the life of a nun was the acquisition of pure food in a proper way.

Here also almost all the rules about begging food for the nun are common with those for the monks. In fact, the rules start with the phrase—as seen before—"bhikkhū bhikkhuṇī vā" or "nigganthо nigganthī vā". The time for begging, begging alms at all houses irrespective of the status or caste of the householder, going in a group, no talk while begging, asking the consent of the superior before going on the alms-round, the non-acceptance of food given in an improper way, the mode of walking while begging, not going to that place in a hurry to overtake others in need of food,—all these and such other details as given in the *Ācārāṅga, Daśavaikālika, Bhagavatī, Sthānāṅga* and other texts, are identical for both of them.

The food accepted was to be devoid of any impurity and the forty-six faults of begging. The nuns could not accept food involving sinful activity (āhākamma), or food given by the owner of the place where the nun stayed (sejjāyarapiṇḍa), or food specially prepared for them (uddesiya), or food containing raw things consisting of the six kinds of living beings.

Articles of food which were specially forbidden for the nuns were of the type of 'pulākabhatta' i.e. insipid, difficult to digest and tending to lead them astray under the influence of passion. The 'pulāka' was of three types: dhānya-p., consisting of grains difficult to digest; gandha-p., giving smell of garlic, etc.; and rasa-p., soup or essence of grapes or tamarind. If a nun ate the first type, then she suffered from gases; if she partook of the third then she got nature's calls frequently, and if she tasted the second one, then her mouth gave foul smell. Hence she was asked to avoid such regions where these articles were eaten. In cases of emergency like the famine, she was permitted to accept the first and the last, but not the 'gandhapulāka'. If she could get another type of food, then she accepted that and deposited the already obtained 'pulāka' on a pure place. Perchance she happened to obtain the 'gandhapulāka', then she was asked not to wander out till her mouth ceased to give out the foul smell.[86]

Differential treatment in the case of food articles is found in some rules. For instance, the nuns were disallowed to accept an unbroken ripe cocoanut, while the monks could accept such a one, whether broken or unbroken.[87]

86. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 6049-57.
87. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 1-5.

Clothing:

Nudity was never advocated for nuns either by the Śvetāmbaras[88] or the Digambaras. We have already noted the story of Śivabhūti who did not allow his sister to go naked. The Digambaras offer the following explanation for this. They say that "women are forbidden from accepting severe types of asceticism such as nakedness, because they are constitutionally unfit. There is a growth of subtle, living beings in their organs of generation, between their breasts, in their navel and armpits; their mind is fickle and devoid of purity; they have monthly courses; and they cannot concentrate undisturbed".[89]

The texts of the Aṅgas give primary rules about the clothing of the nuns, and everywhere the nuns are pictured as wearing clothes.

How the Clothes were Obtained:

The principal rules of begging clothes at the houses of the laymen were the same for both the monks and the nuns.[90]

Regional Limits to Begging of Clothes:

They were not to go beyond half a yojana for obtaining clothes.[91] The clothes were accepted there and then, and no future promises were accepted.[92]

Clothes Unfit for Nuns:

Such clothes as were bought, washed, dyed, cleaned or perfumed by the donor for the sake of the nuns; expensive clothes made of either wool, furs or cotton; those which were embroidered or interwoven with gold and were ornamental; which were endowed with animal furs; and those which contained bulbs or seeds or eggs or living beings—all these were deemed unfit both for a monk as well as for a nun.[93]

88. *Ibid.*, 5, 19; See *Abhidhānarājendrakośa*, Vol. 1, pp. 192-93; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4148:

Niyamā sacela itthi, cālijjati sañjamā viṇā teṇa:

Women have always to be with clothes. Without clothes they go astray from the path of self-control.

89. *Suttapāhuḍa* of Kundakunda, *vs.* 22-25: Upadhye, A. N., *Pravacanasāra*, Intro. XXX, and Text: III, 6-14.

90. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 6-9 (pp. 158-59).

91. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 2 (p. 157).

92. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

93. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 3: 4: 5: 10: 11: 12: 13: 15 (pp. 157-61).

Clothes Fit for Nuns:

She could beg clothes prepared out of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton or 'Arkatūla', or of such other varieties.[94] So also, fit, sturdy and lasting but pure clothes were accepted by her.[95]

Number of Clothes:

In all, only four clothes were used by the nuns. One of them was two cubits broad (duhatthavitthāraṁ), two of them were three cubits broad, and the fourth was four cubits in breadth.[96]

When to Wear These Clothes:

While going for the alms-round or for religious practices or study or on usual tour, the nuns were asked to put on all their clothes.[97]

The *Sthānāṅga*[98] says that the first was used in the nunnery (upāśraye), the second while going on the begging tour, the third when going to ease nature, and the fourth while going to a religious sermon (samosaraṇa).

Care about the Clothes:

From the rule which disallowed the monks as well as the nuns to "make coloured clothes colourless and colour colourless clothes",[99] it appears that colour did not get as much importance in the early days as it did later, on, and the monks as well as the nuns perhaps used coloured clothes given by the laymen to them. Not only this but they were allowed to sew together pieces of clothes to bring them to the proper breadth.[100] Some later texts,[101] however, clearly state that only white clothes were to be worn by a nun, and she was forbidden to stitch together or embroider clothes for laymen.[102]

As seen already, no washing of clothes was allowed in plentiful water.[103] Airing or drying the clothes, however, was permitted, and that too,

94. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 1 (p. 157).
95. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 16 (p. 162).
96. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 1 (p. 157); *Thāṇ.* p. 186b.
97. *Ācār.* II, 5, 2, 1 (p. 163).
98. p. 187b (*comm.*).
99. *Ācār.* II, 5, 2, 5 (p. 164).
100. *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1, 1 (p. 157).
101. *Gacchācāra*, 112.
102. *Ibid.*, 123.
103. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 17 (p. 162); The *Piṇḍaniryukti*, however, does permit the washing of clothes sometime early before the rains begin. It is not clear whether the rule applied even to the nuns.

on a place carefully inspected, and which contained no living beings, for instance, a heap of ashes or of bones.[104]

Numerous other details are available in the Niryuktis and the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya.* The *Oghaniryukti*[105] gives a complete list of as many as eleven clothes to be worn by the nun and the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[106] also confirms the same number.

Out of the eleven clothes, six were worn on the lower part of the body and five on the upper part of the body.

Clothes Worn on the Lower Half of the Body:[107]

(1) *Uggahaṇantaga:*

It was so worn as to cover the private parts of the body. It was broad in the middle and thin at the ends. A smooth piece of cloth was used for this purpose (ghaṇamasiṇa). This piece was like the shape of a boat (nāvānibho).[108]

(2) *Paṭṭa:*

It was meant to cover the waist and was tied by fasteners. The breadth of the piece was four fingers, or it varied according to the size of the body. It covered the 'uggahaṇantaga' and resembled the shorts used by wrestlers (chāyantoggahaṇantagaṁ, kaḍibandho mallakacchā vā).[109]

(3) *Aḍḍhoruga:*

It covered both the above two pieces of clothes (dovi geṇhiüṁ chāyaë kaḍivibhāgaṁ). It covered the entire waist and was fastened on both sides over the breast.[110]

(4) *Calaṇī:*

It was upto the knees (jāṇupamāṇā) and resembled the piece of cloth worn by the 'laṅkhiyas' (or the people who perform gymnastics on the pieces of bamboos), and was unsewn (asīviyā).[111]

104. *Ācār.* II, 5, 1, 23 (p. 163).
105. 671-678.
106. Vol. IV, 4080ff.
107. *Ibid.* 4084-87.
108. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 313.
109. *Ibid.*, 314.
110. *Ibid.*, 315.
111. *Ibid.*

(5) *Antoniyaṁsaṇī*:

This covered the portion of the body from the waist upto half of the thighs (addhajaṅghāö).[112]

(6) *Bāhiraniyaṁsaṇī*:

The portion of the body from the waist upto the ankles was covered with this piece of clothing and it was tied with strings at the waist (kaḍī ya doreṇa paḍibaddhā).[113]

Clothes Worn on the Upper Part of the Body:[114]

(1) *Kañcuka*:

It covered the breasts and was probably unsewn (asīviyā). The standard size consisted of two and a half hands in length and one hand in breadth. It varied according to different persons, as the measure is prescribed according to the nun's own fore-arm.[115]

(2) *Okacchiya*:

It was more or less similar to the previous one (evameva), but was tied on the left shoulder. It covered the back and the breasts.[116]

(3) *Vegacchī*:

It was a piece of cloth which covered 'kañcuka' and the 'okacchiya' and was tied on the right shoulder.[117]

(4) *Saṅghāḍī*:

These were four (caüra) in number. That which was two hands in length was used in the nunnery. The other two which were three hands in measure (tihatthāyāmā) were used when going for the alms-round and for easing nature. The fourth one which was four hands (caühattha) in length, was used when going for religious sermons or congregations[118] (samosaraṇa).

112. *Ibid.*, 316.
113. *Ibid.*, 316.
114. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4088-91
115. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 317.
116. *Ibid.*
117. *Ibid.*, 318.
118. *Ibid.*, 318-19; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4089-90.

(5) *Khandhakaraṇī:*

It was four hands in length (caühatthavitthahā), and was meant principally to save oneself from a strong breeze (vāyavihuyarakkhaṭṭhā). Another interesting purpose to which it could be put to was giving an appearance of dwarfness to beautiful nuns by placing it at their backs and tying it with the garments Nos. (2) and (3) (khujjakaraṇī ü kīraï rūvavāïṇa kuḍahaheüṁ).[119]

What Clothes at What Time?

All of these clothes were to be put on by the nun when she went to beg food.[120] She was to use the 'uggahapaṭṭaka' without fail at the time of seeking alms, otherwise people were likely to condemn her seeing the stains of the blood which passed at her monthly course; or being devoid of it, she was likely to give up all shame and indulge in all sorts of activities; or there was a possibility of her being seized by a wicked person and then getting unconscious raped by him. She would thus lose all that was precious for female conduct, for it was said that character and shamefulness are the ornaments of women (bibhūsaṇaṁ sīla hirī ya itthiĕ).[121]

The nun was on no account to accept and wear any clothes of her own accord without taking the consent of the pravartinī or the ācārya. The faults involved in thus accepting the clothes were as follows:[122]

(i) seeing a man giving clothes directly to the nun, the newly ordained nuns would suspect the purpose of it and would lose faith in the Law;
(ii) it would tend to the breaking of self-control;
(iii) nuns would become greedy of clothes;
(iv) the clothes would turn out to be charmed and thus put the nun in trouble;
(v) there would arise quarrels over it; and lastly,
(vi) there would arise a keen competition among nuns to acquire clothes and would lead them to obtain clothes in any way they liked.

If somebody wanted to offer them clothes then the nuns told the donor that they could not accept clothes without the express permission of the head-nun. In case they happened to accept clothes, then the nuns handed over such clothes to the superior. Then they were washed and kept away for a week to test whether they were charmed or had any other defects.

119. *Ogha-N. bhā.* 320.
120. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4119.
121. *Ibid.*, 4105-4116; 4118.
122. *Ibid.*, 4153.

Then they were given by the gaṇadhara to the pravartinī who distributed them to the needy nuns. In the case of the absence of an ācārya, the pravartinī used to accept clothes from the immediate subordinate of the ācārya, like the upādhyāya, etc. If the pravartinī was absent, then the nuns tested the clothes in groups and then accepted them. As a last resort, they took the help of the devoted laymen and laywomen in the acceptance of proper clothes.[123]

In obtaining clothes, the nuns had to be careful regarding the person who offered clothes to them. They were not allowed to accept apparel from the 'kāpālikas', the bhikkhus (explained as Buddhist monks), the 'śucivādins' (parivrājakas), the 'kūrcikas', courtesans, merchants, young people, a well acquainted nomad, and from close relatives. The reason for not accepting clothing from the first two in this list was that they were notorious for offering charmed clothes. A wonderful sense of psychological observation is revealed in the rule which prohibited them from accepting clothes from the son of their own maternal uncle. Seeing the nun accepting clothes from her maternal uncle's son, his wife was likely to dislike it and out of womanly envy tended to declare that that particular nun was indirectly disturbing the happiness of her married life! This being the case, the nuns were asked to obtain clothing only from the pure (bhāvita) and impartial (madhyastha) families.[124]

Certain superstitions about clothes were also taken into consideration at the time of accepting them. Certain signs about them indicated a calamity while certain suggested good time to come. For instance, clothes torn by mice or burnt in some portions foretold danger and calamity.[125]

OTHER REQUISITES:

The nuns did not possess requisites fundamentally different from those of the monks and the rules about the seeking of proper alms-bowl (pāya), the broom (rayaharaṇa), the bedding (pīḍha-phalaga-sejjā-santhāraya) consisting of a plank, a stool and a mattress, etc. were common both for the monks and for the nuns; as such, they need not be repeated here over again. Only the distinct rules connected with these are noted down blow.

By the time of the *Oghaniryukti*, it seems that the nuns had increased their number of requisites the case being similar regarding their clothing. A list of as many as twenty-five requisites consisting of eleven types of

123. *Ibid.*, 4165, 4170-71, 4177, 4181-84; Vol. III, 2815-35.
124. *Ibid.* 2822-27.
125. *Ibid.*, 2830-35,

clothing and fourteen types of other requisites is to be met with.[126] *It consisted of the following:*

(1) patta (pātra)
(2) pattābandho (pātrakabandha)
(3) pāyaṭṭhavaṇa (pātrasthāpana)
(4) pāyakesariyā (pātrakesarikā)
(5) paḍalāiṁ (paṭalāni)
(6) rayattāṇa (rajastrāṇa)
(7) gocchaga (gocchaka)
(8-10) three pacchāgas (pracchādakas)
(11) rayaharaṇa (rajoharaṇa)
(12) muhapattī (mukhapatrī)
(13) mattaga (mātraka)
(14) kamaḍhaga (kamaṭhaka).

Out of all these twenty-five requisites which included clothes also, the essential or compulsory requisites (utkṛṣṭata) were eight: three robes, alms-bowl, 'abhyantaranivasanī', 'bahirnivasanī', 'saṅghāṭikā' and 'skandhakaraṇī'. The normal number of requisites consisted of thirteen articles: 'rajoharaṇa', 'paṭalakāni', 'pātrakabandha', 'rajstrāṇa', 'mātraka', 'kamaṭhaka', 'avagrahānantaka', 'paṭṭa', 'ardhoruka', 'kañcuka', 'calanikā', 'aupakakṣikā' and the 'vaikakṣikī'. And those of less importance (?) (jaghanya) were four: 'mukhapotikā', 'pātrakesarikā', 'gocchaka', and 'pātrasthāpanaka'.[127]

Besides this normal number of requisites, a number of other articles were permitted both for the nuns as well as for the monks for a temporary period or for the rainy season. It consisted of such things as the 'pādalekhanikā' used in clearing up mud from one's feet, the fivefold protectors from the rain made either of cotton or of 'sūcī' or leaves of palāśa tree or of bamboo or of hair of animals (vāla); the three kinds of vessels for depositing bodily dirt and excretion; and the 'vāraka' which was used for carrying water to be used after easing nature, etc.[128] Such articles like the needle (sūcī), nail-cutter (nakhaharaṇī), the tooth-brush (danta-śodhana) and the ear-pick (karṇa-śodhana), etc. were, it appears, allowed both to the monks as well as to the nuns.[129]

Even though many of these requisites were common for both the sections of the Church, yet a distinction was made in some of them. For

126. *Ogha-N.* 668-71; also *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4080-83; we have explained these in Chapt. 2 of this part.
127. *Ibid.*, 4095: also *Ogha-N.* 678.
128. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4097-98.
129. *Ibid.*, 4096.

instance, a broom with a long wooden staff, a curved bowl and a vessel with a handle were not permitted to the nuns. So also they were forbidden to use a roll of clothes as a support to their back, while the monks could use it.[130] SCHUBRING remarks in this connection that "they were by no means sure of the chastity of the nun's thoughts".[131] Besides this, they were not to use beds of soft cotton,[132] and a 'rajoharaṇa' of white threads.[133]

There were some articles the use of which was restricted only to the nuns. For instance, only the nuns were allowed to carry and use a vessel coated from inside (antolittayaṁ ghaḍimattaĕ),[134] for the purpose of easing nature at night. If a nun refused to have such a pot then various prāyaścittas were prescribed for her. Not only that, but if the ācārya failed to tell about it to the pravartinī and the latter to her nuns, then they also had to undergo punishments.[135]

In certain residences, they used curtains (cilimilī) to close the door so that they could live in safety and mental freedom inside the residence. We have already seen how and when it was used.

Normally they were not permitted to use hairless skins. But in cases of illness, certain skins were prescribed as remedies. In cases of titanus or piles or severe pain or in cases of the bones getting disjointed or in complete or partial paralysis, a nun was allowed to use hairless skins. The skin of a tiger or a hyena was used for patients of paralysis, and in the case of a dog-bite the nun was made to lie down on the skin of a tiger, or else that particular portion was covered with that skin. An old nun (sthavirā) was allowed to use skins with hair, but only after spreading it in a way so as to make the hair face the ground, if her limbs brushed together.[136]

PENANCE AND FASTING:

The early texts refer to the various fasts done by the nuns. They did fasts not only of smaller duration like the 'caütthа' or 'aṭṭhama', etc.[137] but practised fasts of the duration of even one month, and we get constant references to nuns doing the 'māsiā saṁlehaṇā'.[138] Even more severe fasting, the cycle of which took years together, was practised, and we have

130. *Bṛh. kalp.* p. 5, 35-46; *bhāṣya,* Vol. II, 1046-48.
131. *I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 266, fn.42.
132. *Gacchācāra,* 114.
133. *Ibid.*, 120.
134. *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 16.
135. *Ibid., bhāṣya,* Vol. III, 2362-63.
136. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 3816-18.
137. *Nāyā.* p. 199.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 200; see also *Gacchācāra,* 134.

references to various varieties like the 'āyambilavaḍḍhamāṇatavokamma'[139] (fourteen years, three months and twenty days), the 'mahālayaṁ sīhanikkiliyatavokamma'[140] (six years, two months and twelve days), the 'kaṇagāvalitavokamma'[141] (five years, nine months and eighteen days), the 'rayaṇāvalītavokamma,[142] (five years, two months and twenty-eight days), the 'muttāvalītavokamma'[143] (three years and ten months), the 'mahālaya (type of) savvaöbhaddatavokamma'[144] (two years, eight months and twenty days), the 'khuḍḍāga (type of) savvabhaddapaḍimā'[145] (one year, one month and ten days), the 'khuḍḍāga sīhanikkīliyatavokamma'[146] and the 'guṇarayaṇatavokamma' done by nuns.[147]

The *Bṛhatkalpasūtra*, however, lays down the following rules regarding the mortification of the body in the case of the nuns:

"(1) she may not give her body to asceticism;

(2) she may not, outside a village, etc. upto a caravansarai, continually stretching the arms upwards, the face turned towards the sun, standing upon one foot, mortify herself on an estrada;

(3) she may do it only within the house enclosure with a cloth on, with the feet on level ground;

(4) she may not take up a general position of penance;
(5) she may not stand motionless;
(6) she may not sit crouching on the ground;
(7) she may not cower down;
(8) she may not sit "as a hero" (vīrāsana posture);
(9) she may not remain stiff as a stick; or
(10) bent like a cudgel; or
(11) lie on the back; or
(12) on the face; or
(13) bent round like a mango fruit; or
(14) stretched out on one side."[148]

It seems, therefore, that severe forms of bodily mortifications were not allowed to nuns.

139. *Antg.* p. 52.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
142. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
147. *Anttr.* p. 58.
148. *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 21-34: Transl. *I.A.* Vol. 39, p. 266: These were various bodily postures practised by the monks: see Chapt. 1 of this Part,

Fasts of different durations and types were current in the time of the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* as it prescribes fasts like 'māsalaghu,' 'māsaguru,' 'caturlaghu,' 'caturguru,' etc. for various transgressions.

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

This formed the very kernel of nun-life and the description of the nuns wandering from village to village in groups is quite interesting. A group of nuns is described as "wandering in due course, endowed with the proper rules of movement (īriyāsamiyāö), with those of speech (bhāsāsamiyāö), and of begging food (esaṇāsamiyāö), with those concerning the deposition of the requisites (āyāṇabhaṇḍamattanikkhevaṇāsamiyāö), with those regarding the deposition of bodily dirt (uccārapāsavaṇakhelajallasiṅghāṇapariṭṭhāvaṇāsamiyāö), well controlled in mind (maṇaguttīö), in speech (vayaguttīö), in body (kāyaguttīö); with their sense organs well under restraint (guttindiyāö) and perfect in celibacy (guttabambhayāriṇīö),..... (etc.)."[149]

It is clear from the above passage that the nuns had also to practise the well-known 'pañcasamitis' and 'tri-guptis' which implied perfect control over the mind, speech and body, and extreme care regarding the living beings. The five great vows (pañcamahāvratas) were also prescribed for the nuns.

Confession (ālocanā) of the fault committed, the resolve not to do it again (pratikramaṇa) and expiation (prāyaścitta) for the same was compulsory for the nuns as it was so for the monks.[150] They had to do all these before the pravartinī,[151] everyday (daivasika) as well as every fortnight (pakkhiya). The yearly performance was called 'sāṁvatsarika'. Besides the pravartinī, the nuns were permitted to make confession before a gītārtha (i.e., well-versed person), and if such a one was not available then they were allowed to do it among themselves.[152] Under no circumstances a nun was allowed to do it alone.[153]

Never was she to utter unbecoming speech. Falsehood, condemnation of others, scolding others, rough speech, worldly speech like that of a householder (gāratthiya), or that which would tend to raise hushed up quarrels, were deemed unfit for her.[154] Talk about food (bhattakahā), gossip about the affairs of the country (desakahā) or regarding the king (rāyakahā) were

149. *Niryā.* p. 49.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 53; story of Bhūyā in this connection: *Ibid.* pp. 66-67.
151. *Bhā.* p. 314ab.
152. *Vav.* 5, 19.
153. *Ogha.-N. comm.* p. 225b.
154. *Ṭhāṇ.* 370a.

forbidden to her.[155] Being controlled in speech, no cause for quarrel was expected, but perchance a quarrel took place then it was the duty of the gaṇinī to pacify her disciples by means of pleasing words.[156] Inspite of these rules, it appears that quarrels did take place among the monks and nuns or among the nuns only, and in that case the pravartinī or the ācārya was expected to pacify the quarrel. Neither the nuns nor the monks were allowed to give kṣāmaṇā (pardon) from a distance among themselves.[157]

The body was to be completely neglected and no efforts of decorating it or even giving it an appearance of deliberate or conscious neatness were allowed. The rule was more strict to the nuns than to the monks.

For this very purpose, it seems, that the nuns had to undergo the act of 'loya' (loca) or uprooting the hair. It was incumbent on every nun right from the time of initiation, and we come across many references to this 'pañcamuṭṭhiya loya.'[158] Besides 'loya', the phrase used to denote this act was 'muṇḍe bhavittā.'

Besides this, the nun was not allowed to take bath or wash limbs or powder them or decorate them in any way.[159] In cases of illness, however, they were allowed to take medicine, and were expected to wait upon and nurse the younger candidates among themselves.[160] No attachment towards others was to be shown and there are instances of nuns who were banished from the gaṇa for fondling the children of others or for devoting much time to the toiletting of the body.[161]

The fundamental rule of a nun's life was the practice of perfect chastity, and she had to undergo a strict discipline in this matter. Numerous rules are prescribed for this and all the texts practically agree in this respect.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 212b.
156. *Gacchācāra*, 130.
157. *Vav.* 7, 8-9.
158. *Antg.* p. 27, 28; *Niryā.* p. 52; *Nāyā.* p. 118; *Uttar.* XXII, 30; ALTEKAR (*Position of Women*, pp. 188-91) opines that tonsure of widows in Brāhmanism could not have arisen before c. 500 A.D., as niyoga and remarriage were permitted down to that period. He does not trace it even in the Early Smṛtis or in the *Mahābhārata*. On epigraphical evidence, he says that round about 900 A.D. only oiling of the hair of widow was stopped. The head was not shaven. After the 9th cent. A.D., the system of tonsure might have started owing to prohibition of niyoga and remarriage, and it might have been general from about 1200 A.D. He traces the practice of the tonsure of Hindu widows to the practice of shaving the head as carried out by the Jaina and Buddhist nuns.
159. *Gacchācāra*, 114, 122.
160. *Vav.* 5, 21; *Gacchācāra*, 119.
161. *Niryā.* p. 53; Story of Subhaddā in *Pupphiyāō*, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, Intro. p. 21.

A nun was expected to take all precautions to avoid contact with bad elements in the society, as well as abstain from such, if at all, in the Order itself. Utmost care was taken that a nun may not go astray and we have already seen that articles like a broom with a wooden stick, a bottle gourd and a pot with a handle were prohibited for her use.[162] She was not allowed to teach 'rāgamaṇḍalas' or amorous postures or to feed, decorate or fondle a young child.[163] It was possibly for the information of the nuns that one of the texts of the Aṅgas[164] gives five reasons of conception so that the nuns may avoid them. In sleeping also an old nun (therī) slept in between two young nuns.[165]

Even in sickness, she had to be careful. For, when a sick nun was embraced by her mother, sister, or daughter, or was afforded assistance, and thereby committed impurity, then she had to undergo a penance (parihāra) for that offence.[166] Appreciating a minor male touch also led to punishment.[167] The mad nuns were tied and separated in a room or in a well which contained no water.[168] The exhibition of a human body besmeared with dirty things was adopted in curing a nun who had an excessive attachment for sex.[169] No contact with even the magically created males[170] nor an insect's entry into the organ was allowed,[171] and the nuns had to undergo penances for the offences.

With all these precautions, numerous instances are recorded of nuns who were harassed by young people, bad elements, householders and kings. The licentious persons (naṭaviṭādayaḥ) followed them upto their residence and harassed them while they were on the alms-tour.[172] Cases of kidnapping occurred on a large scale and the instance of king Gaddabhilla of Ujjeṇī who kidnapped the sister-nun of Kālakācārya is well-known.[173] The *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*[174] refers to another king who abducted a beautiful nun, and it was only when the pillars of his palace were flung high up in the sky by a monk through spells and magic that he released her. Sometimes householders,[175]

162. *Bṛh. kalp.* 5, 35-46.
163. *Gacchācāra,* 122, 119.
164. *Ṭhāṇ.* 313a; *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4139.
165. *Gacchācāra,* 123.
166. *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 9-10.
167. *Ibid., Bhāṣya,* Vol. V, 5253.
168. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, 122-5 (pīṭhikā).
169. *Ibid.* Vol. VI, 6267.
170. *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 1-4.
171. *Ibid.,* 5, 13-14.
172. *Gacchācāra,* 125.
173. *Nis-C.* 10, p. 571: (JAIN, J. C., *op. cit.,* p. 55).
174. *V.* 933, *comm.* p. 514b.
175. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2670-2.

robbers[176] and parivrājakas[177] troubled them, and either raped them or stole away their clothes.

Numerous instances of the use of spells and magic are alluded to. A certain parivrājaka named Pedhāla caused impregnation to a nun Sujyeṣṭhā, daughter of king Ceṭaka.[178] Fake monks also caused impregnation and abortions.

Under these circumstances the monks were expected to guard the nuns. A young monk well-versed in the art of fighting was allowed to punish an intruder by disguising as a nun.[179] In certain cases even brother-monks had to protect their sister-nun with the permission of the ācārya and the pravartinī.[180]

The nuns, therefore, had to be extremely careful regarding their residence, the society around them and their clothes. Regarding the last, they were asked to put on all their garments while going out. We have the story of the king Muruṇḍa of Kusumapura whose sister wanted to renounce the world. She asked her brother as to what order of nuns she should adopt. The king wanted to test the behaviour of Jaina nuns. So he asked one of his elephant-drivers to attack the modesty of a Jaina nun who was going on the begging tour. But as she was well-dressed and had put on all the required garments, the man could not violate her. Seeing this, the king was pleased and was convinced about the precautions the nuns took for the preservation of celibacy. He, therefore, asked the man not to trouble her and allowed gladly his sister to embrace the order of Jaina nuns.[181]

Inspite of these precautions, if a nun was raped, then she informed about it to her superior without letting other nuns know about it. She was not to be driven out of the order but was to be handed over for care to the guru or to the 'sejjāyara' (the person who lent them lodging). The latter was told all the facts of the case, and was requested to take care of the unfortunate nun. In case, however, the people at large knew about it, then the raped nun was kept in the monastery (upāśraya) and was not allowed to go out for begging, etc. Other monks and nuns were to bring food for her. When she was advanced in pregnancy she was handed over to a devoted layman and her duties as a nun were suspended so long as her child sucked her. Those who teased her or condemned her on account of rape were to undergo

176. *Nis-C. pīṭhikā*, p. 90.
177. *Ṭhāṇ. comm.* p. 457b.
178. *Āvaśyaka-C.* II, p. 175ff.
179. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4106ff.
180. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, 5255-59.
181. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 4123-26.

expiatory penance. It was feared that their teasing would make her indifferent and bold enough to practise sexual acts of her own accord. She was not to be expelled on the grounds that she would harbour hatred against the monks. On the other hand, he who had violated her chastity was to be punished with the help of either the king or the laymen, or the monks themselves were permitted to punish him.[182] The attitude of the Church was remarkably sympathetic towards such helpless victims of rape, and these sentiments are clear in the following verse:[183]

Ummageṇa vi gantuṁ ṇa hoti kiṁ sotavāhiṇī salilā /
Kāleṇa phumphugā vi ya vilīyate hasahasuṇaṁ //

"Does not a river take to the right course even after flowing in a wrong bed? Even the sparks of fire become extinct after some time."

DAILY ROUTINE:

The daily routine of nuns did not differ from that of the monks as given in the *Uttarādhyayana*.[184] The group of nuns under Suvvayā (suvratā) studied in the first part of the day (paḍhamāë porisīë sajjhāyaṁ kareï), in the second they meditated (bīyāë porisīë jhāṇaṁ jhiyāyaï), and in the third scanned the requisites and cleaned the pots carefully and calmly (taïyāë porisīë aturiyamacavalamasambhante muhapottiyaṁ paḍileheï, bhāyaṇavatthāṇi paḍileheï, bhāyaṇāṇi pamajjaï, bhāyaṇāṇi uggāheï).[185] The description is not complete, but the daily routine of monks and nuns did not differ much. The principal duties in it seem to have been study, meditation, begging, scanning the clothes, 'paḍikkamaṇa,' 'kāüssagga', and a short sleep at night.

STUDY:

Study, therefore, was an important item in the life of a nun. No sooner was she initiated in the Order, she was given instructions in the sacred books of the Canon. We get constant references to the nuns studying the "sāmāïyamāïyāïṁ ekkārasa angāïṁ ahijjhaï."[186] Women preachers are often mentioned which included distinguished nuns like Candaṇā, the first female disciple of Mahāvīra, and Jayantī the sister of king Sayāṇīya of Kosambī.[187]

It seems certain, therefore, that the Jaina nuns did not lag behind in education and they were as well educated as their Buddhist counterparts.

182. *Ibid.*, 4129-46.
183. *Ibid.*, 4147.
184. See Chapt. 1 of this Part.
185. *Nāyā. comm.* p. 187ab.
186. *Antg.* pp. 29, 53; *Nāyā.* p. 188; p. 249; (N. V. VAIDYA's edition (p. 200) refers to Dovaī studying the eleven Aṅgas).
187. *Antgd.* 8; *Bhag.* 172, 2, etc. ALTEKAR, A. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 27, 212.

The periods for study seem to have been common for both the monks and the nuns. The hours of study improper for the monks, as given in *Sthānāṅga*,[188] seem to have been improper for the nuns also. Study consisted of learning, and giving lessons to others. If there was some personal impurity, then the nuns as well as the monks were not to study themselves, but they were allowed to give lessons to others. So also, a nun was allowed to study a sūtra from a monk only with proper reasons for it.[189]

Even though the curriculum of studies was more or less the same for both the monks and the nuns, yet taking into account the fickle nature and the lack of fortitude (dhṛti) peculiar to women, the nuns were not allowed to study the *Dṛṣṭivāda, Mahāparijñā* and *Aruṇopapātra,* as the first out of these three contained information about spells, etc.[190]

DEATH:

Besides natural death, the nuns fasted unto death (saṁlehaṇā) which was considered to be the best mode of death. If the illness was of an incurable nature, or even normally when they were convinced of the approaching end, they started fasting, and giving up all food and drink, and lying on a bed of grass (saṁthāra) they bravely awaited death.[191] It is stated that certain nuns fasted for a period of a month and then got emancipation.[192] The typical phrase used is: "māsiyāē saṁlehaṇāē attāṇaṁ jhosettā saṭṭhiṁ bhattāiṁ aṇasaṇeṇaṁ cheēttā āloiyapaḍikkantā samāhipattā kālamāse kālaṁ kiccā. . . . ."[193] (purying herself by means of a month's fast (which involved) the giving up of sixty meals, doing the 'ālocanā' and 'pratikramaṇa' and concentrating herself (she) died. . . . . .").

The rites performed after the death of a nun are not clearly given. The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*[194] gives the description of the death rites of a monk only. It is likely that the same rites were performed at the death of a nun also.

We have, up till now, taken a survey of nun life right from her entry into the Order upto her death. It would not be out of place here to study the mutual relations between the monks and the nuns as they form two limbs of the Church.

188. See Chapt. 1 of this Part.
189. *Vav.* 7, 11-14.
190. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. I, 145-46.
191. *Maraṇa-samādhi,* 541, 549.
192. *Nāyā.* XIV, p. 153; VIII, 120.
193. *Ibid.*
194. See Chapt. 3 of this Part.

MONKS AND NUNS:

(a) *Attitude Towards Women in General*:

Right in the earliest portions of the Canon, woman is looked upon as something evil that enticed innocent males into a snare of misery. They are described as "the greatest temptation",[195] "the causes of all sinful acts",[196] "the slough",[197] "demons",[198] etc. Their bad qualities are described in exaggerated terms. Their passions are said to destroy the celibacy of monks "like a pot filled with lac near fire."[199] The *Taṇḍulavaicārika-Prakīrṇaka*[200] gives as many as ninety-three disqualifications of a woman. It may be noted that this attitude was not peculiar only to the Jainas but was shared even by the Buddhists and the Brāhmanical systems as well. Anyway, between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras the former were more sympathetic than the latter, for they, unlike the Digambaras, held the view that women could get mokṣa in the same birth.

(b) *Occasions of Contact*:

This being the approach towards woman in general,[201] a monk was to be aloof from the contact with a nun, and vice versa, and both were not to do anything which would give a cause for suspicion to the public. It was laid down that in a town with only one gate, if monks and nuns happened to see one another at places of easing nature, then both of them had to undergo punishment for that. Only for looking at each other at such place involved the undergoing of expiatory penance, and seeing each other at close quarters, recognising and saluting to each other, made the nun liable for higher punishments. It was feared that people were likely to suspect the purpose behind

195. *Ācār. SBE*, XXII, p. 48.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
197. *Uttar.* II, 17.
198. *Ibid.*, VIII, 18.
199. *Stkṛ.* 1, 4, 1, 26 (pp. 274-75).
200. pp. 50a-51b: Fanciful etymologies of the different synonymns for woman They were looked upon as chains: Devendra the commentator says:

Kalatranigaḍaṁ datvā na santuṣṭaḥ prajāpatiḥ /
Bhūyopi apatyarūpeṇa dadāti galaśṛṅkhalāṁ //
—*Uttarā. comm.* SBE, XIV, p. 24, fn., 3.

Also *Āvaśyakasūtra, comm.* p. 508a, where they are called "mokṣapathārgalāḥ" "chains that hinder one's progress towards liberation."

201. "The ascetics, those erratic and abnormal examples of the 'variational tendency' . . . They knew that every natural impulse of a woman (woman is more in harmony with Nature than man) is the condemnation of asceticism. All true lovers of the artificial and perverse find woman repulsive."
——HAVELOCK ELLIS, *Man and Woman*, p. 441.

the salute by the nun to the monk, and if a person made it known to the whole town, then the nun had to undergo the punishment of 'cheda' (i.e., cutting of the standing in nunhood).[202]

Normally the nuns and the monks were not to stay together. Not only that but they were not allowed to live at places whose doors were facing each other, or whose back-doors led to each other's residences. So also they were not to stay in places which were on different levels which made it easy for them to look at one another.[203] But in cases of extreme calamity and the absence of a proper residence, they could stay in one lodge.[204] In the rains, it was not allowed that a monk and a nun should stand together. But if the place was visible to the public or was with open doors, then only that was allowed.[205]

During the eight months of touring also, the monks and nuns had to take precautions against the public opinion. They were not allowed to tour together, but in cases of danger, as for instance, the trouble from robbers or young people, it was the duty of the monks to protect the nuns, and in extreme cases even to punish such persons themselves.[206]

If on the begging tour the monks and nuns happened to come together, then they were not to salute or show respect to or speak with or look at each other.[207] Normally no exchange of food was allowed between them,[208] but a raped nun, who had to stay indoors, was entitled to get food from monks and nuns who begged for her.[209] Public scandal was greatly feared, and while on the alms-tour in a town with one gate only, monks and nuns entering a deserted place or a temple one after the other had to undergo punishments which increased according to the number of witnesses in the matter and the extent of the spread of the scandal in the public.[210]

Exchange of speech between a monk and a nun was allowed only on restricted occasions. He could ask her the proper road if he did not know it, or he could tell her the proper road; he could talk with her when giving the fourfold food, as also when causing somebody to give her food.[211] Normally,

202. *Bṛhat. kalp. bhā.* Vol. III, 2174-75.
203. *Ibid.*, 2235-63.
204. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 314a.
205. *Kalpasūtra, SBE*, XXII, p. 303.
206. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4133.
207. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 2216.
208. *Gacchācāra,* 61, 96.
209. *Bṛh. kalp. bhā.* Vol. IV, 4135.
210. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 2181-93.
211. *Ṭhāṇ.* p. 216b. It should be noted that the *Gacchācāra* (*v.* 61) forbids a monk to accept food from a nun "even at the cost of his life or in days of famine".

therefore, a nun was disallowed to speak even with her brother-monk,[212] and even old monks were not to speak with nuns.[213]

Bodily contact was no doubt forbidden.[214] But on certain occasions, a monk was allowed to give support to or help a nun. If she was attacked by a beast or a wild bird, if she happened to lose her way and came to bad surroundings, if she had fallen in mud or water out of which she could not get out, at the time of getting into or coming out of a boat, when she had lost her psychological balance (khittacitta), when her mind was full of pride (dittacitta), when she was possessed by a supernatural being like a Yakṣa, etc. (jakkhātiṭṭhaṁ), when she was hysteric (ummāyapattaṁ), when she was in trouble (uvasaggapattaṁ), when she was involved in a quarrel (sāhikaraṇaṁ), or was undergoing an expiatory penance (sapāyacchittaṁ), or when she had given up food and drink (bhattapāṇapaḍiyātikkhiyyaṁ)[215]—then, in all these cases the monk could help her.

It seems probable that the monk was allowed to go to the residence of nuns under certain circumstances. But he had to enter it in a proper manner, and he who acted against it or kept a stick or a staff or a broom or a mouthpiece, etc., in the way of nuns, had to undergo expiatory penance for that offence.[216] Nuns were, however, allowed to go to the monk's monastery for the sake of study as well as for fortnightly pardon-seeking (pākṣikakṣāmaṇārthaṁ).[217] A queer incident of hiding a prince in a nunnery when his relatives came to take him back has already been referred to.

Regarding study also, a lonely monk was not allowed to give lessons to a lonely nun in the absence of her 'mahattarikā' (superior nun),[218] and a nun was forbidden to give instruction to either an old or a young monk at night.[219] In cases of difficulty, however, a nun could go to the monks to get her doubt explained and solved.

In illness, a monk was not allowed to accept any medicine, however good or difficult to secure, brought by a nun.[220] However, nursing the ill in their respective communities—i.e., a nun waiting upon an ill nun, and a monk serving an ill monk—was not only allowed but was laid down as a duty of

212. *Ibid.*, 109.
213. *Ibid.*, 62.
214. *Ibid.*, 83.
215. *Ṭhāṇ.* pp. 327b, 352a; also *Bṛhatkalpa*, 6, 7-12.
216. *Nis.* 4, 23-24.
217. *Ogha-N.* 107.
218. *Gacchācāra*, 94.
219. *Ibid.*, 116.
220. *Ibid.*, 92.

every monk and nun. The *Bṛhatkalpa*[221] refers to a queer practice of monks and nuns drinking each other's urine or saliva (moya) in cases of snake-bite, cholera (viṣūcikā) and high fever.

Thus it may be said that as a rule the monks and nuns, in general, came into the least contact with one another. But in cases of emergencies and calamities the rules were made elastic enough to allow contact which did not transgress the limits and the fundamentals of moral discipline, public faith and local customs.

NUNS AND SOCIETY:

In the society, nuns came in contact with either the devoted laymen of Jaina faith or those who were antagonistic to that religion. In the case of the latter, the rules were as strict for the nuns as for the monks. No contact with heretics was allowed to them. The nuns were not allowed to share a common residence with them or have an exchange of requisites, food, or clothing. It was said that the Kāpālikas allured the nuns by magical spells, while others caused impregnation.[222] It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that a system which allowed the least contact of nuns with the monks of their own Order should have deplored all contact with the heretics.

The relations of a nun with the laymen were allowed to be modestly cordial but care was taken that they did not become affectionate. Of course, a nun had to depend on the laymen for her alms, clothing, residence and other requisites, yet that did not entitle her to act as a worldly woman. Her duty was chiefly to instruct the laity and to present them a picture of pure life. Hence, no worldly activities with the laymen or laywomen such as stitching their clothes or giving them clothes or acting as a messenger or telling worldly stories or to carry or offer a seat to them or praise them for any reason, was allowed to a nun, however good or bad the laity might be.[223] Even with their former relatives they were not allowed to keep contact, and anything that was likely to lower the prestige of nun-life in the public mind, as well as anything that tended to induce a nun to be worldly was not allowed.

NUNS OF THE STHĀNAKAVĀSINS:

We have noted elsewhere the cause of the rise of this non-idolatrous sect among the Śvetāmbaras. Along with the rise of the order of such monks, an order of nuns among them was also established.

221. 5, 37.
222. JAIN, J.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.
223. *Gacchācāra*, 113, 115, 124, 126.

Regarding their views and mode of life, we have drawn a sketch previously. The order of the nuns of the Sthānakavāsins does not differ much from those of the monks of the same sect.

The discipline of the nuns, however, seems strict, and they are not normally allowed to have vocal or any other contact with monks. A common residence is out of question. The nuns, however, go to the Sthānaka to get their difficulties solved.

There being no idol-worship, most of the time of the nuns is spent in the residence which they occupy. They put on white clothes, but the distinguishing mark is the use of the 'muhapattī' which they always use.

The rest of the rules are common with those of the monks.

We have, up till now, taken a survey of the life of the nuns among the Śvetāmbaras. We shall now study the order of the nuns among the Digambaras.

NUNS AMONG THE DIGAMBARAS:

The order of nuns among the Digambaras did not differ much from that of the Śvetambaras. The fundamentals of moral discipline were the same. Yet, in their attitude towards women, the Digambaras were more strict than the Śvetāmbaras.

Attitude Towards Women:

The Digambaras not onlv shared the same views about women in general as those of the Śvetāmbaras, but went a step further in holding that women, even if they became nuns, were not eligible for liberation, unless they were reborn as men.[224]

The reason behind this view was that liberation was impossible without complete non-attachment which implied nudity. We have already seen why women were not allowed nudity on grounds of their physical disabilities.[225] Besides these, women were said to be always negligent and crooked. Hence they cannot get liberation in that very birth.[226] The Śvetāmbaras are more liberal and they hold that a woman can get mokṣa.[227]

224. *Prv.*, III, 7.

225. *Ibid.*, III, 10-14.

226. *Ibid.*, III, 8-9.

227. See *Vim.* 19, 8ff., where Haribhadra advocates that women are eligible both for Kevalajñāna as well as for Liberation (siddhi), as mental purity, so necessary for Liberation, can be had both by males as well as by females.

Once the weakness of woman was established and the doors closed for them to get liberation, the Digambaras imposed a strict discipline on the order of nuns.

Initiation and Church Administration:

The Digambara texts present scanty information about the organisation of the Church. The *Mūlācāra* which gives a complete picture of the monk-order fails in this respect. It may, therefore, be said that the rules regarding the qualifications of women to enter the order, the ceremony of renunciation, etc. were possibly the same as those in the case of the monks.

Regarding the Church hierarchy also, we fail to get any glimpse of an elaborate system as in the case of the Śvetāmbaras with a galaxy of different officers. It does not, however, necessarily imply the absence of such a machinery.

The gaṇinī[228] is often mentioned and she was the supreme head of the group of nuns. Her duties consisted of the management of the moral and practical aspects of the gaṇa (group) of the nuns.

Another officer mentioned is the 'therī.'[229] The word suggests a nun advanced in age and standing. It is difficult to say what exactly her duties were.

For these offices a high standard of moral discipline together with a sound knowledge of the sacred texts and administrative abilities was required.

The nuns were probably divided into groups as the word 'gaṇa' suggests. Besides the gaṇa, there was also the 'gaccha', and these two are described to consist of three and seven persons respectively.[230]

The nature and the execution of punishments for transgressions of rules by a nun is not so clear here as in the case of the Śvetāmbaras. It may be that the Digambaras perhaps neglected the order of nuns on account of their more prejudiced outlook towards woman in general.

Regarding other aspects of nun-life, the Digambaras imposed the same discipline on them as the Śvetāmbaras did.

Food and begging:

Nuns in groups of three, five or seven went out for the alms-tour.[231] They were always accompanied by old nuns (therī) and were expected to

228. *Mūl.* 4, 178.
229. *Ibid.*, 4, 194.
230. *Ibid.*, 10, 92.
231. *Ibid.*, 4, 194.

offer protection to one another in cases of trouble. Exchange of food between monks and nuns was not allowed.[232] They were not permitted to cook food for themselves and no fire-activity was ever permitted.[233] The rest of the rules, it seems, were common with those laid down for the monks. The nun took meals only once a day.[234]

Clothing:

As already seen, nudity was not allowed to nuns. She used a garment which she kept even when taking food.[235] No other details are available.

Residence:

Nuns were not permitted to stay with householders as also in a place where bad characters put up. Nuns were always asked to stay in groups of two, three or more.[236]

Study:

Activities pertaining to ink and writing were not permitted to them.[237] Like the Śvetāmbaras, the Digambara nuns were also not allowed to study certain texts. The books ascribed to the 'gaṇadharas,' the 'pratyekabuddhas', the 'śrutakevalins', as also the 'abhinnadaśapūrvakathita' (i.e., texts propounded by the holders of the knowledge of the ten pūrvas) were to be studied only by the monks.[238] Only those who had great moral attributes and a deep knowledge of the scriptures were allowed to instruct the nuns.[239]

Moral Discipline:

The nuns were expected to be modest, perfect in celibacy and non-attached to worldly things.[240] They were to be obedient towards the gaṇinī No bodily decorations were encouraged and it was laid down that they should not appear neat and smart.[241] No bathing was allowed. It was laid down that they should not weep for the miserable, should not bathe a baby or feed it, and should not do 'sūtrakaraṇa' (spinning?). They were not allowed to perform any activity pertaining to weapon, ink, agriculture, trade, sculpture,

232. *Ibid.*, 6, 49.
233. *Ibid.*, 4, 193.
234. *Suttapāhuḍa* 22-25 (Upadhye, A.N., *Prv.*, Intr., p. XXX).
235. *Ibid.*
236. *Mūl.* 4, 191.
237. *Ibid.*, 4, 193.
238. *Ibid.*, 4, 80-81.
239. *Ibid.*, 4, 183-84.
240. For qualities of nuns: *Ibid.*, 4, 187.
241. *Ibid.*, 4, 190.

writing, etc. They were also not permitted to sing.[242] All contact with the persons or circumstances that tended to lead to the breaking of celibacy was to be avoided, and a strict practice of the five great vows (pañcamahāvratas), absence of the night-meal, and perfect control over the senses through the 'pañcasamitis' and the three 'guptis' was compulsory for all.[243]

Monks and Nuns—Mutual Relations:

The monks were always given superiority over the nuns. It was said that a newly initiated monk was superior to a nun who practised the life of a nun for a long time.[244] A nun was expected to pay respect to a monk or to a teacher (adhyāpaka) or to a sūri by folding her knees and placing them on the ground.[245] The 'namaskāra' had to be done from a distance of five, six or seven hands from him.[246]

No common stay was permitted, and a monk was forbidden to remain with a nun in a lonely place or accompany her along the way or discuss something trifle with her.[247] No other activity such as sleeping, studying, eating food or any other one was allowed to a monk in a nunnery.[248] It seems that he was perhaps allowed to stay there only for religious matters (dharmakāryamantareṇa).[249] No exchange of alms was allowed between monks and nuns.[250]

The monks and nuns were not allowed to have direct talks with one another. A monk had to secure permission of the gaṇinī concerned for it, and had to speak with a nun in the presence of that officer, and that too only regarding religious matters.[251]

Nuns and Society:

The rules which controlled the nun's relations with the monks were strict, and stricter still were the rules that limited their contact with society at large. They had to keep no contact with bad characters or with nuns belonging to the rival faiths. The *Mūlācāra*[252] refers in a passing way to the

242. *Ibid.*, 4, 193.
243. *Ibid.*, 4, 90-158.
244. *Ibid.*, (*comm.* on 10, 18), "bahukālapravrajitāyā api āryikāyāḥ adya pravrajito'pi mahān."
245. *Ibid.*, 'Yathā gaurupaviśati,' 4. 195.
246. *Ibid.*
247. *Ibid.*, 5, 95.
248. *Ibid.*, 4, 180; 10, 61.
249. *Ibid.*, *comm.* on 10, 61.
250. *Ibid.*, 6, 49.
251. *Ibid.*, 4, 178.
252. *Comm.*, Pt. I, p. 368.

'pañcaśramaṇikā' which is explained away briskly as 'raktapaṭikādayaḥ' i.e., those who wear red garments and such others. As with these, the nuns had to be careful about the contact with the devoted laity also. They were disallowed to go to a householder without any reason, and if they had to go on religious mission then they went in groups, only after getting the permission of the gaṇinī.[253] No other worldly contact like fondling their children or feeding them was ever allowed.[254]

Comparison Between Śvetāmbara and Digambara Nun-Order:

It may be made clear, after taking a survey of the rules of the order of nuns both among the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras, that on account of the scantiness of the details about nuns in the Digambara texts as compared with those in the Śvetāmbara books, it is difficult to compare and contrast fully the modes of life of nuns among these two major parties of the Jaina Church. Whatever rules are given about monk-life in the Digambara texts are mainly for the monks, and it is difficult to make out whether all of them were applicable even to the nuns. The Śvetāmbara texts like the *Ācārāṅga*, the Chedasūtras, and the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* give sundry rules for both of them and generally start with the phrase "je bhikkhū bhikkhuṇī va" or "je nigganthe nigganthī vā" i.e., "those monks or nuns", thus making the rule compulsory for both.

Inspite of this lack of details on one side, the few general observations that could be made are noted below.

As regards the approach to woman in general, both the Śvetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras do not differ. In both the sects the position of a nun was inferior to that of a monk, the Digambaras, however, going to the extent of labelling the woman to be unfit for Liberation. Both the sects held that a monk who had newly entered the Order was superior to a nun of a long standing and was worthy of respect from her. Not only that, but the ultimate authority in the case of nuns was a male figure in the office of the ācārya, and the pravartinī and the gaṇinī were subordinate to him.

In study also, the Digambara and Śvetāmbara nuns, were, perhaps, on par as they were not allowed to study certain texts while the monks were allowed to do so. This was attributed to the fickleness of women and their weakness of intellect.

None of them allowed nudity to nuns though the reasons given for this differ with the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara texts.

253. *Ibid.*, 4, 192.
254. *Ibid.*, 4, 193.

The absence of details about the life of a nun and of concrete examples in which the execution of Church discipline was generally revealed, were perhaps due to a comparative neglect of the Order of nuns by the Digambaras. Even when taken for granted that the rules laid down for the monks as given in the *Mūlācāra* were also applicable to the nuns, still they fail to reveal a planned and a systematic Church hierarchy among the nuns of the Digambaras. The Śvetāmbara texts give a list of officers such as the gaṇinī, the pravartinī, the abhiṣekā, the therī, the kṣullikā, etc., but we fail to get such a planned scheme of details in the Digambara order of nuns.

Lack of details, however, need not lead one to believe that the nuns of the Digambaras had to undergo a less rigorous life than their Śvetāmbara counterparts. There is no evidence to prove that. On the contrary both these sects laid an equally emphatic stress on the moral discipline and the general rigour of nun-life.

Jaina and Buddhist Orders of Nuns:

The order of nuns among the Jainas as a whole, if compared with that of the Buddhists, reveals some striking resemblances as well as contrasts. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to have a peep into the Order of the Buddhists nuns for this purpose.

Antiquity of the Nun-Order:

Even though we cast aside the existence of the nun-order at the time of the first Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas who, it seems, is more a legendary figure than a historical one, the antiquity of the Order can go back safely to the times of Pārśva.

On the contrary, Buddha first organised a group of male disciples around him and it was later on during his career as a 'Buddha', and after frequent requests by his disciple Ānanda, that he allowed entry to women.[255]

Inferiority of Nuns:

But in allowing entry to them he imposed certain rules (garudhammas) which attributed a lower position to a nun in relation to a monk. The fundamental rule was that a nun of even a hundred years' standing was to salute and show respect to a newly initiated monk.[256] This rule was similar to such a one among the Jainas also, and it seems that the Buddhists as well as the Jainas were unanimous about the inferiority of nuns in relation to the monks.

255. *Cullavagga*, X, 1.
256. *Ibid.*, X, 1, 4.

Relations of Monks and Nuns:

One thing, however, may be noted, and it is that the Buddhist nun had to do some service to the monk. She was sometimes to clean his park.[257] This feature was completely absent in Jainism and no nun was expected to do any compulsory duties of a servant towards a monk, and the only policy was to keep them away at all costs. But the general rules of moral discipline among the Buddhists also were strict; for instance, a nun committed a 'pārājika' if she allowed a man to touch her private parts,[258] or when she waited upon a monk while he was taking food,[259] or when she accepted food from a lustful monk with passionate mind.[260]

Clothing:

The Buddhist nuns normally used three robes, and occasionally were allowed to use a cloak as the fourth garment. Thus the number of clothes seems to be identical in the case of the Buddhist and the Jaina nuns. The number of clothes increases to fourteen in later Jaina texts like the *Oghaniryukti*, etc. Like the Jaina nuns, the Buddhist nuns were also allowed to use underwear (saṅkaccikā: kañcuka of the Jainas).[261] They were also allowed to use a girdle.[262] Like the Jaina nuns, the Buddhist nuns were also forbidden to accumulate an unnecessary number of extra clothes,[263] and were asked to refrain from embroidered or decorated clothes.[264] The source of getting clothing was identical for both the Jainas and the Buddhists, as both of them depended on the laity for it.

The distribution of clothing in the Buddhist Saṅgha was called 'kaṭhina.' It took place once a year, and clothes were allotted to different nuns by the superiors. We come across a similar process in the Jaina order of nuns also. The gaṇadhara handed over the clothes to the pravartinī and the latter distributed them to the nuns according to their needs. The 'kaṭhina', however, seems to have been a far more grand ceremony and this ceremonial aspect may be said to be lacking in the Jaina Church.

In contrast to the Jaina nuns, the Buddhist nuns were to use yellow coloured garments. Not only that but they were allowed to use a particular bathing suit also.[265]

257. *Vinaya.*, IV, pp. 306-08.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
259. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.
260. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-35.
261. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
262. *Cullavagga*, X, 10. 1.
263. *Vinaya.*, IV, p. 285.
264. *Cullavagga*, X, 10. 1.
265. *Vinaya.*, IV, pp. 278-79.

Other Requisites:

Besides the three or four clothes, the Buddhist nuns carried four other articles: a needle, a water-strainer, a water bag and a bowl. It may easily be seen from this that articles like the broom or mouthpiece were quite peculiar to the Jaina order of nuns.

Regarding the requisites of the nuns as well as of the monks, it should be noted that the Buddhist Saṅgha had complete authority over them. So long as the monk or the nun was alive, they were his or her own property, but after their death the Saṅgha appropriated the requisites of the deceased. It was the case with clothings, beddings, shoes and other requisites. This role of the Church is absent in Jainism.

Another aspect, so peculiar to the Buddhist Order, was the presentation, on a large scale, of the requisites to the nuns and monks, by either the rich devotees or royal patrons. Viśākhā[266] presented a number of bathing suits for nuns, and king Pasenadi[267] is said to have bestowed on a nun a gift of valuable clothes. As noted elsewhere, this practice of accepting gifts from laity, consisting not only of clothes, etc., but even of monasteries and nunneries,[268] is conspicuously absent in Jainism.

Touring and Vassā:

Equipped with these requisites, the Buddhist nuns practised a touring life as the Jaina nuns did. The practice of observing rain retreat (varṣāvāsa) was common to both these systems. In the rest of the period of the year, the Buddhist nuns, like the Jaina ones, were not allowed to go alone to a village or tour lonely at night or purposely severe all connections with the rest of the group.[269] The Jaina nun was never allowed to remain alone and even their officers like the pravartinī and the gaṇāvacchedinī had to remain in company.

Study:

As in the case of the Jaina nuns, the Buddhist nuns also spent a major portion of the day in studying and giving instructions to the newcomer in the Order. Several Jaina nuns were well-versed in the eleven Aṅgas, and we have several instances of Buddhist nuns also who were masters of the the Tripiṭaka.[270] The psalms of the *Therīgāthā,* though poetic and spiritual

266. *Mahāvagga*, 8, 15. 2.
267. *Vinaya.*, IV, p. 286.
268. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 287.
269. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 227ff.
270. *Dhamm. comm.* I, pp. 208ff, (nun Khujjuttarā).

in nature, as they contain spontaneous expressions of the joy of enlightenment, reveal a ripe understanding in the case of the nuns.

Learned monks of high moral and academic calibre were appointed to teach the 'Pātimokkha' to the nuns,[271] and the task of exorting the nuns (ovāda) was entrusted to a monk old in age, mature in wisdom and endowed with moral qualifications.[272]

The Jaina nuns, as we have seen, were allowed to go to the monastery for getting their difficulties solved.

Church Administration :

As with the Jainas, the admission to the Church was open to all irrespective of caste or class. Yet, in practice, certain persons were disallowed entry to the Order, and the list of women who were not admitted to the Order is more or less common with both these Faiths. Permission of either the husband or the parents was compulsory in the case of the Buddhist nuns also.[273]

Some of the officers of the Buddhist nun-order bear a close resemblance to those of the Jaina nun-order. For instance, the Buddhist nuns had a female officer in the person of 'pavattinī' (cf. pavattiṇī of the Jainas). Besides the pavattinī, a senior nun was called a 'therī' who had an exact counterpart in the Jaina order of nuns. The credentials for higher office depended, in the case of both, not only on the number of years a nun remained as a part of the congregation but also on moral qualities and spiritual achievements.

Church Discipline and Its Execution :

As we have already seen, the formation of the nun-order among the Buddhists took place somewhat later than that of the monk-order, and it seems probable that the legal code governing the conduct of nuns was also of a later origin than that for the monks.[274] And the rules increased according to new problems and circumstances. The monks framed the rules for the nuns, carried on the cases of the nuns who committed certain offences, and gave them instructions. The authority of delivering the judgment and punishment was also vested in the hands of the monks. No doubt a preli-

271. *Cullavagga*, X, 6, 2.
272. *Vinaya.*, IV, p. 51.
273. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 334-5.
274. "The laws for Bhikkhunis are of a later origin than most of the laws for men as the establishment of the Bhikkhunisangha took place five years later than the Bhikkhusangha."—Durga BHAGWAT, *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence*, p. 163.

minary assembly of nuns was held to investigate into the charges, but it did not execute any powers beyond the election of a respected nun who was to let know the assembly of monks the charges filed against a particular nun. Thus the assembly of nuns was a purely subordinate body working as a shadow-court. In short, "owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the Bhikkhu-saṅgha and there being very little authority vested in women, the whole code (of laws about nuns) remained unpolished, abrupt and inadequate."[275]

In the case of the Jaina nuns, the case was somewhat different. The orders of monks and nuns being simultaneous in origin, even the oldest texts like the *Ācārāṅga* give rules of behaviour common to both the monks and nuns. The same text or even the other texts of the Aṅgas fail to give a complete picture of the working of the order of nuns regarding monastic jurisprudence. The concrete cases of misbehaviour and various punishments for each of them are to be found only in the Chedasūtras and later on in the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya*. With all this development, however, the code of laws governing the nun-life seems to be far from comprehensive and perfect, if compared to that for the monks.

Another common factor is that the laws are not at all presented in well classified and systematic groups. "The chief defect in the classification of the Vinaya laws is that many a time offences which have no common bearing are bracketed together or are kept loosely hanging somewhere."[276] The same is the case with the rules of the monk and nun lives in Jainism. For instance, in the first chapter (uddesa) of *Niśīthasūtra*, sexual offences, offences about a bowl and those regarding the acceptance of minor returnable requisites are given at the same place. In the *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* also, the punishments for one item like the acceptance of food, etc. are not given at one place but are scattered here and there, just casually as the treatment of various topics takes a turn.

Even though both the Buddhist and Jaina nuns had to undergo rigorous discipline, public opinion wielded a great influence on the formation of rules regarding them. Practically in every case, the Jaina nun had to undergo more punishment than normal if the people added their suspicion or raised a scandal about it.

From this short survey it seems that the nuns of the Buddhists had more opportunities to mix with their monk-brethren than the Jaina ones. The working of their order seems perhaps more organised and democratic than the Jaina order of nuns, and the order of nuns among the Buddhists

275. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
276. *Ibid.*, p. 20; for a detailed treatment of offences, see pp. 165ff.

presents a greater degree of a corporate and a reciprocal monastic life than that among the Jainas.

Nuns and Brāhmanism:

Unlike the Buddhists and the Jainas, Brāhmanism has the unique feature of having no nun-order as such. The 'brahmavādinīs' of the Vedic period, Maitreyī, wife of Yājñavalkya of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* Gārgī of the Saṁhitā period, and such others fail to reveal the existence of an organised system of "nuns" in Brāhmanism. These are rather stray instances of women taking part in composing hymns,[277] and in debates on metaphysical matters.

The Brāhmanical texts do not lag behind in condemning the woman. The culmination is found in Manu who thinks woman to be a creature unfit for liberty.[278] He prohibited Śūdras and women to study the Vedas.[279] In some texts purification is prescribed for the "offence" of even touching a woman. Women were not allowed to perform religious sacrifices also.[280]

Thus the attitude being stiff towards women, the institution of 'sannyāsa' was also denied to them. Har Dutta SHARMA accounting for the absence of nun-order in Brāhmanism says, "The real idea underlying Saṁnyāsa or renunciation has been the renunciation of the household-fire. This household-fire is kindled by a man and so its renunciation is also possible only by a man. A woman does not at all come into the question".[281]

ALTEKAR, however, seems to attribute it to the rampant moral degradation of the Buddhist church. "Later Hinduism took a lesson from what it saw in Buddhist monasteries and nunneries and declared women to be ineligible for renunciation. It maintained that not renunciation but due discharge of family responsibilities was the most sacred duty of women. Nuns, therefore, have disappeared from Hinduism during the last fifteen hundred years."[282]

277. HANDIQUI, Women Poets of ṚgVeda, *I.A.* Vol. 50, pp. 113ff.
278. *Manusmṛti,* 9, 3.
279. *Ibid.,* III, 156; IV, 99; IX, 18; X, 127.
280. *Āpastamba,* 1. 5. 14 and 11. 6. 17.
281. *Poona Orientalist,* Vol. III, No. 4, Jan. 1939: ('History of Brāhmanical Asceticism', chapt. VII, p. 63). In the next paragraph on the same page, however, he says that Janaka's mistaking Sulabhā (*Mbh.* XII. 322), to be a brāhmaṇī in the sannyāsa stage, goes to prove the existence of the brāhmaṇa female ascetics and kṣatriya female ascetics as well.—*Ibid.,* pp. 63-64.
282. *Position of Women,* p. 249; practically the same view expressed by L. RAO, *I.A.,* Vol. 50, p. 84.

We need not go into much detail here regarding this point. One thing, however, may be noted that the Brāhmanical texts always paint the parivrājikā acting the part of a go-between, and do not enjoy a good opinion about her role in society. In fact the word 'śramaṇā' is explained by Sanskrit lexicons[283] as a woman without character.

It may be noted that the attitude towards women in general got stiffened in later Brāhmanical texts, and they shared the same views regarding them as did the Jainas and the Buddhists. It may be that this disregard for women was the outcome of similar expressions of antipathy in the Jaina and the Buddhist literatures, and therefore, we may say that Brāhmanical disrespect and suspicion for the woman was aggravated by Jaina and Buddhist attitude.

Whatever be the exact causes that led to the absence of nun-order in Brāhmanism, it tended firmly not to allow women to enter Sannyāsa, and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya goes to the extent of prescribing a punishment for a man who makes a woman renounce the world.[284] This led to the tying down of women to household duties.

Nuns in Christianity:

In Christianity, woman was not looked at with antipathy and was not taken to be a creature to be afraid of. She was allowed to carry on a course of chaste life to attain the final aim for which she chose life in a convent.

Even though the monastic method of life was more or less the same for both the monks and the nuns, except, of course, with a few exceptions yet, the whole mode and organisation of the nun as well as of the monk life in Christianity seem to have been far more organised and of a corporate nature than that found in the various types of Indian monachism.

The mode of life, for instance, of nuns in the 13th century in England was like this:[285]

"...... the blessed mother abbess, Euphemia (died in 1257) ...... increased the sum allowed for garments (of the sisters) by 12 d. each ...... She erected permanent buildings, new and strong, on the bank of the river, together with farmhouses.

"Regular accounts were kept regarding the expenditure and income of the Church. ...... The revenue of the convent consisted chiefly of the rent of lands and buildings and the sale of produce, timber, etc. .... Large

283. *Medinīkośa*, p. 50, v. 80: 'Śramaṇo yatibhede nā nindyajīvini tu triṣu.'
284. "Striyaṁ ca pravrājayataḥ"—II. 19. 37.
285. F. A. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, pp. 155ff.

stocks of pigs were kept, wool was sold and the sales of fish also brought a good income to the nuns....... Another practice revealed by these old accounts was that of people coming to halt at the convent for the celebration of some of the greater feasts......These visitors eventually made an offering for the hospitality shown them.

"The spiritual needs of the community were ministered to by a chaplain....... It is not uninteresting to notice that the nuns' little present for the services of these reverend gentlemen was, it would seem, delicately handed to them in purses purchased for the purpose.

"These ladies were excellent needlewomen (and they sold their finished articles)........They grew the wool and spun it and wove it into cloth, not only for their own garments, but also for those of their retainers.

"All the larger nunneries and probably most of the smaller ones, to whatever Order they belonged, opened their doors for the education of young girls, who were frequently boarders. In fact the female position of the population, the poor as well as the rich, had in the convents their only schools, nuns their only teachers, in pre-Reformation times. Not only were many of the nuns of good birth, but their pupils were in the main drawn from the same class."

The above picture of nun-life, though far removed in point of time, if compared with the life of early Jaina and Buddhist nuns, presents an altogether different atmosphere. Even though corporate or rather group life seems to some extent common to both, yet the feature of Christian nun-life involved living as a self-supporting and compact unit carrying on all the necessary activities for the maintenance of their group besides the purely spiritual ones, is lacking in the life of nuns in India. The latter were found begging their food and clothing, unlike their Christian sisters. It, therefore, presents quite a different picture far removed from the Indian monastic life and the nuns, at least, never played a role of school teachers even though they were preachers to the public.

Evaluation of the Order of Nuns:

The study of the order of the Jaina nuns and its comparison with similar orders in other religions brings out certain peculiarities of their nun-order.

From the attitude towards woman in general and their subordinate position in the Church as a whole, it seems that the Jaina nuns failed to play any major role either in the administration or in the execution of the powers of the Church as embodied in the figure of an ācārya. They were satisfied to remain in the background doing their best for spiritual advancement.

Unlike the Buddhist nuns under Thullānandā, who, under the influence of Devadatta, took pleasure in behaving against the normal rules and encouraging schism in the Church, we come across no instances of nuns starting new schisms in Jainism. No doubt, we find nuns joining either the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara or the Sthānakavāsin order, but they fail to play the role of active supporters of the dissenters so as to create bad feeling and indiscipline in the Church.

It seems that though the nuns led a group-life, there were quarrels and bickerings among them. The gaṇinī was expected to pacify them and if she herself took part in them, then she had to undergo major punishment. It is likely that the nuns as a whole had a less percentage of calm and contented women. This was probably due to the fact that many women entered the order out of disappointment and personal unhappiness in worldly life and perhaps retained their traits or habits even after becoming nuns. Widows entered the order in great numbers in later stages.

Some scholars lay much stress on the moral decay of Jaina and Buddhist nuns as an argument for the absence of the nun-order in Brāhmanism. And the Brāhmanical texts also picture the 'śramaṇī', the 'nirgranthikā', and the 'parivrājikā' acting as go-betweens.[286] Not only that, even the Jaina texts picture some female mendicants involved in love-affairs of young people. In the *Nāyādhammakahāö*[287] we come across a certain lady Poṭṭilā asking information to Jaina nuns regarding some spells or magic by which to bring her husband under control. It is possible that certain nuns did such things. But on such stray instances and on the basis of Brāhmanical texts (which very often have looked upon the Jainas and Buddhists as Nāstikas, for even Pāṇini records natural antipathy between Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas), it would not be justifiable to draw a general and sweeping conclusion about the wholesale corruption of the non-Brāhmanical Church as a whole, and to attribute that as being the cause for the prohibition of sannyāsa to women in Brāhmanism.[288] As against such cases, we may quote the instances of Rājīmatī, the wife of Ariṣṭanemi, admonishing her husband's brother, who, seeing her naked in a cave, became enamoured of her.[289]

The services done by nuns from the point of view of the work of preachers cannot be minimised. They toured from place to place and gave to the public an essence of spirituality blended with the practice of simple

286. See, BLOOMFIELD—"On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction": *JAOS*, Vol. 44, pp. 204ff.

287. Chapt. XIV, p. 152, (N. V. VAIDYA's edition).

288. See ALTEKAR, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

289. *Uttar.*, XXII, 34-36.

life of renunciation. From the references, it seems that the majority of the nuns had studied the sacred texts and the greater portion of their daily routine was spent in study. Thus, it may not be an exaggeration to say that they also played their part in handing down the texts by oral tradition. The actual instance of this ripe understanding and wisdom which took the role of a peace-maker, can be had in the case of the nun Paümāvaī who averted the war between a father and a son.[290]

Besides the work of preaching the public, the order of nuns proved a solace to destitute women who embraced nunhood when harassed by the pangs of worldly life. Heart-broken widows, forsaken wives, and sonless mothers, all these sought refuge in the life of a nun. The presence of nuns, like that of monks, really supplied models of pious life for many in the society.

The Church on the other hand took all precautions, but "the abuses imputed by the general public have seldom failed to carry some effect on the prevailing customs of the saṅgha".[291] Hence least contact with the dependence on the society was the rule. The nuns were not to do anything that was likely to give rise to suspicion or scandal among the people, and in such cases her punishment was increased. As a matter of fact many rules regarding nuns reveal basically a keen observation in the psychology of the common people. On certain occasions, the Church was ready to face the criticism of the public as in the case of the raped nuns, and it laid down that even monks should go to the extent of punishing the bad characters.

Thus, on the whole, the nuns played a quiet and a minor but significant role in the life of the Church. Remaining subordinate to the monks, they did their work as the preachers of the gospel to the best of their ability and earned the title of being the best repositories of older traditions with an ideal simplicity of life.

290. *Ibid., Ṭīkā* 9, p. 132a.
291. Durga BHAGVAT, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

PART IV

Chapter 1 : JAINA MONACHISM FROM EPIGRAPHS.

CHAPTER 1

JAINA MONACHISM FROM EPIGRAPHS

Introduction

We have up till now dealt with the literary sources. This chapter deals with the information available regarding the actual working of Jaina monachism as revealed in Jaina and non-Jaina epigraphs from the period of Aśoka upto the 17th cent. A.D.

But the details regarding the spread of Jainism have not been dealt with here as they have already been utilised in an earlier chapter.

Nature of Epigraphical Sources:

Literary sources have described the state of Jaina monachism at different periods. But the details of its working from a historical point of view can be augmented only by contemporary historical documents. Inscriptional evidence is only a part of such an evidence.

Epigraphical references are of two kinds. Some are old; others are late, one may say, even modern. The former have been used in checking the early literary evidence. The latter explain not only slow but constant growth in the constitution of Jainism and some of the factors behind it.

It may also be made clear here that even though the praśastis do not belong exactly to the category of inscriptions, they may very well be termed literary inscriptions as they sometimes give account of historical facts. Hence their material is included in this chapter.

In dealing with this material the same plan as the one resorted to while dealing with the literary sources is to be adopted. Hence, we shall study the evidence from epigraphs item by item.

THE CHURCH:

(a) *Hierarchy*:

Mathurā inscriptions may be said to provide the earliest information on this point. These epigraphs reveal an organised Church as they men-

tion a number of officers of the Jaina hierarchy. The following officers are mentioned:

(1) Antevāsin
(2) Gaṇin
(3) Vācaka
(4) Śraddhacara.

The first three are to be found frequently mentioned even in the literary sources, while the last, denoting probably a disciple or a colleague, is rare.

The usual designation by which an ācārya was called seems to have been 'aryya' (ārya) or 'bhadata' (bhadanta).[1] The ordinary monk was referred to as a 'samana' (śramaṇa),[2] and laywomen as 'samanasāvikā'.[3] The "antevāsin'[4] or 'antevāsikinī'[5] denoted the male novice and female novice respectively. The words 'sisa' or 'sisinī' were also used to denote the same.

It should be noted that the term 'vācaka'[6] suggests that as early as the beginning of the Christian era, the Jaina Church had a class of teachers whose duty was to read and explain religious texts to the junior monks.

The closer we come to the medieval period, we have the predominance of the ācārya, upādhyāya, sūri,[7] gaṇin and the bhaṭṭāraka.[8] These are to be met with in epigraphs belonging mostly to the post-7th century A.D. period.

Besides these, it may be noted that a peculiar officer called the 'mahāmaṇḍalācārya' is to be found mostly among the Digambara epigraphs of the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D.[9] These were probably the heads of a particular unit (maṇḍala) of monks, and were supreme in power and authority.

That the work of both initiation and instruction was done in some cases by a single ācārya is clear from the fact that 'dīkṣā-' and 'śruta gurus'[10] are mentioned. Of Kumārasena it is said that from him "ascetics received both initiation and instructions".[11]

Contact with other regional languages may be said to have introduced peculiar names and designations in the Church hierarchy. For instance, an

1. *E.I.*, I, 29, p. 395; LÜDERS, List, (*E.I.* VIII), 57, 99.
2. BÜHLER, *E.I.*, II, 1.
3. LÜDERS, 59.
4. *Ibid.*, 93.
5. *Ibid.*, 67.
6. 'Vācanācārya' is mentioned even in V.S. 1677: NAHAR, I, 2514.
7. E.C., II, 23 of c. 700 A.D.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 13 of c. 700 A.D.
9. *Ibid.*, 238 (1198 A.D.); *Ibid.*, VII, Shik. 120 of 1048 A.D.
10. *Ibid.*, V, Belur, 131: 1274 A.D.; 133 of 1279 A.D.
11. *Ibid.*, II, 67 of 1129 A.D.

epigraph dated V. S. 1536 from Jaisalmer refers to 'celā' a Hindi term for a disciple.[12] Another one dated V. S. 1917 from the same place refers to a Sāhibacandra muni, a distinct outcome of the English contact with India![13] The designation 'paṇḍita' is also to be found in many epigraphs to denote a subordinate but possibly a well-read disciple.[14] It may be that it was purely an honorific term.

Under these various officers monks were grouped in various units. As early as the beginning of the Christian era, the Mathurā inscriptions refer to a number of gaṇas, kulas, śākhās and sambhogas some of which are to be found even in the *Kalpasūtra.*

Gaṇas, Śākhās, Kulas and Sambhogas in the Mathurā Inscriptions :

Kalpasūtra :		*Mathurā Inscriptions* :
CĀRAṆA GAṆA :		*VARAṆĀ GAṆA* :
Originator : Siriguttta		
ŚAKHAS : (1) Gavedhuyā	:	ŚAKHAS referred to are[15]
(2) Hāriyamālāgārī	:	(2), (3) and (4).
(3) Saṅkāsiā		
(4) Vajjanāgarī		
KULAS : (1) Ajjaveḍaya	:	KULA: referred to are (6) and the following: [16]
(2) Hālijja		
(3) Kaṇhasaha	:	(a) Arya Bhista[17]
(4) Mālijja	:	(b) Arya Ceṭiya[18]
(5) Pīīdhammiya	:	(c) Arya Hāṭṭikīya[19]
(6) Pūsamittijja	:	(d) Kaniyasika[20]
(7) Vatthalijja	:	(e) Nāḍika[21]
	:	(f) Petivāmi[22]
	:	SAMBHOGAS :
	:	(a) Āryaśrīka[23]
	:	(b) Śrīgṛha[24]

12. NAHAR, III, 2357.
13. *Ibid.*, 2542.
14. *Ibid.*, 2565.
15. *E.I.*, X, ii, p. 114; *Ibid.*, II, No. 36, p. 209; *Ibid.*, X, ii, p. 116.
16. LÜDERS, No. 34.
17. *E.I.*, II, No. 36, p. 209.
18. LÜDERS, 42.
19. *E.I.*, II, No. 11, p. 201.
20. LÜDERS, 113.
21. *E.I.*, II, No. 28, p. 206.
22. LÜDERS, 45.
23. *E.I.*, X, ii, p. 116.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 36, p. 209.

Kalpasūtra :	*Mathurā Inscriptions* :
GODĀSA GAṆA :	
Originator : Godāsa	
ŚAKHAS : (1) Dāsīkhabbaḍiyā	
(2) Koḍivarisiyā	
(3) Paṇḍuvaddhaṇiyā	
(4) Tāmalittiyā	
KOḌIYA GAṆA :	*KOṬṬIYA GAṆA* :
Originators : Suṭṭhiya and Suppaḍibuddha.[25]	
ŚAKHAS : (1) Majjhimillā	ŚAKHAS referred to are[26]
(2) Vaïrī	(1), (2), (3) and (4).
(3) Vijjāharī	
(4) Uccānāgarī	
KULAS : (1) Bambhalijja	KULAS referred to are
(2) Paṇhavāhaṇaya[28]	(1) Bambhadāsiya[27]
(3) Vāṇijja	(2) Paṇhavāhaṇaya
(4) Vatthalijja	(3) Ṭhāṇiya[29]
	(4) Vacchaliya[30]
	(5) Candra[31]
	SAMBHOGAS :
	Śrīgṛha[32]

MĀṆAVA GAṆA :

Originator : Isigutta

ŚAKHAS : (1) Goyamijjiya
(2) Kāsavajjiyā
(3) Soraṭṭhiyā
(4) Vāsiṭṭhiyā

25. *Ibid.*, p. 51, *v*. 4.
26. *Ibid.*, X, ii, pp. 110, 118; *Ibid.*, p. 111; *Ibid.*, ii, No. 39, p. 210; LÜDERS, 73.
27. *E.I.*, X, ii, p. 111.
28. LÜDERS, 73.
29. *E.I.*, X, ii, p. 110.
30. *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 202.
31. NAHAR, I, 137.
32. *E.I.*, II, No. 18, p. 203.

Kalpasūtra :		*Mathurā Inscriptions* :
KULAS :	(1) Abhijayanta	
	(2) Isidattiya	
	(3) Isiguttiya	
UDDEHA GAṆA :		: *ODEHIKIYA GAṆA* :
Originator :	Ajja Rohaṇa	
ŚAKHAS :	(1) Maïpattiyā	: ŚAKHA referred is
	(2) Māsapūriyā	: (1) Petaputrikā[33]
	(3) Punnapattiyā	
	(4) Udumbarijjiyā	
KULAS :	(1) Hatthalijja	: KULAS referred are :
	(2) Nāgabhūya	: (2), (4) and
	(3) Nandijja	: Nāgabhūtikiya[34]
	(4) Pārihāsaya	: Paridhāsika[35]
	(5) Somabhūya	
	(6) Ullagaccha	
UḌUVĀḌIYA GAṆA :		
Originator :	Jasabhadda	
ŚAKHAS :	(1) Bhaddijjiyā	
	(2) Caṁpijjiyā	
	(3) Kākandiyā	
	(4) Mehalijjiyā	
KULAS :	(1) Bhaddaguttiya	
	(2) Bhaddajasiya	
	(3) Jasabhadda	
UTTARABALISSAHA GAṆA :		
Originators :	Uttara and Balissaha	
ŚAKHAS :	(1) Candanāgarī	
	(2) Koḍambāṇī	
	(3) Kosambiyā	
	(4) Soïttiyā	

33. LÜDERS, 76.
34. *Ibid.*, 21.
35. *Ibid.*, 76.

Kalpasūtra :		*Mathurā Inscriptions :*
VESAVĀḌIYA GAṆA :		
Originator : Kāmiddhī		
Śakhas : (1) Antarijjiyā		
(2) Khemalijjiyā		
(3) Rajjapāliyā		
(4) Sāvatthiyā		
Kulas : (1) Indapuraga	:	Kula referred to is :
(2) Gaṇiya	:	(1) Mehika[36]
(3) Kāmiddhiā		
(4) Mehiya		

Besides these, the *Kalpasūtra*[37] refers to the following Śākhās :

Name	Originator	Disciple of
Isipāliyā	Isipāliya	Santisena of Uccānāgarī śākhā
Kuberī	Kubera	
Seṇiā	Seṇiā	
Jayantī	Ajjaraha	Ajja Vaïra of Ajja Vaïrī śākhā
Nāïlī	Ajjavaïraseṇa	
Paümā	Ajjapaüma	

A survey of these various units, a few among which are corroborated by the Mathurā inscriptions, tend to lead one to the following observations:

(i) The Koṭṭiya Gaṇa is frequently referred to. Probably it was one of the oldest Gaṇas, and hence one of the most respected also.[38]

(ii) The Gaṇas seem to have in some cases (like Godāsa and Uttarabalissaha) received their names after the proper names of their originators.

(iii) Many of the Kulas and the Śākhās[39] were named after either personal or regional names: Isipāliyā, Sāvatthiyā, etc.

36. *Ibid.*, 70.

37. *SBE.*, XXII, pp. 228-41: See also Bühler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp. 58-60.

38. Nahar, I, 137, of V.S. 1856 from Campāpurī refers to it. Bühler, *E.I.*, II, pp. 379-80, remarks "It is the only gaṇa whose name survived in the fourteenth cent A.D.". He places its origin in c. 250 B.C.

39. For instance :

Antarañjiyā Śākhā	: Atranji-khera, 8 mls. north of Etah : Jain, J.C., *op. cit.*, p. 267.		
Kākandīyā	: Kākan in Monghyr Distt. *Ibid.*, p. 291.		
Khabbaḍīyā	: Kharvaṭa in W. Bengal	:	p. 296.
Khemalijjiyā	: Comillah in W. Bengal	:	p 299.
Koḍivarisiyā	: Bāngarh, Dinājpur Distt.	:	p. 298.
Puṇḍavaddhaṇiyā	: Mahāsthāna, Bogra Distt.	:	p 324.
Uccānagarī	: Bulandaśahar, U.P.	:	p. 254.

(iv) The practice of dividing a congregation of monks into various units like the Śakhās, Kulas, Gaṇas and Sambhogas seems to have been at least as old as the second century B.C. It is possible that it may go back even further.

(v) Even though the *Kalpasūtra* does not refer to any sambhogas with particular designations, the Mathurā inscriptions do so.

(vi) No gacchas are referred to, except the 'ullagaccha' which is a 'Kula' of Uddeha Gaṇa.

This tendency of starting branches after personal and regional basis, however, is seen to have played an important part later on in the formation of the Gacchas.

The gacchas, as we shall see presently, took the place of the gaṇas, even though some of the later gacchas themselves were designated both a gaṇa as well as a gaccha.

The sambhogas, however, seem to have been completely wiped out as later epigraphs fail to reveal their existence.[40]

With the shifting of the centre of activity of Jaina monachism from Mathura towards Gujarat and Rajputana, we see a tremendous rise in the number of gacchas. Naturally many of them originated in these regions.

It may be noted that the rise of the gacchas is traditionally attributed to the disciples of Uddyotanasūri in about the 10th century of the Christian era.[41] It is said that the eighty-four gacchas arose with these disciples. But the number far exceeds the traditional list. It may mean, therefore, that the number eighty-four is simply a traditional figure, or that in the life-time of the originators of these gacchas there were only eighty-four units which later on seem to have increased after the names of places and persons.

The following gacchas are referred to in the Post-Mathura period:

ĀCARAJA:

Mentioned in an epigraph of V. S. 1923, from Jaisalmer.[42]

ĀGAMA,—also °IKA:

It was started by Śīlaguṇasūri and Devabhadrasūri from the original Añcala gaccha, in 1250 V. S.

40. 'Sambhoga' or 'bhoga' as a territorial unit occurs in 6th-7th century inscriptions of Gujarat. This also shows that the word was used in the sense of a unit, perhaps in early times.

41. *I.A.* XI, p. 248.

42. NAHAR, III, 2445.

One of their tenets was that prayers were not to be offered to the Kṣetradevatā.[43]

Epigraphical corroboration can be had from[44] V. S. 1438 to 1575, though in the Praśastis, it is mentioned in V. S. 1372.[45]

From various inscriptions it may be said that this gaccha had its followers spread over N. Gujarat, Rajputana, U. P. and Bengal.

ĀNANDASURI:

It is said that a certain Ānandasūri started this gaccha out of the Tapā.[46]

It is mentioned in an inscription of V. S. 1860[47]

ĀNANDAVIMALASURI:

An ācārya of this name is said to have started it in V. S. 1588 with the purpose of removing slackness from the Tapā gaccha.[48] It is likely that this gaccha was identical with the previous one.

ANCALA:

It was started in V. S. 1213, and its original name was 'Vidhipakṣa' (upholding sacred rites). This, however, changed with the use of one's garment's end (añcala) instead of muhapattī (mouthpiece) at the time of 'pratikramaṇa.'[49]

It is mentioned in epigraphs from the fifteenth century to the present day.[50]

Inscriptions mentioning it are found in U. P., Bengal, Bihar, Rajputana, Kathiawad, N. Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad (Deccan) and Bombay,

43. *SBM*, V, ii, p. 66.
44. NAHAR, I, 795, 111.
45. *JPPS.*, I, p. 135.
46. *SBM*, V, ii, 176.
47. *E.I.*, I, p. 377.
48. SBM, V, ii, 134-36. So far, no epigraphical corroboration for the gaccha of this name has been available, to the best of our knowledge.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 65: For its Paṭṭāvali, *E.I.*, II, p. 69, where Ārya Rakṣita is said to have been its founder; also see DISKALKAR, *IK*, 134; *I.A.* XI, p. 249.
50. NAHAR, I, 628; *E.I.*, II, No. CXI, p. 85.

BAHADA:

It is mentioned under various names like 'Bhāvaḍahara,' 'Bhāvaheḍā', and 'Bhāvaḍaharā'. It is also likely that these were different gacchas.

Epigraphical mention is available between fourteenth and sixteenth centuries of V. S.[51]

It seems that it was predominant in Rajputana, Bihar and Bengal.

BAPADIYA:

It was also called 'Vāpaṭīya' and seems to have been current from the twelfth century of the V. S.,[52] round about Jaisalmer.

BHANADEVACARYA:

It is mentioned in an inscription of V. S. 1246.[53] From its name it appears that it originated after ācārya Bhānadeva.

BHARTRPURA—or °RIYA :

It was also called 'Bhaṭevarā' (mod. Bharatpūr?),[54] and is mentioned from the fourteenth century of V. S.

BHAVADAHARA:

See Bāhaḍa.

BHAVAHARSA:

Mentioned in an inscription from Bālotarā. The date is partially wiped out, and only V. S. 109—can be read.[55]

BHINNAMALA:

Though named after a place in S. Rajputana it is found mostly in Kathiawad in the 15th and the 16th centuries of V. S.[56]

BOKADIYA:

It seems to have been current from the 15th century of V. S., in Nagaur, Jaipur and Kareḍā (Mewar).[57]

51. NAHAR, III, 2228 and 2203.
52. *Ibid.*, 2218.
53. BHANDARKAR's List, *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 61, No. 420.
54. *Ibid.*, No. 1533, p. 211; 816, p. 133 of V.S. 1514; *JPPS*, I, p. 129 of V.S. 1332; also GUERINOT, *EJ.*, No. 642.
55. NAHAR, I, 736.
56. *Ibid.*, III, 2295; II, 2096.
57. *Ibid.*, II, 1246, 1169, etc.

BRAHMI:

It is also axpressed as 'Vrāhmī', and is mentioned in V. S. 1144 at Pāli.[58]

BRAMHANA—or °NIYA :

Its earliest mention[59] is probably in V.S. 1102, and this gaccha seems to have existed[60] even in V.S. 1663.

It seems to have spread over the region consisting of Bengal, U.P., Rajputana, N. Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, and Bihar.

BRHAD—also 'VRHAD':

Epigraphs ranging from the 13th to the 16th century of V.S. refer to this gaccha.[61]

It is mainly mentioned in epigraphs from Rajputana, Sirpur (C.P.), Gwaliar, Mathura, Lucknow, and Patna.

————*Pippaliyā Śākhā*:

It was a branch of the above gaccha.[62]

BRHAD-GUJARATI-LONKA:

It is mentioned in an inscription[63] from Pāvāpuri, dated V.S. 1931.

It may be that it was connected with the famous Loṅkā sect of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat out of which, later on, the Sthānakavāsins arose.

BRHAT-KHARATARA:

It is also called 'Vṛhat-K'. It generally gets reference in epigraphs from the 17th cent. of V.E.,[64] to the 20th century of V.E.[65]

It seems that this gaccha was spread over a large part of northern India, as inscriptions mentioning it are to be found in Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Rajputana, C.P. and Madras.

58. *Ibid.*, I, 811.
59. *Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Rajatamahotsava Smāraka Number*, p. 144.
60. NAHAR, II, 2097.
61. *Ibid.*, I, 833; ii, 1895; also, *E.I.*, XI, p. 54; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, 493.
62. DISKALKAR, *IK.*, No. 18.
63. NAHAR, I, 184.
64. GUERINOT, *EJ.*, 704.
65. *E.I.*, II, lxix, p. 81; For other references see *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62; 68, 77-85; BHANDARKAR, *E.I.*, XXIII, pp. 126-27, No. 932; DISKALKAR, *IK.*, No. 118.

It seems that there were the following splits in it:

(a) Ādya Pakṣa[66]
(b) Jinaraṅgasūri Śākhā[67]
and (c) Kṣema Śākhā.[68]

BṚHAD-LONKA :

Probably it was the same as the Bṛhad-Gujarāti-Loṅkā.[69]

BṚHAT-POSĀLA:

Also written as 'Vṛhat-P'. According to traditional literary evidence, it is said that this arose owing to Vijayacandra. This name was given to those who used to live in an extensive monastery (Bṛhat), as against those who did so in a smaller one (laghu).[70]

It is mentioned[71] in an epigraph from Śatruñjaya, dated V.S. 1881.

BṚHAT-TAPA:

Like the Bṛhat-Kharatara, this gaccha also seems to have been very important, and was spread over a large territory. Its epigraphs are to be found in Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Rajputana, N. Gujarat, Kathiawad and Hyderabad (Deccan).

It may be noted that it is also written as 'Vrhattapā', or Vṛddhatapā.' It is mentioned from the 15th to the 20th century of V.E.[72]

BṚHAD-VIJAYA:

It is mentioned in an undated inscription from Lucknow.[73]

CAITRA:

It is referred to from about the 14th to the 17th cent. of V.E.[74]

It was spread over Rajputana, Madhya Bharat, and Bihar.

66. NAHAR, I, 773 of V.S. 1669.
67. *Ibid.*, Nos. 203, 242, 263, 265, 266, 267.
68. JINAVIJAYA, *PJLS.*, II, No. 556, of V.S. 1903.
69. NAHAR, I, 207, of V S. 1931, refers to 'Vahalloṅkā.'
70. *SBM.*, V, ii, pp. 75, 77.
71. NAHAR, I, 685.
72. *Ibid.*, 977: V.E. 1481; II, 1898: V.E. 1912; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, No. 632.
73. NAHAR, II, 1542.
74. *E.I.*, XXII, p. 291: V.S. 1330; See *PJLS*, Index.

It seems that it was split up into Śārdūlaśākhā and Rājagacchānvaya.[75] *It may at the same time be noted that* Rājagaccha was a separate gaccha also.

CANANCALA:

An inscription from Jaipur,[76] dated V.S. 1529, mentions this.

CANDRA or °KA, CANDRA:

Inscriptions mainly from Kathiawad mention these.[77] It is said that a certain Candrasūri started it,[78] and epigraphical references can be had from the 11th cent. of V.E.[79]

CANDRAPRABHACARYA:

An epigraph dated V.S. 1197 from Delhi mentions it.[80] It seems that it originated with an ācārya of the same name.

CHAHITERA:

It is mentioned in an inscription dated V.S. 1612 from Jaipur.[81]

CHOTIVALA:

It seems that this was current in the 14th century of the V.E.[82] and an inscription dated V.S. 1554 from Jodhpur mentions it.[83]

The inscriptions mention it as 'pūrṇimā-pakṣika' which may suggest that it originated with the pūrṇimā gaccha.

CITRAVALA:

Epigraphs mentioning this are found in Rajputana as well as in Bengal. It seems to have been current probably from the 14th century of the V. E.[84]

NAHAR equates it with the Caitra gaccha.[85]

75. 'Caitragacche śārdūlaśākhyāṁ rājagacchānvaye'—NAHAR, I, 830, of V.S. 1686.
76. *Ibid.*, II, 1159.
77. DISKALKAR, *IK.*, 4 of V.S. 1272; also *E.I.*, XI, p. 52; *JPPS.*, I, pp. 12, 148.
78. *SBM.*, V, ii, p. 73.
79. NAHAR, II, 386 of V.S. 1072.
80. *Ibid.*, I, 456.
81. *Ibid.*, II, 1194.
82. *JPPS.*, I, pp. 70, 81.
83. NAHAR, I, 594.
84. *Ibid.*, II, 1949.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 6 of Index.

DESAVALA-TAPA:

It is mentioned in an inscription[86] dated V.S. 1822. It might have been a part of the Tapā gaccha.

DEVABHIDITA:

An inscription from Delvāḍā (Mewaḍ), dated V.S. 1201, mentions it.[87]

DEVACARYA:

It is mentioned in the 12th and the 13th cent. of V.E.[88]

An epigraph from Pāli mentions the 'Maheśvarācārya āmnāya' in this gaccha.[89]

DEVANANDA—or °DITA:

Though in the Praśastis it is mentioned in the latter half of the 12th cent. of V.E.,[90] an epigraph dated V.E. 1303 refers to it.[91]

DEVASURI:

It is said that Devasūri started it out of the Tapā gaccha,[92] and the praśastis[93] refer to it in V.S. 1381.

It may be that the above four gacchas were identical as they bear a common name of a particular ācārya.

DHANESVARA:

An epigraph dated 918 (?) belonging to the reign of king Lakṣmaṇa of Pratihāra dynasty mentions this gaccha. It was found at a place called Ghaṭiyāla which is situated in the north-western direction of Jodhpur.[94]

It is clear that it bears the name of an ācārya.

DHARMAGHOSA:

It was spread over a large part of India as epigraphs mentioning it are found in Madras, Hyderabad (Deccan), Rajputana, Delhi, Bengal, Bihar, and Madhya Bharat.

86. *E.I.*, II, p. 78, No. xliii.
87. NAHAR, II, 1998.
88. *PJLS*, II, See Index.
89. NAHAR, I, 813 of V.S. 1178.
90. *JPPS.*, I, p. 104.
91. NAHAR, I, 1303.
92. *SBM.*, V, ii, p. 176.
93. *JPPS.*, I, p. 150.
94. NAHAR, I, 945.

It seems to have been current from the 14th to the 16th cent. of V.E.[95]

GHOSAPURIYA:

It is mentioned in a praśasti belonging to the 14th cent. of V.E.[96]

It seems to have originated after a place name.

HARIJA :

Mentioned in two epigraphs[97] of V. S. 1330 and 1355. It seems to have originated at a place of the same name in N. Gujarat.

HARSAPURIYA :

It seems to have been connected with a place called Harshapura in North Gujarat.[98] The praśastis refer to it in V.S. 1258,[99] an epigraph in 1555,[100] while a commentary on the *Anuyogadvāra*[101] refers to its 'praśna-vāhana kula'.

[*Hemacandrāmnāya* :

An isolated reference to this āmnāya is to be found in an epigraph from Delhi,[102] dated V.S. 1548.

It seems to have been connected with Hemacandra.]

HUMBADA :

It was current at Udaypur, and at Bālūcar (in Murshidabad Dist.), possibly from the 15th century of V.S.[103]

It perhaps originated at a place of the same name in N. Gujarat.[104]

JALYODHARA :

It is mentioned in a praśasti,[105] dated V.S. 1226, and an epigraph[106] refers to it in 1238.

95. *PJLS.*, II, see Index; NAHAR, I, 26 of V.S. 1587.
96. *JPPS.*, I, p. 21.
97. *PJLS.*, II, Nos. 474 and 477.
98. Information given by Dr. SANKALIA.
99. *JPPS.*, I, p. 114.
100. NAHAR, II, 1295.
101. pp. 250-51.
102. NAHAR, I, 491.
103. *Ibid.*, II, 1059.
104. Information given by Dr. SANKALIA.
105. *JPPS.*, I, p. 110.
106. *PJLS.*, II, see Index.

JAPADANA :

An inscription dated V.S. 1534 from Nagaur mentions it.[107]

JIRAPALLIYA :

KLATT says that it was the twelfth of the eighty-four Śākhās of Bṛhad gaccha founded by Sarvadeva Sūri (S. 994).[108]

It is referred to in the inscriptions of the 13th and the 16th century of V.E.[109]

It seems to have been existing at Udaypur, Jodhpur and Lucknow.

JNABAKIYA :

It is mentioned[110] in an inscription dated V.S. 1405.

It was current in Rajputana, N. Gujarat, U.P., and Madhya Bharat.

JNANAKAPA :

Mentioned in an epigraph dated V.S. 1501 from Jaipur.[111]

[*Jinabhaktisūri Śākhā* :

This branch finds an isolated mention[112] in V.S. 1924.]

KACHOLIVALA :

It seems to have spread over Rajputana, Madhya Bharat and N. Gujarat. It was prosperous in the 15th and the 16th centuries of the same era.[113]

It had a 'pūrṇimāpakṣa' and 'dvitīyaśākhā'.[114]

KADUAMATI :

It is said that it was started by Kaḍavā, a Nāgara Bania in V.S. 1562, with the contention that "we can now-a-days get no holy sage worth the name".[115]

107. NAHAR, II, 1288.
108. *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 183.
109. NAHAR, II, 1049, 1506; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, No. 636.
110. NAHAR, II, 1487.
111. *Ibid.*, 1143.
112. *Ibid.*, I, 177.
113. *Ibid.*, II, 1930, 1382.
114. *Ibid.*, 1966 of V.S. 1493.
115. *SBM.*, V, ii, 133; NAHAR, I, 801 of V.S. 1683.

Its followers are mainly centred in Gujarat.

KAMALA :

An inscription from Agra dated V.S. 1940 mentions this. In this epigraph both 'Kamalā' and 'Upakeśa' gacchas are mentioned, which possibly suggests some relation between them.[116]

It is likely that it was identical with Kavalā gaccha.

KAMALAKALASA :

Epigraphs refer to the fact that a certain Kamalakalaśasūri started it out of the Tapā gaccha.[117]

Epigraphs[118] mention it as late as in V.S. 1961, and it seems that it was current mainly in Marwar.

KAMYAKA :

An inscription dated V.S. 1100 mentions Maheśvarasūri of this gaccha at a place called Śrīpathā identified with modern Byānā[119] (in Rajputana).

KASAHRDA :

It seems to have been current from the 12th cent. of V.E.[120]

Kāsahṛda is a place in Gujarat,[121] and is first mentioned in Gujarat inscriptions in about the 8th cent. A.D.[122]

KAVALA :

It is mentioned in an inscription[123] dated V.S. 1903. See Kamalā gaccha.

KHARATARA :

This is still one of the most important and well supported gacchas of the Śvetāmbara Church.

116. *Ibid.*, II, 1478.
117. NAHAR, I, 779, 946.
118. *Ibid.*, I, 971.
119. FLEET, *I.A.*, XIV, p. 8.
120. *PJLS.*, II, Nos. 169-172, 174-80; 211, 230.
121. CITRAV, *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, p. 652.
122. SANKALIA, SHCGEG, p. 192, (*EI.*, VIII, 220).
123. *PJLS.*, II, No. 316.

Regarding its origin, some say that Jineśvarasūri in V.S. 1080 obtained a title 'Kharatara' after overthrowing the Caityavāsins in the court of Durlabharāja, the king of Aṇhilvāḍa.[124] According to others, it was started by Jinadattasūri in V.S. 1204. Still others hold that Jinavallabhasūri started it.[125]

Epigraphical mention, however, is available from 1147 V.S.[126]

Epigraphs referring to it are to be found in Madras, Hyderabad (Deccan), N. Gujarat, Rajputana, U.P., Bihar, Bengal, and Madhya Bharat. It is widely spread at present in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Rajputana.

The following schisms in it may be noted:[127]

(1) Madhukara Kharatara—in V. S. 1167 at the time of Jinavallabha.
(2) Rudrapallīya Gaccha—in V.S. 1169 by Jayaśekhara.[128]
(3) Laghu Kharatara—in V.S. 1331 by Jinasiṁhasūri.
(4) Vaikaṭa Gaṇa—in V.S. 1422 by Jineśvarasūri.
(5) Pippalaka Śākhā—in V.S. 1461 by Jinavardhana.
(6) Ācāryīya Kharatara Śākhā—in V.S. 1564 by Śāntisāgara.
(7) Bhāvaharṣīya Kharatara Śākhā—by Bhāvaharṣa, when Jinacandra (V.S. 1612-1670) was the head of the Kharatara gaccha.
(8) Laghvī ācāryīya Kharatara Śākhā—in V.S. 1686 by Jinasāgara.
(9) Raṅgavijaya Śākhā—in V.S. 1700 by Raṅgavijaya Gaṇin.
(10) Sārīya Kharatara Śākhā by Sāra Upādhyāya.
(11) The eleventh division of this gaccha was due to Mahendrasūri at Maṇḍovara in V.S. 1892.

Besides these, epigraphs refer to other branches like the following:

(1) Sādhu Śakhā (?) of Jinacandra Sūri,[129]
(2) Māṇikyasūri Śākhā,[130]
(3) Kṣemakīrti Śākhā,[131]

124. *EI.*, I, pp. 119, 319-24; *I.A.*, XI, pp. 245ff.
125. *SBM.*, V, ii, pp. 61-63.
126. NAHAR, III, 2124.
127. *PJLS*, II, See Index, under Kharatara.
128. BÜHLER says it was Jinaśekhara who founded it in V.S. 1204: *E.I.*, I, p. 119.
129. NAHAR, III, 2199 of V.S. 1536; I, 196-97 of V.S. 1686.
130. *Ibid.*, 527 of V.S. 1871.
131. *Ibid.*, II, 2064 of V.S. 1952.

(4) Jinaraṅgasūri Śākhā,[132]
(5) Candra Kula of Kharatara Gaccha,[133]
(6) Nandi Gaṇa of Kharatara,[134]
(7) Vardhamānasvāmi-Anvaya,[135]
(8) Jinavardhanasūri Śākhā,[136]
and (9) Raṅgavijaya Śākhā.[137]

KHARATARA-PIPPALA :

It seems to have been a branch of the original Kharatara. It is mentioned[138] in V.S. 1854.

KHARATARA-VEGADA :

It is mentioned in epigraphs from Jaisalmer upto the 17th cent. of V.S.[139]

KORANTA :

It extended over the region consisting of Kathiawad, Rajputana, Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, U.P. and Bengal.

Epigraphs mention it from the 13th century of V.S.[140]

KRSNARSI or KRSNARAJARSI :

It is mentioned from the 13th century of the Vikrama era.[141] The epigraphs come from Rajputana, Bengal and U.P.

—— *Tapā Śākhā* :

This branch of the gaccha is mentioned in an epigraph[142] from Nagaur, dated V.S. 1525.

132. *Ibid.*, I, 206 of V.S. 1848.
133. BHANDARKAR, List, *E.I.*, XXIII, No. 777 of V.S. 1494; Col. MILES in *Trans. of R.A.S.* III, pp. 358-59 holds that kharatara arose out of Candra gaccha; he gives a different list of subdivisions. See also, NAHAR, I, 236.
134. BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1853.
135. *Bhav. Insc.*, Sūrya dynasty, No. VII, of A.D. 1438, pp. 112-13.
136. NAHAR, II, 1996.
137. *Ibid.*, 1005.
138. *Ibid.*, 1828; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, 781.
139. NAHAR, III, 2447, 2507; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 961.
140. *PJLS.*, II, See Index.
141. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 219.
142. NAHAR, II, 1275.

KURCAPURA :

It is mentioned in literary sources. No epigraphical corroboration is available.[143]

It possibly arose out of a place name.

KUTUVAPURA :

It seems to have been current in the 16th century of V.E. in Marwad, as the epigraphs mentioning it come mainly from Nāḍalāï in Marwad.[144]

It suggests its origin from a place name.

LAGHU POSALA :

As against the Bṛhat-Posala, this gaccha originated with Devendra Sūri out of Tapā. It grouped those members of the gaccha who lived in a smaller monastery.[145]

It is mentioned in epigraphs[146] dated V.S. 1815 and 1758 A.D.

LONKA :

It is mentioned in an epigraph[147] from Agra, dated V.S. 1964.

It may be that the Bṛhad Loṅkā was a branch of this gaccha.

LUMPAKA :

It seems that this gaccha belonged to the school which advocated non-idolatory, the head priest, Meghaji, of which is said to have been converted by Hīravijaya of the Tapā gaccha.[148]

Epigraphs,[149] however, mention it as late as in V.S. 1955.

MADAHADIYA : MADDAHARAU : MADUHADA : MAHADAKIYA : MĀHAHADIYA :

It is possible that these five names represented one and the same gaccha.[150]

143. *SBM.*, V, ii, p. 28.
144. NAHAR, I, 849-51.
145. *SBM.*, V, ii, pp. 75-77.
146. *E.I.*, II, p. 78; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, No. 736.
147. NAHAR, II, 1501.
148. *E.I.*, II, p. 53, *v.* 23.
149. NAHAR, I, 235.
150. *Ibid.*, II, 1362 of V.S. 1545; 1046 of 1351.

They seem to have been prominent from the 14th to the 16th centuries in Gujarat, Rajputana, Delhi, and Hyderabad (Deccan).

MADHUKARA :

It seems to have been contemporary with the above,[151] and was spread over Kathiawad and Alvar.

MADHUKARA KHARATARA :

See under Kharatara.

MALADHARI :

It is also mentioned as Malladhārī, and seems to have been current as early as in the first half of the 13th century of the V.E.[152] in regions like Bihar, Bengal, Kathiawad, Rajputana, U.P., and Gujarat.

MALADHARI PURNIMA VIJAYA :

Five inscriptions, all belonging to V.S. 1931, mention this at places in Bihar, Bengal and Madhya Bharat.[153]

It was possibly a branch of the Maladhārī gaccha.

MODHA :

An epigraph dated V.S. 1227 from Sammeta Śikhara mentions it.[154]

It may be remarked that 'moḍha' is also a caste name in Gujarat.

NAGA :

It is mentioned in an inscription[155] dated V.S. 1568.

NAGAPURIYA :

The date of the epigraph mentioning this gaccha is wiped out.[156]

It seems probable that this gaccha originated at Nāgapura, (Nagpur in M.P., or Nagaur in Rajputana).

151. *Ibid.*, II, 1736 of V.S. 1516; III, 2429 of 1563.
152. *Ibid.*, II, 1875 of V.S. 1234; 1899 of V.S. 1692.
153. *Ibid.*, I, 349, 362, 1000; II, 1806, 1833.
154. *Ibid.*, II, 1694.
155. BHANDARKAR, List, *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 121, No. 882.
156. NAHAR, II, 1606.

NAGENDRA :

The earliest mention of this gaccha is from an inscription dated V.S. 910 (?),[157] and it is mentioned as late[158] as in V.S. 1715. It is sometimes also termed a gaṇa.[159]

It seems to have spread over Kathiawad, Rajputana, Madhya Bharat, and U. P.

It is likely that Nāga and Nāgendra were identical.

NAMADALA :

An inscription from Bikaner dated V.S. 1536 mentions it.[160]

NANAKIYA :

According to KLATT, it might have originated from Nāṇaka grāma, or from the money (nāṇaka) spent in that region in connection with a holy ceremony.[161] The first explanation appears more convincing.

It is mentioned in epigraphs from the 13th century of V.E.,[162] and seems to have spread over Rajputana.

NANAVALA :

It is also expressed as 'Nāṇaṁvāla'. It seems to have spread over Rajputana and as far in the east as Calcutta.

Inscriptions belonging to the 16th century refer to it.[163]

NIGAMA VIBHAVAKA :

An inscription from Benares dated V.S. 1559 mentions it.[164]

NIRVRTI :

It is referred to in epigraphs of the 13th century of V.E.[165]

157. *PJLS.*, II, Intr. Index. p. 15: Real 1287 (?).
158. NAHAR, II, 1312.
159. *JPPS.*, I, p. 45.
160. NAHAR, II, 1340.
161. *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 175.
162. NAHAR, II, 2079.
163. *Ibid.*, 1328 of V.S. 1566; 2087 of 1576.
164. *Ibid.*, I, 404.
165. *E.I.*, II, p. 29: of V.S. 1299: but translated by J. KIRSTE as 'nirvṛti gotra.' See NAHAR, II, 1003 of V.S. 1506(?).

NITHATI :

An epigraph dated V.S. 1496 from Udaypur refers to it.[166]

OSVALA :

It is mentioned in an epigraph[167] dated V.S. 1100.

It may be noted that Osvāla is a caste among the Jainas.

PALIKIYA :

Two inscriptions dated V.S. 1482 and 1686 from Rajputana mention it.[168]

One of these refers to the 'pallīkīy uddyotanācārya gaccha' which suggests a close relation between these two gacchas.

PALLI, °KA, °VALA :

These are possibly identical as they seem to have originated at a place called Pallī in Rajputana.

Epigraphs mention it from the 15th to the 17th century of V.E.[169] In one of the Praśastis, it is stated 'ṣaṇḍere pallikājyānayanamatha', which may indicate a relation between Saṇḍera gaccha and this gaccha,[170] or a place of that name.

It seems to have spread over Rajputana, Gujarat, and U.P.

PANCASARIYA :

An epigraph from Delhi dated V.S. 1125 mentions it.[171]

It seems to have originated from the place-name 'pacāsarīya.'

PARSVACANDRA :

It is said that Pārśvacandra Sūri started it in V.S. 1572 out of the Tapā gaccha as there was difference of opinion regarding the rules of monastic conduct practised by the monks of the Tapā gaccha.[172]

166. *Ibid.*, II, 1078.
167. *PJLS.*, II, No. 316.
168. NAHAR, I, 825; II, 1931.
169. *Ibid.*, 1237; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 974, of V.S. 1681.
170. *JPPS.*, I, p. 85.
171. NAHAR, II, 1873.
172. *SBM.*, V, ii, p. 134.

It is also mentioned as 'Pāsacanda' or 'Pāyacanda' gaccha which is the Prakritisation of Pārśvacandra.

KLATT, however, holds that it was "formerly called the Nāgapurīya Tapā gaccha".[173] NAHAR makes it Pārśvanātha gaccha in his index, even though epigraphs refer to the Pārśvacandra gaccha.[174]

Epigraphs of the 16th and 19th centuries of V.E. refer to it,[175] and it seems to have spread even upto Bihar and Bengal.

PAVIRYA :

An inscription from Benares dated V.S. 1507 refers to it.[176]

PIPPALA :

It seems to have been current from the 13th century of V.E. from epigraphical evidence.[177] It is mentioned even in the 18th century of the same era.[178]

Epigraphs mentioning it are to be found in Madras, Rajputana, N. Gujarat, U.P., Madhya Bharat and Bengal.

——— °*Kharatara* :

See under Kharatara.

PORAVADA :

This gaccha has been mentioned by KLATT.[179]

It may be noted that it is a caste-name among the Jainas and the Gujarati Baniyas.

PRABHAKARA :

An inscription from Meḍtā in Marwad, dated V.S. 1572, mentions it.[180]

PRADYOTANACARYA :

BHANDARKAR's list[181] refers to it from an inscription dated V.S. 1151, but another inscription refers to it in V.S. 1144.

173. *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 181.
174. Vol. I, see Index.
175. *Ibid.*, II, 1561 of V.S. 1577; I, 59 of 1830.
176. *Ibid.*, I, 412.
177. *Ibid.*, I, 966 of V.S. 1208
178. *Ibid.*, 695 of V.S. 1778.
179. *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 179.
180. NAHAR, I, 764.
181. *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 26, No. 160; *PJLS*, II, Index.

It seems that the gaccha originated from an ācārya of this name.

PRAYA :

It seems to have been current in the 14th and 15th centuries of V.E., in Rajputana.

PUNIMA :

It is variously referred to as Punamiyā, Punimā and also Paurṇimā. It is said that it originated[182] in V.S. 1159. It is also referred to as a 'pakṣa'.

It seems to have spread over Rajputana, N. Gujarat, U.P., Madhya Bharat and Bengal, and appears to have been current in the 14th-16th centuries of V.E.

The following splits are referred to in this gaccha :

(1) Pradhāna Śākhā.[183]
(2) Bhīmapallīya Śākhā.[184]
(3) Sādhu Śākhā.[185]

PUNIMA-VIJAYA:

Sometimes this is referred to as 'Maladhāra punamiyā vijaya'. It is not clear whether this whole was another name for this gaccha.

It is referred to as late as in V.S. 1933 in the inscriptions from Sammeta Śikhara.[186]

PURANDARA:

It is said to have arisen out of Bṛhat Tapā gaccha. Epigraphs from Raīnpur (Mewad)[187] refer to it in V.S. 1496.

RADULA:

An epigraph from Lucknow dated V.S. 1576 refers to it.[188]

182. *SBM.*, V. ii, p. 23.
183. NAHAR. III, 2294 of V.S. 1481; 2484 of 1553.
184. *Ibid.*, 2309 of V.S. 1492; 2342 of 1518.
185. *Ibid.*, 2469 of V.S. 1575; 2457 of 1579.
186. *Ibid.*, Nos. 22, 359, 360, 370.
187. *Ibid.*, 700.
188. *Ibid.*, II, 1625.

RAJA:

It is related that under Jinacandra Sūri III, the Bṛhatkharatara gaccha was given the title 'Rāja' gaccha because the Sūri converted four kings to Jainism.[189]

An epigraph dated V.S. 1344 refers to it,[190] and it seems to have spread in Rajputana and U.P.

RAJAKULA:

It is referred to in an inscription dated 854 A.D., on the pedestal of an image of Pārśvanātha in Kāngrā Bazār.[191]

RAMASENIYA:

Two inscriptions dated V.S. 1458 and 1511 from Udaypur and Agra refer to this.[192]

RAKA:

An inscription from Śiālabet from Kathiawad[193] refers to it in V.S. 1320.

RUDRAPALLIYA:

It is said to have arisen out of Kharatara due to Jinaśekhara[194] in V.S. 1204.

Epigraphs mention it from the 13th to the 17th centuries of V.E.[195]

It seems to have originated at a place of the same name, and to have spread over Rajputana, U.P., and Bengal.

SADHU PURNIMA PAKSA:

It is referred to in epigraphs of the 16th century of V.E., in N. Gujarat, Bihar and Madhya Bharat.[196]

SAGARA:

It is stated to have originated[197] out of the Tapā gaccha due to Rājasāgara Sūri in V.S. 1686. Hence the personal name of the Sūri seems to have

189. *E.I.*, I, pp. 319-24.
190. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 154 (Prof. PETERSON's 5th Report, p. 109 quoted).
191. BÜHLER, *E.I.*, I, p. 120; BHANDARKAR, List. No. 1439; GUERINOT, *EJ.*, No. 126.
192. NAHAR, II, 1087, 1236.
193. *Ibid.*, 1780.
194. *E.I.*, I, p. 119.
195. NAHAR, II, 2029, of V.S. 1260.
196. *Ibid.*, 1732 of V.S. 1504; also Nos. 1378, 1381, 1409.
197. *SBM.*, V. ii, 1176; see also *E.I.*, II, pp. 39, 83.

been given to this gaccha. Even today the names of the monks of this gaccha have 'sāgara' as a suffix to their names.

An inscription dated V.S. 1820 from Osiā (Marwad) refers to it.[198]

It seems to have spread over Rajputana, Gujarat, U.P., and Bihar.

SAMVEGI:

It is said to have arisen out of Tapā due to Satyavijaya.[199] No epigraphical mention is as yet available for this.

SANDERAKA:

It is expressed variously as 'Saṇḍera', 'Saṇḍerakīya,' and 'Saṇḍeravāla.'

It seems to have been a very old gaccha inasmuch as an epigraph dated V.S. 964 refers to it,[200] and references [201] are available as late as in V.S. 1732.

Commenting on the name of this gaccha, BHANDARKAR remarks, "Saṇḍerā or Shaṇḍeraka is to be identified with the present Sāṇḍerāv, ten miles north-west of Bāli, the principal town of the district of the same name, Goḍvād Division (of Rajputana) . . . . It is one of the many instances in which the Jaina gacchas are called after the names of places in Marwar."[202]

It seems to have spread over Hyderabad (Deccan), Rajputana, Bihar, U.P., Madhya Bharat, N. Gujarat, and Bengal.

SANKHESVARA:

It is mentioned by KLATT and seems to have originated from Saṅkheśvara grāma.[203]

SARAVALA:

It is referred to in epigraphs of the 11th and the 13th centuries of V.E., from Murshidabad District.[204]

SARDHA PAURNAMIYA:

It is said to have arisen in V.S. 1236. It is narrated that in Kumārapāla's reign, the monks of the Paurṇamīya gaccha could not explain him their

198. NAHAR, I, 304.
199. *SBM.*, V, ii, 176.
200. *PJLS.*, II, No. 336.
201. *Ibid.*, Index.
202. *E.I.*, XI, p. 31.
203. *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 175.
204. NAHAR, I, 1; III, 2222.

rites. Hence they had to leave that place. After the king's death, they returned under the name Sārdha Paurṇamīya. They did not worship the Jina with fruits.[205]

It is possibly the same as Sādhu Punamiyā, of which probably it is a Sanskritisation.

SIDDHANTI :

It is mentioned in epigraphs of the 15th and the 16th centuries of V.E. in Rajputana.[206]

SIT GACCHA:

It is mentioned in an inscription[207] dated V.S. 1298.

SOHAMMA:

It is mentioned in the Gurvāvali attached to the *Daśāśrutaskandha.*

No epigraphical corroboration is available.

SUVIPRADIPTA:

No epigraphical evidence can be had for this.[208]

TAPA:

It is stated that in V.S. 1285 Jagatcandra was given the title 'tapā' due to hard penance which was appreciated by king Jaitrasiṁha of Mewar. Hence the gaccha was also named Tapā.[209]

Names:

Col. MILES *says,* "According to the statements of Tapas, the Jainas for eight generations after Mahāvīra were called Nirgranthas or Abhoī (Abhogin), i.e., exempt from all passions or desires: There was then no difference of sect among them. In the time of ācārya Suhastin, or 345 years after Mahāvīra, their name was changed to that of Koṭika or Korṇika gaccha. In after times they received the following names in succession: Candra, Vanavāsī, Varā and lastly that of Tapā gaccha".[210]

205. *SBM,* V, ii, 65-66.
206. NAHAR, I, 597 of V.S. 1565.
207. *PJLS,* II, No. 506.
208. Mentioned in CITRAV's *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa,* p. 458.
209. *SBM.,* V, ii, pp. 73-75; WEBER, *I.A.,* XVIII, p. 182; XI, pp. 251ff.
210. Col. MILES, *Trans. of R.A.S.,* Vol. III, pp. 359-60.

Epigraphical Mention:

Epigraphs mention[211] it as early as in V.S. 1285. It is still current in many parts of India.

Regional Distribution:

Epigraphs referring to the Tapā gaccha are to be found in Rajputana, Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Hyderabad (Deccan).

Sub-sections:

MILES gives the following divisions that took place in the Tapā gaccha:

(1)	Vijayadeva Sūri Śākhā	.. A.D. 1675.
(2)	Vijayarāja „ „	.. „ 1534.
(3)	Kamala Kalasā	.. „ „
(4)	Bṛhat Posala	.. „ 1526.
(5)	Laghu „	.. „ „
(6)	Sāgara Gaccha	.. „ 1557.
(7)	Kamalā or Kavalā Gacchas.	
(8)	Kutuvapurā Gaccha	
(9)	Vijaya Ānandasūri Śākhā	.. A.D. 1600[212]
(10)	Vijaya Ratna Sūri Śākhā	
(11)	Āgamiyā	.. 13th cent. A.D.
(12)	Brāhmī	
(13)	Nagauri Tapā	.. A.D. 1516.

The epigraphs refer to the following subdivisions:

(a) Vṛddha Śākhā.[213]

(b) Cāndra Kula.[214]

(c) Vijaya Śākhā.[215]

(d) Kutubapurā Pakṣa.[216]

(e) Saṁvigna Pakṣa.[217]

211. *PJLS.*, II, Index.
212. KLATT, *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 179, says that it originated in V.S. 1656 or 1699.
213. NAHAR, II, 1753.
214. *Ibid.*, I, 63.
215. HOERNLE, *I.A.*, XIX, p. 234.
216. NAHAR, I, 849 and 851.
217. *Ibid.*, II, 1799.

TAVADARA:

It is mentioned in an inscription dated V.S. 1499 from Jodhpur.[218]

TAVAKIYA:

It is also written as Jñāvakīya and is mentioned in an epigraph dated V.S. 1505 from Nānā (in Marwad).[219]

TARAPADRA: THARAPADRIYA: THIRAPADRIYA: THIYARA:

These appear to be various names of one and the same gaccha, as they seem to have originated from a place-name Thirāpadra.[220] The gaccha is also mentioned as Thirādrā.[221]

It is mentioned from the 11th to the 16th century of V.E.

TRIBHAVIYA :

It is referred to in an epigraph from Mirzapur,[222] dated V. S. 1420.

UDDYOTANACARYA :

An inscription dated V. S. 1686 from Pāli in Marwad refers to it, and says that it originated out of the Pallikīya gaccha.[223]

From its name it appears to have originated with an ācārya of a similar name.

UKESA or UPAKESA :

It seems to have been current, on the basis of epigraphical evidence, from the 13th to the 20th century of V. E.[224]

It may be noted that this gaccha ascribes its origin to Pārśvanātha.

From epigraphs it seems to have spread over Rajputana, U. P., Madhya Bharat, Bengal, N. Gujarat, and Bihar.

218. *Ibid.*, I, 616.
219. *Ibid.*, 887 of V.S. 1505.
220. *SBM*, V, ii, p. 74.
221. NAHAR, III, 2464 of V.S. 1533.
222. *Ibid.*, I, 427.
223. *Ibid.*, I, 825.
224. *Ibid.*, I, 791 of V.S. 1259; II, 1487 of 1940: See, HOERNLE, 'Paṭṭāvali of the Upakesha Gaccha', in *I.A.*, XIX, p. 233.

— *Gāḍahīya Śākhā* :

This branch of the gaccha is referred to by HOERNLE.[225]

UTTARADHA :

It is referred to in an inscription dated V. S. 1680, by NAHAR.[226]

VADA :

It is related that a certain Yakṣa asked Uddyotanasūri to appoint new Sūris for the spread of religion. As this incident happened under a Banyan tree (vaḍa), the gaccha was named after it, and it was said to have started from Sarvadevasūri.[227]

The *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* says that it originated in V.S. 994 (?).[228]

It is referred to in epigraphs of the 13th and the 16th centuries of V. E.[229]

VALABHA :

No details about it are available.[230]

VANAVASI :

It is said that this gaccha was started by Samantabhadra, as against the Caityavāsīs who used to live for a long time in the Caityas, i.e., temples.[231]

VAYADIYA :

It is mentioned[232] in V. S. 1349.

VIDHIPAKSHA :

It was another name for Añcala gaccha. See Añcala.

VIDYADHARA :

It is mentioned in the 15th and the 16th centuries of V. E., in inscriptions from Kathiawad, Rajputana and U. P.[233]

225. *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.
226. Vol. I, 397.
227. *SBM*,. V, ii, pp. 2 and 73.
228. Vol. XIV, No. ii, p. 39.
229. NAHAR, II, 1386 of V.S. 1582 from Gwalior; *PJLS*, II, 85 of V.S. 1293.
230. *JPPS.*, I, p. 85.
231. *SBM.*, V, ii, 73.
232. *PJLS.*, II, 523, 526, 527.
233. NAHAR, II, 1118 of V.S. 1411; I, 798 of 1534.

VIJAYA.

Epigraphs of the 18th and the 20th century found in Bengal, U. P., and Bihar refer to it.[234]

VIJAYANANDASURI :

It is said to have arisen out of the Tapā. See Tapā.[235]

VIMALA :

It is also traced to Tapā. It is said that Hemavimala Sūri started it[236] in V. S. 1749 with a view to purge out bad practices in the Tapā gaccha.

VIVANDANIKA :

It is mentioned in epigraphs of the 16th and the 20th centuries of the V. E.,[237] and seems to have been current in Gujarat, Rajputana, U. P., and Bihar.

VRDDHA-POSALA :

See Bṛhat-Posala.

VRDDHA-TAPA :

See Bṛhat-Tapā.

VRHAD :

It is mentioned in epigraphs of the 12th and the 16th centuries of V. E., and seems to have been identical with Bṛhad gaccha.[238]

VRHALLOMPAKA :

It is referred to in an inscription dated V.S. 1932 from Pāvāpurī.[239]

See Bṛhad-Gujarāti-Loṅkā.

VYAVASIHA :

It is mentioned in an epigraph dated V. S. 1343 from Ratnapur (Marwad).[240]

234. *Ibid.*, 738 of 1718; III, 1827, of 1943.
235. KLATT., *I.A.*, XXIII, pp. 169ff; also *E.I.*, II., p. 78.
236. *SBM.*, V, ii, pp. 131, 176.
237. NAHAR, II, 1658 of V.E. 1512; I, 717, of 1903.
238. *PJLS*, II, Index; NAHAR, III, 2205 of V.S. 1566.
239. *Ibid.*, II, 2034.
240. *Ibid.*, 1706.

YASASURI:

An epigraph from Ajmer dated V. S. 1242 mentions it.[241]

From its name it appears that it was started by an ācārya of the same name.

A survey of these gacchas shows that they were formed owing to various reasons as follows:

(1) after place names: for instance, Saṇḍeraka, Thirāpadrīya, Jirāpallīya, etc.;
(2) after caste names: Osvāla and Poravāḍa, (these are also place names);
(3) after regional names: Bṛhad-Gujarati Loṅkā;
(4) after personal names of ācāryas: Devācārya, Pārśvacandra, etc.;
(5) owing to particular incidents: Vaḍa, Rāja, Tapā, etc.;
(6) owing to peculiar religious practices: Añcala, etc.;
(7) owing to efforts at tightening of moral discipline: the branches of Tapā and Kharatara.

Regarding these gacchas it may further be noted that the epigraphs prior to the eighth or ninth century A.D. fail to mention any gaccha by name, and that only a few among these are extant now. The Kharatra and the Tapā seem to be very popular among them.

Only a few epigraphs help us in knowing the circumstances that led to the rise of various gacchas, and it is very difficult to say what were the doctrinal or monastic differences of each.

The Kharatara and the Tapā differ from each other regarding the colour of the pots, the Kalyāṇkas of Mahāvīra, and the exact day of the full-moon day.

Many of these gacchas seem to have been current mainly in Rajputana and N. Gujarat.

The tendency to create new Gacchas seems to have been very active in the 11th to the 13th centuries of V. E.

The mode of naming the gacchas after place-names seems to have synchronised with the rise of sub-castes. It may be noted that the latter were also styled after place-names.

241. *Ibid.*, I, 530.

The rise of numerous gacchas also tends to show that Jaina monachism was active in the medieval period.

DIGAMBARA SAṄGHAS:

After the migration of Bhadrabāhu to the south, the Digambaras settled more or less permanently in south India as well. In course of time, a number of Saṅghas and Gaṇas arose in its Church.

The following were the various Church units as are referred to by the Digambara epigraphs:

ARYA SANGHA:

It is mentioned in an epigraph belonging to the eighteenth year of the reign of king Uddyotakesarin (c. 10th cent. A.D.) in the Navamuni cave inscription at Udaygiri hill in Orissa.[242]

DEVA SANGHA:

It is one of the subdivisions of the Mūla Saṅgha brought about by Arhadbalin.[243]

DRAVIDA or DRAMILA SANGHA:

According to Devasena, the author of *Darśanasāra*, this Saṅgha[244] was formed by Vairanandin, a disciple of Pūjyapāda, in the year 536 of the Vikrama Era at Madurā.

According to SALETORE, "the establishment of the Dravida Saṅgha at Madurā was the work of Vairanandin in the last quarter of the 9th or in the first quarter of the 10th cent. A.D."[245]

Epigraphs, mostly of the post-ninth century A.D. period, refer to it and it seems to have spread over Karnatak and Mysore.[246]

As the name suggests, the Saṅgha took its name after the region in which it was formed.

242. *E.I.*, XIII, p. 166.
243. *E.C.*, II. 254.
244. *J.A.*, XIII, ii, pp. 30-31: GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, p. 365 gives the date as V.S. 526. See also UPADHYE, *Prv.*, Intr. p. XXI.
245. *Med. Jain.* p. 238.
246. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 100, 103; V, Belur, 17, 138, 235.

(a) *Anvayas* :

(1) Aruṅguḷa[247]
(2) Iruṅguḷa[248] } Probably identical.
(3) Kundakunda[249]

(b) *Gaṇas* :

(1) Nandi[250]
(2) Taḷuva[251] or Tavuḷa

(c) *Gaccha* :

(1) Pustaka[252]

INGANESVARA SANGHA :

It was possibly a later creation as it did not form part of the four principal divisions of the Mūla Saṅgha.[253]

(a) *Gaccha* :

(1) Pustaka[254]

KANCHI SANGHA :

Kāñcī is Conjeevaram, a few miles from Madras.

(a) *Anvaya* :

(1) Mayūra

(b) *Gaṇa* :

(1) Puṣkara.

In spite of its South Indian origin, epigraphical evidence shows that it had its followers at Gwalior as late as in the 15th to the 16th cent. of the V. E.[255]

247. *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 68; VIII, Nagar 35, 36, 39, 40; Tirthahalli, 192; IX, Cg. 34, 37; XI, Davan. 90.
248. *Ibid.*, IX, Cg. 36, 37.
249. *Ibid.*, VI, Mg. 11.
250. SALETORE, *op. cit.*, 238.
251. *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 100, 103, etc.
252. *Ibid.*, IX, Cg. 36, 37.
253. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 71, No. 66.
254. *Ibid.*
255. NAHAR, II, 1427-28.

KASTHA SANGHA :

According to *Darśanasāra* of Devasenasūri,[256] Kumārasena is said to have founded it at Nanditaṭagrāma in V. S. 753. Vacanakośa, however, attributes it to one Lohācārya at Agaroha. According to the latter source Lohācārya laid down the worship of wooden images.

According to Pandit PREMI, the latter interpretation is wrong, and he says that the distinct practice of this group was the use of a broom of cow's tail.

In later days it was called 'jainābhāsa' because the monks belonging to this Saṅgha lived in monasteries and accepted grants of land.[257]

(a) *Āmnāyas* :
- (1) Jinakīrti[258]
- (2) Lohācārya[259]
- (3) Rāmasena[260]

(b) *Anvayas* :
- (1) Agrotaka[261]
- (2) Khaṇḍelavāla[262]
- (3) Lohācāryya[263]
- (4) Māthura[264]
- (5) Rāmasena[265]

(c) *Gacchas* :
- (1) Bāgaḍa[266]
- (2) Lāḍa-Bāgaḍa[267]
- (3) Maṇḍitaṭa[268] After place-names.
- (4) Māthura[269]
- (5) Puṣkara[270]
- (6) Tapā[271]

256. *JSB.*, VIII, i, p. 30; *JA.*, XIII, ii, p. 33.
257. GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
258. *JSB.*, XII, ii, pp. 6-8.
259. NAHAR, I, 145, 327.
260. *Ibid.*, 641.
261. *Ibid.*, 145, 327.
262. *JSB.*, XII, ii, pp. 6-8.
263. NAHAR, I, 326.
264. *Ibid.*, II, 1483; *JSB.*, XI, ii, p. 95.
265. NAHAR, I, 641.
266. *JSB.*, VIII, i, p. 30.
267. *Ibid.*; NAHAR, II, 1135.
268. *E. C.*, II, 277.
269. NAHAR, I, 145, 326-27, 336.
270. GUERINOT, *EJ.*, 633.
271. NAHAR, I, 643.

(d) *Gaṇas :*

(1) Lāḍa-Bāgaḍa[272]

(2) Puṣkara[273]

The 'Gherwāḷa' sect of this Saṅgha is also occasionally mentioned.[274]

This Saṅgha is also often referred to along with the Mūla Saṅgha.[275]

Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha gets epigraphical mention even as late[276] as in V. S. 1910, and seems to have spread not only in South India but even in Bihar, Rajputana, U. P., and Madhya Bharat.

KOLATTUR SANGHA :

It is mentioned as early as in c. 7th cent. A.D. in epigraphs from Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa.[277]

It seems to have some connection with a place called Koḷattur (Kittūr ?).

LATABAGADA SANGHA :

It is said to be a branch of Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha, and is mentioned in the Dubkund inscription of Kacchapaghāta Vikramasiṁha,[278] dated V. S. 1145.

Sometimes the name is given as Lāṭavāgata Gaṇa, which is perhaps identical with Lāṭabāgaḍa.

Bāgaḍa is the name of the region near Chitor.[279]

MAHI SANGHA :

BHANDARKAR refers to it in his list.[280] Unfortunately the date is lost. But it seems to have received its name after a place name.

MATHURA SANGHA :

It is said to be a branch of the Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha and founded by Rāmasena at Mathurā in V. S. 953.

272. *Ibid.*, I, 145, 326-27; II, 1483; GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 756; E.I., II, p. 244, etc.
273. NAHAR, II, 1135.
274. *E.C.*, II, 287.
275. NAHAR, I, 641.
276. *Ibid.*, 327.
277. *E.C.*, II, 92, 93, 96.
278. *Ibid.*, (p. 232). See also pp. 37-40; *JSB.* VIII, i, pp. 31-32.
279. CITRAV, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
280. *Op. cit.*, List, No. 758: The inscription, however, seems to belong to the 15th century of V.E., *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 106.

It was also called 'Nippicchika' as the followers of this sect did not use any broom, either of peacock feathers or of cow's tail.[281]

MULA SANGHA:

The Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription No. 254 of 1398 A.D.,[282] has the follow-lowing account about the nature of this important saṅgha:

"Arahadbalin... made the Mūla Saṅgha consisting of the Koṇḍakoṇḍānvaya into four Saṅghas in order to minimise hatred and other (evils) that might arise owing to the nature of the times. Let one make a difference in the case of all heterodox Saṅghas such as the Sitambara and others which are of a form contrary to rule; but he who thinks of such a thing in the case of Sena, Nandi, Deva and Siṁha Saṅgha is a heretic."

Several inscriptions refer to this Saṅgha, from c. 700 A.D. which is sufficient to prove its importance.

Besides in South India, epigraphs point out to the existence of this Saṅgha even in North India, in provinces like Rajputana, N. Gujarat, U.P., Bengal and Bihar.

The following subdivisions of this Saṅgha are to be met with in epigraphs:

(a) *Āmnāyas*:

(1) Candrakīrti[283]
(2) Digambara (?)[284]
(3) Kākopala[285]
(4) Kundakundādi[286]
(5) Nandi[287]
(6) Sad (?)[288]

(b) *Anvayas*:

(1) Candrakavāṭa[289]
(2) Citrakūṭa[290]

281. *JSB.*, VIII, i, pp. 29-30.
282. *E.C.*, Vol. II; also No. 105: See *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. 1, Intr., p. 15 as quoted in support of this by K. P. JAIN in *JSB.*, X, ii, p. 88.
283. NAHAR. II, 1132.
284. *JSB.*, XIV, ii, pp. 56-61.
285. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 106; *I.A.*, VII, p. 209; *JRAS*, (1839), pp. 343-48.
286. *JSB.*, XIV, ii, pp. 56-61.
287. *Ibid.*: also VII, i, p. 13.
288. NAHAR, I, 325.
289. *E.I.*, XVI, p. 53.
290. *JA.*, IX, ii, pp. 65-66. *K.I.*, I, 111, 113.

(3) Draviḍa[291]
(4) Jaisavālānvaya[292]
(5) Khaṇḍelavāla[293]
(6) Kundakunda[294]
(7) Nandisaṅghānvaya[295]
(8) Pāṣāṇa[296]
(9) Pustaka[297]
(10) Sena[298]
(11) Tālakola[299]
(12) Vagheravāla[300]

Out of all these Anvayas, the Kundakundānvaya is the most important, and very old. It is mentioned in the Merkara Copper plates[301] of Saka 388.

It is said to have been started after Kundakunda, the famous Digambara scholar, who flourished in about the beginning of the Christian era.[302]

The importance of Kundakunda is further attested by the fact that not less than four Saṅghas of the Digambara Church have an anvaya after his name.

(c) *Balis*:

(1) Hanasoge or Panasoge[303]
(2) Iṅguḷeśvara[304]
(3) Vāṇada[305]

291. *E.C.*, VI, Mg. 18.
292. NAHAR, I, 472.
293. *Ibid.*, 388; *JSB.*, VII, i, p. 14.
294. *E.C.*, I, Cg. 1; II, 72, 167, 187, 331; III, p. 211; IV, Yedatore, 23; V. Chann. 148; VI, Kd. 1; VIII, Sorab, 122; XII, Gubbi, 57; *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 106; II, p. 72, GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 702, 744; *JSB.*, VII, i, p. 13; XIV, i, pp. 28-29, etc., etc.
295. *E.I.*, XV, p. 345.
296. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 193.
297. *E.C.*, IV, Yedatore 26.
298. *E.I.*, XIII, p. 190; "Same as Senagaṇa in the Mūlasaṅgha": *Ibid.*, p. 192.
299. *E.C.*, VII, Shikarpur, 136.
300. NAHAR, II, 1594.
301. *E.C.*, I, Cg. 1.
302. For details, see UPADHYE, *Prv.*, Intr. p. xxii.
303. *E.C.*, II, 155; V, Belur, 124; VI, Chik: 2; GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 449; *JBBRAS.*, X, pp. 173-5.
304. *E.C.*, III, Nānj. 63; IV, Nāg. 32; Chām. 151; Hunsur 123; V, Belur 131, 133, 134; IX Cg. 56; XII, Sira. 32.
305. *Ibid.*, Pav. 51; GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 478.

(d) *Gacchas*:

(1) Citrakūṭa[306]
(2) Hogari[307]
(3) Hottage[308]
(4) Kharatara (?)[309]
(5) Meṣapāṣāṇa[310]
(6) Pagab[311]
(7) Pārijāta[312]
(8) Pogari[313]
(9) Puṣkara[314]
(10) Pustaka[315]
(11) Sarasvatī[316]
(12) Sena[317]
(13) Tagarigal[318]
(14) Tintriṇi or Tintriṇika[319]
(15) Vāk[320]
(16) Vakra.[321]

(e) *Gaṇas*:

(1) Balātkāra[322]
(2) Desi[323] or Desiya

306. *Mad. Ep. Rep.* (1934), No. 61.
307. NAIK, A.V., *Archaeology of the Deccan*, (Ms.), 412.
308. *E.C.*, IV, Yedatore, 26.
309. *JSB.*, XIV, i, pp. 28-29.
310. *E.C.*, VII, Honn. 5; VIII, Nr. Sh. 60, 64, 97.
311. *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 13.
312. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, Intr. p. 44.
313. *I.A.*, 19, p. 268; *E.C.* VII, Shik. 124; VIII, Sb. 125; XI, Davan. 13.
314. *J.A.*, XIII, ii, pp. 1-7. It is highly probable that 'Hogari', 'Pogari' and 'Puṣkara' stand for one and the same.
315. *E.C.*, II, 126, 128, 130, 187, 265, 331, 367, 400; III, Maṇḍya, 50; IV; Chām. 146; Yed. 21; *E.I.*, VI, p. 26; III, pp. 206, 211, etc. etc.
316. *I.A.*, XX, p. 341; XXI, p. 71; NAHAR, I, 505, 551, 590, 696, II, 1765, etc. etc.
317. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 538.
318. *E.C.*, V, Ark., 99. Are 'Pustaka', Sarasvatī' and 'Vāk' identical?
319. *E.I.*, XX, p. 95; *E.C.*, III, Mal. 31; VII, Shim. 57; VIII, Sagar 159; Sorab, 140, 232, 233, 262, 384, etc.
320. *JSB.*, XIV, i, p. 26.
321. *E.C.*, II, 69; V, Belur, 129; GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 256.
322. *I.A.*, VIII, p. 245; *E.C.*, VII, Shik. 120, 134; VIII, Tirth. 166; Sorab. 199; *Mad. Ep. Rep.* (1936), No. 29; *E.C.*, II, 274, etc. For name, *I.A.*, XX, p. 342.
323. *E.C.* IV, Chām. 150; VII, Shim. 97; VIII, Sorab, 97, 260, 261; Nagar, 53; XII, Chik-N. 24; II, 126, 128, 130, 265, 331, 367, 400, etc.

(3) Deva[324]
(4) Draviḍa[325]
(5) *Kālogra*[326]
(6) *Kāṇūra*[327] or Krāṇūra
(7) Nandi[328]
(8) Paṅkura[329]
(9) Pogariya[330]
(10) Punnāga-Vṛkṣa-Mūla[331]
(11) Sena[332]
(12) Sūrastha[333]
(13) Udāra[334]
(14) Varasena,[335] Vārasena or Vīrasena.

(f) *Kulas*:

(1) Krahakula[336]

(g) *Samudāya*:

(1) Śrī Samudāya[337]

(h) *Vaṁśa*:

(1) Candrikāvāṭa[338]
(2) Nunna[339]

NANDI SANGHA:

According to the list of the ācāryas of this Saṅgha, Māghanandin seems to have been the founder of this congregation. Hence, most of the teachers belonging to it have a suffix 'nandin' to their names.[340]

324. *E.I.*, VI, p. 81; *I.A.*, VII, p. 101.
325. *E.C.*, VI, Mg. 18.
326. *Ibid.*, IV, Chām. 148, 161.
327. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sagar, 195; Sorab, 140, 232, 384; III, Malvalli, 31; VII, Shim. 57; Shik. 225; *E.I.*, XX, p. 95.
328. *E.C.*, VIII, Sorab, 330.
329. *JSB.*, VII, i, p. 16.
330. *E.I.*, X, ii, p. 69.
331. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 250; NAIK, A.V., *op. cit.*, 230.
332. *E.I.*, XV, p. 347; NAIK, *op.cit.*, 463; *E.C.*, IV, Yed. 36; VIII, 119, 146; *SII*, VII, 212; *JA.*, XIII, ii, pp. 1-7.
333. E.C., IV, Ng. 19, 94; V, Ark. 96; VI, Mg. 9; *K.I.*, I. 111, 113.
334. E.C., IX, Nel. 61.
335. *E.I.*. XVII, p. 121.
336. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 166; BHANDARKAR, List, 1573.
337. E.S., V, Belur, 131, 134.
338. *J.A.*, IX, ii, p. 66.
339. E.C., VII, Shik. 198.
340. UPADHYE, *Prv.*, Intr., p. ix; *I.A.*, XXI,, p. 159.

Epigraphs show that this Saṅgha arose out of the Mūla Saṅgha.[341]

The antiquity and the spread of this Saṅgha can be evidenced by the Pahārpur Copper plate dated 159 of the Gupta era (= 478-79 A.D.).[342]

(a) *Anvayas*:

(1) Aruṅgaḷa[343]
(2) Kīrtyācārya.[344]

(b) *Gacchas*:

(1) Pulikal[345]
(2) Sārasvata.[346]

(c) *Gaṇas*:

(1) Balātkāra[347]
(2) Draviḍa[348]
(3) Eregittur[349]
(4) Punnāgavṛkṣamūla.[350]

Several epigraphs, it may be noted, refer to "the Nandi Saṅgha in the Dramiḷa Saṅgha."[351]

NAVILURA SANGHA :

Navilur rendered into Sanskṛit means 'a peacock', and it suggests the origin of this Saṅgha at a place called Mayūragrāma.[352]

It is referred to in the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions dated c. 7th cent. A.D.

(a) *Gaṇa*:

(1) Āji gaṇa[353]

341. *E.C.*, II, 254; IV, Nāga. 85, of 776 A.D.
342. *E.I.*, XX, pp. 63-64.
343. *E.C.*, V, Ark., 98.
344. *JA.*, XII, p. 11.
345. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 72.
346. *E.C.*, IV, ii, Nāg. 85.
347. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 72; VII, i, p. 15.
348. *E.C.*, V, Ark. 98.
349. *Ibid.*, IV, Nāg. 85.
350. *I.A.*, XII, p. 11; *E.I.*, IV, p. 332.
351. *E.C.*, V, Hassan, 131.
352. *Ibid.*, II, 108, 114: See also, 97, 98, 102, 103, 106, 109, 112, and 114.
353. *Ibid.*, No. 97 of c. 700 A.D.

Pamatasama Sangha:

It is referred to in an inscription[354] dated V.S. 1715.

Punnaga-Vrksa-Mula Sangha:

It is to be noted that this Saṅgha is referred to as a gaṇa of the Mūla and Nandi Saṅghas as well.[355]

Sena Sangha:

It was one of the four subdivisions of the Mūla Saṅgha, and its founder was said to be Jinasena, a disciple of Arhadbalin.[356]

In that case, it may be traced to the 8th-9th cent. A.D.

It seems that it was also called Sena Gaṇa.[357]

Śri Sangha:

It is referred to in the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription of c. 700 A.D.[358]

(a) *Anvaya*:

(1) Kundakunda.

(b) *Bali*:

(1) Iṅgaleśvara.

(c) *Gaccha*:

(1) Pustaka

(d) *Gaṇa*:

(1) Desiya.[359]

Simha Sangha:

It was said to be a branch of the Mūla Saṅgha,[360] due to the subdivisions effected by Arhadbalin.

354. Nahar, III, 2474.
355. *E.I.*, IV, 49; *E.C.*, XII, Gubbi, 61.
356. *E.I.*, XXI, p. 136; Glasenapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-7.
357. But the whole phrase 'sena-gaṇa-saṁsthāna of Penugoṇḍa' in *E.C.*, IV, Yed. 36 is not quite legible.
358. E.C., II, 116.
359. *Ibid.*
360. *Ibid.*, 254.

YAPANIYA SANGHA:

Regarding the origin of this Saṅgha, two different theories are advocated:

(1) Devasena in his *Darśanasāra* refers to a tradition which assigns the origin of this Saṅgha to Śrīkalaśa, a Śvetāmbara monk, who is said to have started it at Kalyāṇa in V.E. 205.

(2) Another account refers to a certain queen of the king of Karahāṭaka. She is said to have asked these monks to give up the use of clothes. Thus she desired to create good will about them in the mind of the king.[361]

This is said to have resulted in the adoption of the practice of nudity without, at the same time, giving up of the rest of the practices of the Śvetāmbaras by the Yāpanīyas.

This dual allegiance to the practices of both the sects by the Yāpanīyas, however, led the writer of the *Nītisāra* to denounce them as "jainābhāsā" (those who have an outward appearance or semblance of Jaina monks).[362]

Even though this sect obtained royal patronage from the Kadambas,[363] they, being disowned by both the major sects of the Jainas, either dwindled into extinction, or merged into the Digambara fold.

The earliest mentioned to the Yāpanīyas, if we accept the line of thought of JAYASWAL, SHAH and others, may be said to be that from the inscription of Khāravela (2nd cent. B.C.).[364]

From several epigraphs, however, it appears that this Saṅgha was popular in Karnatak and its surrounding areas.

(a) *Anvayas*:

(1) Kīrtyācārya[365]
(2) Mailapa.[366]

(b) *Gacchas*:

(1) Koṭimaduva[367]
(2) Nandi.[368]

361. UPADHYE, *BUJ.*, I, pt. vi, May, 1933, pp. 224-31.
362. *JSB.*, VII, i, p. 3.
363. Particularly Mṛgeśavarman (475-90 A.D.); *I.A.*, VI, pp. 22-27; VII, pp. 33-35.
364. *JBORS*, IV, p. 389.
365. *I.A.*, XII, p. 11.
366. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 309
367. *E.I.*, IX, No. 6.
368. *Ibid.*

(c) Gaṇas:

(1) Kaṇḍūru[369]
(2) Kāreya[370]
(3) Koṭimaḍuva (?)[371]
(4) Punnāgavṛkṣamūlagaṇa.[372]

YAPANIYA NANDI SANGHA:

Regarding this Saṅgha, SALETORE remarks that Śālagrāma to the west of Mānyapura was a centre of this saṅgha in the 9th cent. A.D., during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda Prabhūtavarṣa.[373]

OTHER UNITS MENTIONED:

Besides the above, the epigraphs refer to a number of other units which are as follows:

(a) *Anvayas*:

(1) Jinalapaka[374]
(2) Vardhamānapurānvaya.[375]

(b) *Gacchas*:

(1) Aḍḍakalī[376]
(2) Dharmaghoṣa[377]
(3) Gwālera[378]
(4) Mayūra[379]
(5) Nagaur[380]
(6) Nedaya[381]
(7) Vīraprabhasūri.[382]

369. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 201.
370. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 69.
371. *E.I.*, IX, p. 47.
372. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 177.
373. *Op. cit.*, p. 233; also, *E.C.*, XII, Gb. 1, of 812 A.D.
374. *MAR.*, (1913-14), p. 57.
375. *JSB.*, XII, ii, p. 14.
376. *E.I.*, VII, p. 179.
377. *JSB.*, XII, ii, pp. 6-8.
378. *Ibid.*, XIV, i, pp. 47-53.
379. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 825.
380. *JSB.*, XIV, i, pp. 49-53.
381. GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 839.
382. *JSB.*, XII, ii, pp. 6-8.

(c) *Gaṇas*:

(1) Jambukhaṇḍa[383]
(2) Kalor[384]
(3) Kavarūri[385]
(4) Kumudi[386]
(5) Paralūra[387]
(6) Sandviga[388] or Sādviga
(7) Sighavura[389]
(8) Sarasvatī[390]
(9) Śruta[391]
(10) Tavula[392]
(11) Vāḍiyūr[393]
(12) Valahāri.[394]

(d) *Saṅghas*:

(1) Bhīla[395]
(2) Nipacha.[396]

(e) *Vaṁśa*:

(1) Parṇavatsala.[397]

A survey of the names of these various units reveals the following factors in their formation:

(i) Some of these were formed after place names: Hanasoge, Mayūra or Navilur, Paralūra and Kolattur.

(ii) Some among them were formed after regional names: Draviḍa, Māthura, Kāñcī, etc.

383. *E.I.*, XXI, p. 290.
384. Seems to have been identical with Kālogra: See Mūla Saṅgha.
385. SALETORE, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
386. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 65.
387. *I.A.*, XI, p. 69.
388. *E.C.*, II, 29: GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 818.
389. *JA.*, IX, ii, p. 62.
390. *E.C.*, VII, Shik. 293; V, Arsi. 87.
391. *Ibid.*, IV, Hs. 123, p. 95.
392. See under Draviḍa Saṅgha.
393. *E.I.*, II, p. 184.
394. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 179.
395. *JSB.*, XIV, i, 49-53.
396. *Ibid.*
397. *Ibid.*, IX, ii, p. 64.

(iii) Several of these were named after the names of the ācāryas: Kundakunda, °Nandin, etc.

(iv) Of all these Saṅghas, the Mūla Saṅgha and the Kundakundānvaya seem to have been very old and prominent.

(v) Most of these Saṅghas and their subdivisions were current mainly in Karnatak and regions round about it as the available records show. We also have, however, epigraphs from north India which refer to some of them.

(vi) These Saṅghas are referred to in epigraphs mostly belonging to a period of 7th cent. A.D., and after.

(vii) It is not known how many among these are still current.

(viii) Units like the Āmnāya, Anvaya, Baḷi, Samudāya Saṅgha and Vaṁśa seem to be peculiar to the Digambaras as they are seldom referred to in the Śvetāmbara epigraphs.

(ix) It appears that in Digambara monachism it is possible to trace almost a continuous chain of units.

(x) Many of them are old, and new ones are few.

TOURING AND RESIDENCE:

We have not got much information regarding the exact mode of touring undertaken by the monks during the eight months of the year.

The practice of staying at one place during the rainy season, however, is mentioned in a grant of the Kadamba king Ravivarman. It laid down that "ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season."[398]

From the dedication of caves for the use of monks, it seems that they formed a favourite or a widely used place of shelter for not only Jaina but even non-Jaina ascetics. Possibly the earliest mention of caves for Jaina monks belongs to the period of Khāravela who, in c. 2nd cent. B.C., is said to have furnished caves for the use of monks. The next in antiquity are possibly those at Junagadh belonging to the reign of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman.

Later on, in the medieval period, a number of basadis and monasteries were built with the royal and popular support.

The existence of the Vanavāsin gaccha goes to indicate the existence of the Caityavāsins who used to live for a longer time in temples. Thus the

398. *I.A.*, VI, p. 27.

Vanavāsins may be said to have arisen out of a reaction to the mode of the life of the Caityavāsins.

CLOTHING AND NUDITY:

Perhaps the earliest known record referring to the offering of clothes to the monks is, according to JAYASWAL's reading, that of Khāravela in which he refers to the fact that "in the 13th year, on Kumārī hill, he offers respectfully royal maintenances, China clothes (cinavatāni) and white clothes (vāsāsitāni) to the monks."[399]

That the monks were distinctly divided on the use of clothing is further attested by an epigraph of Mṛgeśavarman of the Kadamba dynasty (5th cent. A.D.) who is said to have divided a grant equally for the use of the Śvetapaṭas, the Nirgranthas and the Jina shrine.[400]

The existence of the separate branches of the clothed and the naked monks is also evidenced by the remarks of Hiuen Tsiang (7th cent. A.D.), who remarks that "they retain a little hair on their heads, and moreover they go naked. If, by chance, they wear garments, they are distinguished by their white colour."[401]

Still later on, we have a reference to an incident in which the Digambara ācārya, who went to enlighten the Begum of Firuz Tughlaq, is said to have put on clothing while lecturing.[402]

REQUISITES:

We have scanty information regarding the requisites used by Jaina monks either of the Svetāmbaras or of the Digambaras.

However, the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa epigraphs refer to the various brooms used by the Digambara monks. For instance, the 'mayūrapiccha' (peacock-feather broom) is referred to in many epigraphs.[403] Not only that, but some Jaina monks received names after their brooms: e.g., balākapiccha, gṛdhrapiccha, etc.[404]

FOOD AND BEGGING:

We have only a few references like those in the Karnatak epigraphs which mention that Siṁhanandin, the benefactor of the Gaṅga kula, pro-

399. *E.I.*, XX, pp. 88-89.
400. FLEET. *I.A.*, VII, p. 37.
401. *I.A.*, II, (1873), p. 16.
402. *JSB.*, V, iii, p. 140.
403. *E.C.*, II, 258; VII, Sh. 4, etc.
404. *Ibid.*, II, 64, 66, 258.

hibited the Gaṅga princes to eat honey and flesh, which were also deemed useless for monks.[405]

With royal patronage, we find kings granting lands for the feeding of Jaina monks and nuns (āhāra-dānakka).[406]

Various epigraphs refer to the effects of ahiṁsā as advocated by Jaina monachism on the society at large. We have instances right from Aśoka upto the Moghal emperors of Delhi, who in one way or the other, enforced a prohibition on animal slaughter. We have already noted Kumārapāla, king of Gujarat, prohibiting animal slaughter on certain days due to which the population of Gujarat, even upto the present day, is mainly vegetarian.

STUDY :

The epigraphs are eloquent when they describe the debating power or the intellectual supremacy of Jaina monks. Even if we give up the metaphorical element in them, the studious habits of Jaina monks, their skill in debate, and their ease of convincing others are brought to light.

The following are some of the metaphorical expressions:

(i) Ajitasena was called the 'Vādibhakanṭhīrava' (the lion to the elephants the disputants).[407]

(ii) Śāntideva was designated Śabda-caturmukha'.[408]

(iii) Of Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Devakīrti, it is said that he was "the poet, debator and orator, who is a fierce fire to the forest the maintainers of Kapila's doctrines, a submarine fire to the ocean the maintainers of the Chārvāka system, and a sun in dispelling the darkness of the staunch maintainers of the Bauddha faith".[409]

(iv) Samantabhadra is termed "a lion among disputants".[410]

(v) Māghanandin "was a fillet of brilliant gems to the forehead of Sarasvatī".[411]

(vi) Abhayacandra Siddhānti is said to have "split the sky-touching mountains of evil creeds".[412]

and (vii) Cārukīrti was called "the emperor of the learned".[413]

405. *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 4; Dānaśālās for Jaina monks: *Ibid.*, V, 273 of 1673 A.D.
406. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 122: 1047 A.D.
407. E.C., II, 67: 1129 A.D.
408. *Ibia.*
409. *Ibid.*, 63 of 1163 A.D.
410. *Ibid.*, 64.
411. *Ibid.*
412. *Ibid.*, V, Bel. 133, of 1279 A.D.
413. *Ibid..* I, Cg. 10, of 1544 A.D.

From their embellishments several Jaina monks seemed to have some additional suffix to their names, as in the case of Śrīpāla-Traividya, Hemasena-Vidyādhanañjaya, and Ajitasena-Vādibhasiṁha.[414]

This intellectual power blossomed under royal patronage, and works on philosophy, religion and logic were written by several Jaina monks to which the epigraphs also stand testimony.[415] It should be noted that besides these, Jaina monks attempted works even on music and dramaturgy.[416] It is interesting to note that Jinacandra is described as being one "whose skill in vocal and instrumental music and in dancing spread to all points of the compass"![417] Of Śrutakīrti-Traividya, it is said that he composed "the Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya in such a way that it could be read both backwards and forwards".[418]

The debating power of the Jaina monks is also referred to in glorifying words in epigraphs. For instance, of Vakragrīva (c. 1st cent. A.D.) it was said that he "expounded the meaning of the word 'atha' during six months"![419] Maheśvara is said to have defeated as many as seventy great disputants.[420]

This tradition of debating, it may be noted, was peculiar both to the Digambaras as well as to the Śvetāmbaras, and among the latter the instance of Hīravijaya, who defeated a number of opponents in the court of Akbar (Akabbarasamakṣa-vijita-vādivṛnda-samudbhūta-yaśāḥ),[421] is famous.

No technical details, however, pertaining to study as are to be found in the Śvetāmbara Canon or in the Digambara works are met with in the epigraphs.

PENANCE AND FASTING:

The important place of penance, mainly consisting of fasting, in the life of a Jaina monk is corroborated by inscriptions right from the 5th century A.D. till the end of the 19th century A.D. Fasting was a preparation for the 'sallekhanā' almost from the beginning.

For instance, the epigraphs give laudatory epithets to various monks denoting their power and tenacity of penance and fasting. An epigraph dated

414. *E.I.*, VIII, p. 17.
415. For the works of various scholars, see E.C., II, 64, 67.
416. *Ibid.*, 65.
417. *Ibid.*, 69, of c. 1100 A.D.
418. *Ibid.*, 64: 1163 A.D.
419. *Ibid..*, 67 of 1129 A.D.
420. *Ibid.*
421. NAHAR, II, 1794 of V.S. 1661; also, 1628 of 1670.

Ś. 411 refers to Jinanandin "who was the touchstone by which to test the value of penances that were hard to be performed".[422] Another epigraph of c. 650 A.D., gives an epithet 'upavāsapara' (devoted to fasting) to Vṛṣabhanandin.[423]

Besides mentioning the traditional twelve kinds of penances[424] as given in literary sources, an epigraph of c. 700 A.D. refers to the case of a sage who did severe penance for several years, "which was as difficult as walking on the sharp edge of a sword or passing over the great fangs of a cobra".[425]

Fasting for the duration of three, eight, twenty-one and thirty days is referred to in epigraphs mainly belonging to a period between the sixth[426] and the 19th centuries A.D.[427]

Besides these, peculiar practices like the vow of silence,[428] sitting in a 'kukkuṭāsana' posture,[429] and doing eight days' fast facing each direction[430] (which resembled one of the Bhikkhu Paḍimās), are also referred to. No wonder, therefore, if the epigraphs refer to Malliseṇa as one "who practised penance surpassing fire (in heat)".[431] Such penance was sufficient enough to inspire admiration even in the mind of the Muslim rulers as the title 'mahātapā' given to Vijayadeva by Jahāngīr, shows.[432]

We have already referred elsewhere to the case of fasting unto death as late as in 1945 A.D. Even at present we have cases of Jaina monks observing 'sallekhanā' and thus facing death by voluntary fasting.[433]

SUPERNATURAL POWERS :

The epigraphical sources refer to the marvellous feats of supernatural power by the Jaina monks at various places. We have seen, when dealing

422. FLEET, *I.A.*, VII, p. 209.
423. *E.C.*, II, 75.
424. *Ibid.*, 23 of c. 700 A.D.; 67 of 1129 A.D.
425. *Ibid.*, 22.
426. Fasting for 3 days — *E.C.*, II, 59 of 974 A.D.
8 days — *I.A.*, IV, p. 176: date S. 970; *E.C.*, IV, Nāg. 19, c. 1118 A.D.
21 days — *Ibid.*, II, 33, of c. 700 A.D.
15 days — *Ibid.*, IV, Nāg. 67 of c. 1060 A.D.
30 days — *Ibid.*, IV, 25, 143, 167 (c. 700-1809 A.D.).
427. *Ibid.*, II, 167.
428. *Ibid.*, 35, of c. 800 A.D.
429. *Ibid.*, IV, Krishna., 3.
430. *Ibid.*, II, 69, of c. 1100 A.D.
431. *Ibid.*, 67 of 1129 A.D.
432. NAHAR, I, 754 of V.S. 1677; 772 of 1700.
433. The most recent example is that of Shri Śāntisāgara Mahārāj, a Digambara patriarch, who courted death by Sallekhanā in September 1955.

with the literary sources, that in later phases even Jaina monks were adept in the use of magic, spells and supernatural powers.

The following are some of the important feats done by Jaina monks as given in different inscriptions.

The tradition about the forecast of a big famine in Magadha by Bhadrabāhu on the basis of a dream, has been referred to in a Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa inscription dated c. 600 A.D.[434] Thus the epigraph refers to the power of knowing the future by Jaina monks.

Another inscription dated V.S. 1597 from Nāḍalāï (in Marwad), says that in V. S. 964, Yaśobhadrasūri brought an image of the Jina using his magical powers (mantraśaktisamānītā).[435]

That the Jaina monks had the knowledge of removing evil influences of planets is indicated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant of the reign of Prabhūtavarṣa. It says that a Jaina muni Arkakīrti was granted a village as he was successful in removing "the adverse influence of Saturn from a prince named Vimalāditya".[436]

Another epigraph, dated 1068 A.D., refers to Municandra Siddhānta Deva of Mūla Saṅgha, who "wrote a Yantra which scared away the serpents, piśācas, bhūtas, vihagas, the fierce nine planets, the śākinīs, (and) niśācaras ......"[437] The same power was reported to have been acquired by Kalyāṇakīrti, according to an epigraph of c. 1100 A.D.[438]

It may be noted that this reference to the Yantras, etc. is very important. For it implies the use of such powers by the Jaina monks in later phases of Jaina monachism. The Tantric and Yantric practices were usually known to have been confined only to Buddhism and Brāhmanism. But, this epigraphical reference shows that the Jaina monks could not escape the influence of the times.

The epigraphs of the twelfth century abound in references to such practices. For instance, these records refer to Kundakunda's miraculous power to move about in the air four fingers above the ground.[439] Another record of the same period refers to Pūjyapāda who was said to have the

434. *E.C.*, II, 1.
435. NAHAR, I, 852.
436. *I.A.*, XII, p. 11.
437. *E.C.*, VII, Shik., 136.
438. *Ibid.*, II, 69.
439. *Ibid.*, 64, 66, 117, 127, 140, 351,

power of healing. And it was said that the touch of the water used for washing his feet had the virtue of turning iron into gold.[440]

Of Samantabhadra, a record of 1129 A.D. says that he was "skilful in reducing to ashes the disease bhasmaka (morbid appetite), receiver of an exalted position from the Goddess Padmāvatī, who summoned Candraprabha by the words of his spells. . . ."[441]

Similar other instances like controlling the 'brahmarākṣasa',[442] curing snake-bite by reciting the 'pañcanamaskāra',[443] being expert in the six acts (śānti, vaśīkaraṇa, stambhana, vidveṣa, ucchāṭaṇa and māraṇa),[444] bringing under control female goblins,[445] being endowed with seven great supernatural powers (pertaining to buddhi, vikriyā, tapas, bala, auṣadha, rasa and kṣetra)[446] and curing the effects of various types of poisoning[447] are referred to in epigraphs of the fourteenth century and after.

It should be noted that the Paṭṭavalis and later literature also refer to such feats.[448]

DEATH :

The mode of death that is frequently referred to is fasting unto death, denoted by the Jaina technical term 'sallekhanā'.

Besides this term[449] three other expressions are found to have been used to denote this mode of death. They are :

(i) having observed the vow, ended his or her life;[450]
(ii) accomplished samādhi;[451]
and (iii) died by the rites of sannyasana.[452]

440. *Ibid.*, 258 of 1123 A.D.
441. *Ibid.*, 67, of 1129 A.D.
442. *Ibid.*
443. *I.A.*, XIV, p. 22: 12th cent. A.D.
444. *E.C.*, II, 65, of 1176 A.D.
445. *Ibid.*, 64, of 1163 A.D.
446. *Ibid.*, also 66, of 1176 A.D.
447. *Ibid.*, 65 of 1313 A.D.
448. See, HOERNLE (*I.A.*, XIX, pp. 236-7) regarding Upakeśa gaccha and the miraculous powers of the monks belonging to it; GLASENAPP, *op. cit.*, p. 70, refers to Muni Sundara who warded off a famine by reciting a stotra; Kakka Sūri producing water from the earth: HOERNLE, *op. cit.*, p. 240; flying through the air, given in *Rājāvalikathe* of Deva candra (1770-1841 A.D.), referred to by UPADHYE, *Prv.*, Intr. p. viii.
449. *E.C.*, II, 118, 258, 359 etc.
450. *Ibid.*, 4-9 of c. 700 A.D.
451. *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 22, 59, 93, 106, 108, 114, 128, 129, 142, 143, 258, 351, 495.
452. *Ibid.*, 15, 24, 28, 33, 34, 68, 75-77, 88, 97, 102.

Besides these, a peculiar expression, perhaps due to popular contamination of usage, was also expressed. It was : 'went to the city of gods'.[453] It may be noted that a twelfth century inscription also uses the expression "became the dearest to the hearts of celestial women" to denote death of an ascetic![454]

References to the mode of death called 'sallekhanā' occur in South Indian inscriptions as early as in the 5th cent. A.D.[455] These references are numerous in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D.[456]

The epigraphs of the tenth[457] and the eleventh[458] centuries, and after that, those as late as[459] in V. S. 1652 and in A.D. 1809[460] record this mode of death.

The following items may be noted regarding the mode of death as revealed in epigraphs.

(i) Not only ascetics, but even kings resorted to fast unto death: for instance, Indra IV of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Mārasiṁha of the Gaṅga family, and Lakṣmīmatī wife of the Jaina general Gaṅga Rāja.

(ii) This mode of death was common both to the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara monks and laymen — male and female — as epigraphs not only from the south but also from Rajputana and other parts of north India refer to it.

(iii) It seems that as early as in c. 700 A.D., Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa was receiving the importance of a tīrtha, and people from distant places came to breathe their last there.[461]

(iv) The exact mode of death as described in one of the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa epigraphs is as follows :

"Meghacandra-traividya-deva ... aware of the approach of his death, assuming the palyaṅka posture, meditating on the soul, attained the world

453. *E.I.*, III, p. 207, *v.* 72, of S. 1050.

454. *E.C.*, II, 63 of 1163 A.D.

455. RICE, Mys. and Cg. 1, 370, quoted by K. P. JAIN, *JA.*, XII, ii, p. 74.

456. "..About eighty (epigraphs), many of which go back to the 7th and the 8th centuries, record the death of men and women, mostly monks and nuns, by religious suicide."—L. RICE, *E.C.*, II, Intr. p. 69. See *Ibid.*, Nos. 79, 80, 84, 88, 93, 95, etc., all of c. 700 A.D., except for No. 79 which is of c. 750 A.D.

457. *Ibid.*, 59, of 974 A.D.; *Ibid.*, V, p. 152, of A.D. 975; *Ibid.*, II, 133 of 982 A.D.

458. *Ibid.*, VI, Mg. 17, of 1062 A.D.; for twelfth cent. A.D., *Ibid.*, II, 67 of A.D. 1129; 127 of 1115 A.D.; 128, 170 of 1217 A.D.; V, *Bel.* 133 of 1279 A.D., etc.

459. *E.I.*, II, p. 38 mentions the death of Hīravijaya by fasting.

460. See *Ibid.*, V, p. 152, fn. 1.

461. *E.C.*, II, Intr. p. 73.

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460. See *Ibid*., V, p. 152, fn. 1.
461. *E.C.*, II, Intr. p. 73.

of gods". To describe that meditation: "keeping in mind the true nature of the soul consisting of infinite knowledge, and renouncing what is fit to be abandoned, the sage Meghanandin ... went to the heaven".[462]

(v) Two Belur inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D., refer to "entombment" (samādhi) of monks after death. Bālacandra in 1274 A.D. is said to have "suffered perfect entombment".[463] Of Abhayacandra it is said that he gave up all food "knowing it was his time for the tomb". It may mean, therefore, that their remains were buried or that the term simply referred to death. In this connection, the comment of JAYASWAL on the word 'nisidi' in the Khāravela inscription, quoted elsewhere, need not be repeated.

MORAL DISCIPLINE:

The epigraphs give instances of good conduct as well as of moral degradation among monks of both the sects.

For instance, there are references to various ascetics who were designated "emperor of good conduct".[464] Remarkable feats of supreme self-control are referred to in the case of Āryadeva and Rāmacandra Maladhārī Deva. In the case of the former "it is reported that, when a straw was placed on his ear by some people who wanted to test his self-restraint, though his attention was absent by sleep at the hour appointed for sleeping, he slowly wiped the ear with peacock's tail, and, making way for that (imaginary) insect by gently turning round, lay down (again)".[465] In the case of the latter, it is told that he "did not swing his arm while walking, ... did not go to the length of a yoke without looking well before him; gold and women he never touched".[466] Of Maladhārin it is said that "the dirt on Maladhārī Deva's body, which was overgrown with an anthill, looked as if it were a close-fitting armour of black iron that had not yet been doffed. He never once uttered even in forgetfulness a word about worldly affairs; he never opened the closed door; he never set out after sunset; he never once stretched the body; he was never wearied of the posture known as 'Kukkuṭāsana'; he never forgot to abstain from injuring others".[467]

This high standard of moral discipline, self-control and celibacy seems to have decayed in later times among both the Digambaras and the Śvetām-

462. *Ibid.*, 127, of 1115 A.D.; V, Belur, 133. of 1279 A.D.
463. *Ibid.*, and 131 and 134.
464. *Ibid.*, 64 of 1163 A.D.; 66 of 1176 A.D.
465. *Ibid.*, 67 of 1129 A.D.
466. *Ibid.*, V, Belur, 134 of 1300 A.D.
467. *Ibid.*, II, 117 of 1123 A.D.; for similar references to the dirt on his body, *Ibid.*, 65 of 1176 A.D., and 67 of 1129 A.D.

baras. For, according to another epigraph dated c. 1118 A.D. we have an account of "a report (that) was spread abroad in the nāḍs, that in the towns he (i.e., Vinayanandin Yati of Sūrastha Gaṇa) went among the women devotees". The same epigraph, however, adds that on inquiry that report was found to be false. On the contrary the monk was found to treat "women as his mothers".[468]

Similar instances were taking place among the Śvetāmbaras as well. For instance, in V.S. 995, Devagupta Sūri of Upakeśa Gaccha being very much addicted to playing on lute was dismissed from the headship of the Gaccha.[469] In V. S. 1154, Kakka Sūri had to expel lax monks from the same gaccha,[470] and in V.S. 1582, Ānanda Vimala Sūri had to lay down a new set of rules to reform the conduct of the monks of the Tapā Gaccha.[417]

The liberality of the laity as well as of the royal patrons may be said to have led to this slackening of self-control. We have already referred to an instance of an ācārya granting a piece of land to his own disciple out of those granted for a temple. Later on, we have an instance of Vikramasiṁha of the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund giving a grant of land not only for the purpose of worship and repairs of the temple, but also for oil for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men ![472]

Another factor to be noted is that many monks seem to have been married men in their pre-monkhood period of life. For, we have references to the sons and daughters of these.[473] Probably both the father and the son or daughter renounced the world together, and hence their relations were mentioned in epigraphs even after their accepting the monk or the nun-life. Therefore has a mention been found to the relations of their preascetic life.

THE ORDER OF NUNS:

Along with the monks, epigraphs refer to a number of nuns belonging to the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects.

We have already noticed that as early as in the first-second centuries of the Christian era, the Jaina Church had a number of nuns as revealed in the Mathurā inscriptions.

468. *Ibid.*, IV, Nāg. 19.
469. HOERNLE, *op. cit.*, XIX, p. 240.
470. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
471. *E.I.*, II, p. 51, *vv.* 10-11.
472. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-40: (A.D. 1088).
473. Nāṇabbekanti daughter of Abhinandipaṇḍitadeva: *E.C.*, VI, Kd. 1, of 971 A.D.; Dāmanandī Muni's eldest son: *Ibid.*, II, 65 of 1176 A.D.

The same state of affairs seems to have continued, and we find a number of women joining the nun-order even in later days.

It may be noted that these nuns came mostly from the middle classes though instances of royal queens leading an ascetic life were not lacking. But the latter category remained content with giving gifts to and making facilities available to regular nuns.

The subordination of nuns to the monks is to be found even in the epigraphs as they generally refer to a nun as being a disciple of some ācārya or bhaṭṭāraka.[474]

The details given regarding nun-life such as the mode of death, fasting, clothing, etc. are more or less the same as those in the case of the monks.

For instance, the Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa epigraphs give numerous examples of nuns who ended their lives by fasting unto death. This seemed to have been the favourite mode of death in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D.[475] In the case of Jakkave, it is said that "placing herself at the lotus-feet of the Jina, fixing her eyes on the tip of her nose, and listening to the words of the 'āgama',—with eyes and ears having complete sannyasana by the rite of samādhi, Jakkave attained to heaven".[476]

Besides fasting unto death, the nuns undertook fasts of minor length as well. For instance Paḍiyara Dorapayya's senior queen Pāmbabbe who was a disciple of Abhinandin Pandita Deva is said to have done various kinds of penances for thirty years, and carried out the five vows well.[477] The same record refers to her making her head bald by plucking out the hair before entering nunhood. This is the practice of 'loya' referred to in the literary sources so often.

The Śvetāmbaras never allowed their followers to be nude except in the case of the Jinakalpikas. And the Digambaras also did not allow the nuns to remain nude. This is corroborated by the epigraphical mention in the grant of land by Akkādevī for the maintenance of friars, and for the cloaks of the Digambara nuns.[478]

474. *Ibid.*, VI, Kd., 1 of 971 A.D.; *Ibid.*, II, 20 of c. 700 A.D., etc. See also Mathurā inscriptions which refer to a number of Sisiṇis or female disciples.

475. *E.C.* II, 7, of c. 700 A.D.; 20; VII, Sk. 219, refers to the death of Jakkiyabbe in c. 911 A.D.; II, 68 of c. 950 A.D.; VII, Shik. 196, of c. 1212 A.D.; *JA*, IX, ii, p. 73, No. 82 of 1490 A.D.

476. *E.C.*, VII, Shik., 196.

477. *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 1.

478. *E.I.*, XVII, p. 122: 1047 A.D.

Besides such glimpses, neither the Śvetāmbara nor the Digambara epigraphs give any distinct details about the nuns along with those about the monks. It seems that as in the literary evidence so also in the epigraphical references, the Jainas never gave even a chance of an appearance of the superiority of the nun-order over that of the order of monks.

Inspite of this, it should be noted that the epigraphs rarely give a case of moral degradation of a nun, and ALTEKAR's view about the absence of an order of nuns in Brāhmanism due to the corrupt non-Brāhmanical orders of nuns, goes unwarranted so far as Jaina epigraphical evidence is concerned.

JAINA TECHNICAL TERMS:

Both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara epigraphs refer to a number of technical terms. They may be summarised as follows:

Ācārāṅgadhara,[479] Āgama,[480] Aṅga,[481] Āvaśyakas;[482] Bhavya;[483]

Daṇḍa,[484] Daśapūrvadhara,[485] Dhyāna[486] (a) Ārta, (b) Raudra.

Ekādaśāṅgadhara;[487]

Gārava,[488] Ghāti (karman),[489] Guptis;[490]

Kāyotsarga,[491] Kevala jñāna;[492]

Mahāpratihāryas;[493]

Palyaṅkāsana,[494] Pañcācāra,[495] Pañcaparameṣṭhin;[496]

Parīṣaha,[497] Pāüggamaṇa;[498]

479. *E.C.*, II, 254.
480. *Ibid.*, 67.
481. *Ibid.*, 254, 268.
482. *Ibid.*, 258.
483. *Ibid.*, 1, 65, 66, 67, 69, 495.
484. *Ibid.*, 66.
485. *Ibid.*, 254.
486. *Ibid.*, 65.
487. *Ibid.*, 254.
488. *Ibid.*, 66.
489. *Ibid.*, 67.
490. *Ibid.*, 127, 140.
491. NAHAR, I, 808; *E.C.*, II, 67.
492. *Bhav. Inscr.* 1 of Rudrasiṁha, Junagadh; also *E.C.*, II, 254.
493. *Ibid.*, 142.
494. *Ibid.*, 127.
495. *Ibid.*, 268.
496. *Ibid.*, 65.
497. *Ibid.*, 127, 140.
498. *Ibid.*, 82.

Ratnatraya;[499]

Sallekhanā,[500] Śalyas,[501] Samādhi,[502] Saṁvara,[503] Sidha,[504] Śrāuvakī-dharma,[505] Śrutakevalin, [506] Śukladhyāna,[507] Syādvāda;[508]

Vaikriyika.[509]

It may be remarked that as early as in the 2nd century B.C., the Khāravela inscription refers to the fact that the king realised the nature of the soul and the body which is one of the principal stages in the life of a monk and a layman. The Junagadh inscription refers to Kevalajñāna.

It may be noted that the epigraphs after the 12th century A.D. are generally of the nature of the record of a grant, and they seldom refer to the Jaina technical terms which are in most cases identical for both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.

IMAGE-WORSHIP:

Image-worship, as noted elsewhere, is referred to even in the texts of the Aṅgas. Epigraphical evidence is available regarding images right from the inscription of Khāravela which says that a Nanda king had carried away the image from Megadha. Archaeological finds at Mathura reveal a number of images as early as by the beginning of the Christian era.

In the early medieval period and after, monks seem to have played a vigorous role in inducing people to make images and erect structures over them.

As time advanced, the following other types of images and footprints were introduced:

(1) Various goddesses:[510] Śāsanḍevīs, Jvālinī, Cakreśvarī,

(2) Stūpa: (Mathura),[511]

499. *Ibid.*, 67, 127, 140, 333.
500. *Ibid.*, 67, 118, 258, 389.
501. *Ibid.*, 65.
502. *Ibid.*, 67.
503. *Ibid.*, 254.
504. *Ibid.*, 2, 11.
505. *Ibid.*, 139.
506. *Ibid.*, 67.
507. *Ibid.*, 11.
508. *Ibid.*, 63-67.
509. *Ibid.*, 254.
510. *Ibid.*, IV, Gundl. 18; NAHAR, III, 2489; *I.A.*, II, 1873, p. 17.
511. NAHAR, III, 2505.

(3) Images of ācāryas,[512]
(4) Footprints of nuns,[513]
(5) Images of Gaṇadharas like Gotamasvāmin,[514]
(6) Footprints of monks,[515]
(7) Siddhacakras,[516]
(8) Tīrthaṅkara-paṭṭikās,
and (9) Images possibly of local deities like Kṣetrapālamūrti, Caturbhuja,[517] etc.

WAYS OF WORSHIP:

This practice of building magnificent temples naturally led to a form of costly worship by royal and rich patrons as a way of expressing their devotion.

This is evidenced by epigraphs of various periods which refer to the practice of eight kinds of worship,[518] granting land for the perpetual lamp and incense in the temple,[519] anointing the image with ghee and milk,[520] erecting golden śikharas to temples,[521] and silver-plating of the throne of the Jina image.[522]

It should be noted that in certain parts of India the Brahmins again came to the rescue of the Jainas to provide the role of priests in the worship rituals. Or else, it may be that the converts to Jainism or the Jaina laymen continued or adopted Brāhmanical ritualism, for we have records which give the information of the 'sattra' or feast to all Brahmins at the consecration of a Jina image,[523] and of spending thousands of rupees as 'dakṣiṇā' to Brahmins on the same occasion.[524]

This led actually to the formation of a class of priests in the Jaina Church itself. And, as early as in the time of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman, the epigraphs refer to the Bhojakas or "a class of officiating priests in Jaina

512. *E.C.*, II, 196.
513. NAHAR, I, 335.
514. *Ibid.*, III, 2433.
515. *Ibid.*, 2435.
516. *Ibid.*, 2444.
517. *Ibid.*, 2537; *IK.*, 56.
518. *E.C.*, II, 178, of 1159 A.D.: VII, Sk. 225; Sb., 345.
519. *Ibid.*, V, Arsi. 141 of 1159 A.D.; NAHAR, I, 839 of V.S. 1218.
520. *I.A.*, VII, pp. 36-37: Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman; *E.C.*, II, 200 of 1288 A.D.
521. NAHAR, I, 899, of V. S., 1211.
522. *Ibid.*, III, 2545 of V. S. 1911.
523. *E.C.*, VII, Shik. 8, of c. 1080 A.D.
524. NAHAR, III, 2530, of V. S. 1891.

temples".[525] This also led to a class of the Maṭhādhipatis who lived in great pomp, and who, as we have noted from the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* of Āśādhara (13th century A.D.), were denounced in strong terms.

As late as in 1820 A.D., BURGESS refers to the existence of Brahmin priests in Jaina temples.[526]

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE DONORS

We have already seen elsewhere that the Mathura inscriptions reveal a variety of patrons of Jainism, the majority among whom was that of the traders and merchants as also those who were following various crafts.

Coming to the medieval period we find that in the South as in the North, ministers,[527] generals and state officials[528] like head-accountants and treasurers, supported the spread of Jainism.

It should, however, not be supposed that only the higher aristocratic classes supported Jaina religion. As a matter of fact, in the late medieval period we have such persons whose "descent was from the fourth caste",[529] village headmen[530] and petty local merchants who supported Jaina monks as also swelled the ranks of the Jaina Church by embracing asceticism.

This tradition of strong support from the financially well stabilised lay community even upto the present day has accounted for the perpetuation of Jainism in India.

JAINA MONACHISM AND MARTIAL SPIRIT:

It has been held by some scholars that the principle of ahiṁsā which is the backbone of Jaina monachism, gave a set-back to the martial spirit in India. They say that various royal patrons and the mass of population in general became a submissively peace-loving community in India.

It should be pointed out, however, that this view is far from being correct as both literary and epigraphical sources give instances of ordinary people as well as kings who, inspite of their Jaina affinities, never neglected their military duties.

525. FLEET, *I.A.*, VI, pp. 24-25.
526. *I.A.*, XXXI, p. 72.
527. Gaṅgarāja, minister to Hoysalas: *E.C.*, III, Mal. 31: Amitayya Daṇḍanāyaka: *Ibid.*, VI, Kd., 36; Cāmuṇḍarāya, minister to the Gaṅgas; Irugappa, *E.I.*, VII, p. 115.
528. Huḷla, head accountant, *E.C.*, II, 66; Śrīvijaya, a general: GUERINOT, *op. cit.*, 122; Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, the ruby treasurer, *E.C.*, II, 64.
529. *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 36 of 1203 A.D.
530. FLEET., *I.A.*, IV, p. 205.

For instance, Khāravela's inscription depicts him to be a devotee of the Jina as well as a fighter in the cause of justice. Of Siṁhanandin, the sage who indirectly founded the Gaṅga dynasty, it is said that he warned the princes that 'if they fled from the battlefield their race would be ruined'. In the south we have a number of military men like Baṅkeya, the governor of Banavāsi, General Gaṅga, Cāvuṇḍa Rāya and others who were excellent fighters and at the same time were devotees of the Jinadharma. In the north we have Kumārapāla, Vimala the Daṇḍanāyaka of Abu, and others who were the best models of Jainas as well as of military men.

It is clear from the above instances that the ahiṁsā that Jainism preached was not a cloak for cowardice worn by a weakling. It was, on the other hand, the supreme expression of scorn and abhorrence of brutality by one who was physically and mentally a strong person.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS:

From the study of epigraphs, the following observations regarding Jaina monachism and the relation of the epigraphical sources to the literary ones can be made:

(1) Most of the epigraphs, being of the nature of dedicatory grants, seldom reveal details regarding the actual working of Jaina monachism as given in the literary sources.

(2) The epigraphs, however, show clearly that Jaina monachism spread to various parts of India not in a continuous process but in successive migrations.

(3) The epigraphs corroborate some traditions, as for instance, the migration of the Digambaras to the south, the holding of the Council for the collection of the lost scriptures (as under Khāravela), image-worship, etc.

(4) The literary sources reveal a state of moral decay in the later days of the Jaina Church. This is also corroborated by a few references in the epigraphs.

(5) Besides moral discipline, the epigraphs reveal a decay in the other aspects of monk-life like accepting specially-prepared food, or, as it seems, food distributed out of the grant of the king.

(6) The inscriptions refer to a number of Saṅghas, Gaṇas, Gacchas, Kulas, etc., which are not only more than the traditional number, i.e. eighty-four, but also more than the number to be found in the literary sources.

(7) Even though kings and ministers generally favoured Jainism, the epigraphs reveal that the main source of lay support came from the trading class.

(8) Just as the later literary sources reveal an increase in the practice of spells and supernatural powers, the epigraphs of the medieval period also do the same.

(9) The inscriptions right from the early centuries of the Christian era show a strong organisation of nuns in the Church, and some of the details of nun-life like tonsure, death, etc. are referred to.

(10) The epigraphs reveal the studious habits of Jaina monks and their literary achievements.

(11) Temple-building and image-worship is seen to have become a costly affair, and the epigraphs depict the pompous element in such worship. Not only this, they reveal that many of the Brāhmanical deities like Ganeśa, Sarasvatī and others had found their way into the Jaina pantheon also. Of course, in many a context, they have a significance other than what we generally understand.

(12) The epigraphs refute the charge against Jaina monachism that it led to a feeling of depression in the martial spirit of the people, inasmuch as they reveal a number of militant patrons of Jainism.

PART V

Chapter 1 : Social Impacts of Jaina Monachism.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL IMPACTS OF JAINA MONACHISM

After having surveyed both the literary and the epigraphical material for the history of Jaina monachism, it would be better for us now to notice briefly the impacts given to the society by Jaina monachism and vice versa.

We have already seen that Jaina monachism got itself organised and recognised in contrast to orthodox Brāhmanism. The Jaina monks, like other ascetic orders in India, were inspired by higher values, religious earnestness and social benefit. That is how there came to be built up an order of monks and a considerable organisation of the laity in different parts of India.

The ideas about the equality of birth and the denunciation of the Brāhmanical caste-system, however, seem to have melted away as the Jaina Church came in contact with different regions with the people of different cultures and castes.

The recruitment to the Jaina monk-order tended to be of a varied nature, and this gradually introduced a strong caste-system in the Jaina laity. In the early literary sources we find that even robbers, cāṇḍālas and other lowly people among with the Brahmins joined the Jaina monk-order. Coming to the Mathura period, we have people like dancers and others who formed some portion among the devotees of Jainism. In the medieval period it is found, especially in North Gujarat and Rajputana, that people from the third and the fourth categories (vaiśyas and śūdras) joined the Jaina Church. This tended to give a hybrid collection of followers, the result of which was that the caste-system appears, at present, in its morbid form and narrows the outlook of Jainism.

Coming to the monastic practices, we have already seen that under pressure from the society Jaina monachism had to effect changes in some of its practices. For instance, rules about washing of clothes, disposal of the dead in a proper way according to local customs, various superstitious practices regarding study and travel may be taken to have changed in different social environments. So also use of a peculiar clothing in hot or cold countries, a change in food (in some cases) in non-vegetarian countries, etc., show that Jaina monachism had to adjust some of its practices within a particular limit according to the social cultural and geographical conditions obtaining in different regions.

Generous royal and lay patronage, however, tended to lead to slackness in both the sects of Jainism. The building of monasteries and temples, and the lavish gifts of land and other things for the maintenance of Jaina ascetics led to a loosing of strict adherence to original discipline as also to the weakening of the rules of non-possession and the mode of secluded life as originally intended.

Even with such defects, it may be admitted that it was due to the idea of ahiṁā as advocated and rigorously followed by Jaina monks that the major portion of the population of those regions in which Jaina monachism had influence, remained strictly vegetarian. It also went a long way in minimising the practice of animal sacrifice.

Jaina monachism has definitely put the society under obligations by the creation of its various Bhāṇḍāras which preserve the Mss. wealth of the past in safe custody. These Bhāṇḍārās soon became centres of learning and gave a good support to both monastic and lay habits of study.

On the whole Jaina monachism, which is an essential part of Jainism as a whole, has definitely given a softening tone to Indian culture. Jainism was never oppressive even in the days of its prosperity. This love for peace and accommodation, without at the same time compromising the fundamentals of religion, has gone a long way in still keeping Jaina monachism a living institution, and Jainism a religion of a faithful devoted laity.

PART VI

Chapter 1: Conclusions.

Chapter I

CONCLUSIONS

From the study of the history of Jaina monachism from the times of Pārśvanātha to the end of the seventeenth century A.D., from literary, epigraphical and archaeological material, the following general conclusions seem possible.

Distinctive Place of Jaina Monachism:

In the various types of Indian monachism, Jaina monachism occupies a distinct place owing to its rigorous mode of monastic life and its love for the orthodox.

Chronology of the Sources:

Even though the Śvetāmbara Canon was written down as late as in the sixth century A.D., a working chronology can be assigned to the various groups of texts.

In such a chronology, the basic contents of the Aṅgas may be taken to be the oldest strata in the Canon. They have been held in high esteem both by the Digambaras and as well as by the Śvetāmbaras.

Possible Origin of Jaina Monachism:

Jaina monachism seems to have originated from a mixture of the indigenous and other elements common to other faiths.

Spread of Jaina Monachism:

As we are reconstructing the history from the available data, we find that Jainism did not spread in a continuous process but in a series of waves of migrations to different regions in India. In this spread, it could get royal as well as popular support which had beneficial as well as adverse effects on its organisation and monastic life.

Nature of Early Jaina Monachism:

Monachism as revealed in the Aṅgas and the Mūlasūtras seems to have been still in an unorganised state. It paid attention more to the building up of an ethical basis for the system than for its organisation.

***Post-Aṅga- Period*:**

In this phase, both the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara monachisms reveal an organised community with laws of monastic jurisprudence, a well

qualified hierarchy, and a planned curriculum of studies. The monks seem to have come in contact with the society more now than in the previous phase, which resulted in the change of some of the practices of monachism.

It may, however, be noted that fundamentals of religion and Jaina ethics remained unchanged.

Post-Canonical Period:

In this phase, the monks came in contact with the society still more which led to the slackening of practices. Even though rules of monastic life remained unchanged in theory, in actual practice there crept in a remarkable divergence.

Order of Nuns:

The nuns always remained subordinate to the monks not only regarding seniority but also in the execution of monastic jurisprudence.

With all that, they have played a very important role in the organisation of the female Jaina laity which is known for its orthodox traditional outlook.

Monachism from Epigraphs:

Along with the references to certain incidents in the history of Jaina monachism, the epigraphs confirm more or less, slack observance of discipline in the later phases of Jaina monachism.

They, moreover, reveal a number of regional units like the Saṅghas and the Gacchas in the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara Church.

They also throw light on the nature of the people who were the supporters of the Jaina Church in various periods, and tend to reveal the hybrid composition of the laity within the framework of several castes.

Social Impacts:

Inspite of the crusade against ritualism and caste-system of the orthodox Brāhmanism, later Jaina Church was full of the same items more or less on the Brāhmanical system.

Moreover, there were several occasions when Jaina monachism under social pressure had to undergo a change in its rules of monastic life.

Cultural Contribution of Jaina Monachism:

With ahiṁsā and four other principles, the rules of Jaina monachism have been unique as "a code of morals" playing a distinctly softening and peaceful role in the making of Indian culture.

APPENDIX I

Important Faults Grouped under Categories of Punishments

(Mainly from the *Bṛhatkalpa,* the *Vyavahāra* and the *Niśītha*)

(A) *CHEYA*:

(a) *Pañcarāïndiya cheya* :

(1) If a monk has committed an offence, and without atoning for it, wishes to enter another gaṇa, and if he carries this into effect, he may—after having been punished with five days' suspension.[1]

(B) *CHEYA* or *PARIHĀRA* :

Church Affairs :

(1) If the successor appointed by an ācārya in ill-health be unfit for that office, and if inspite of the request of other monks he refuses to quit the office, then he has to undergo 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[2]

(2) ...Do...in the case of the person appointed by the ācāryopādhyāya who enters householdership.[3]

(3) If the ācārya and the upādhyāya forget to confer final consecration (upasthāpanā) on the well-read monk for four or five days, then the ācārya and the upādhyāya have to undergo 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[4]

(4) If the majority of monks wish to live separately, then they should do so only with the permission of the thera. Otherwise 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[5]

(5) If the head of a group of nuns dies in the tour, then they should appoint her immediate subordinate to that post, or merge themselves in a larger group. If they live without a head, then 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[6]

(6) If an unfit pravartinī does not leave her office when requested to do so, then she has to undergo 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[7]

1. *Brh. Kalp.* 5, 5.
2. *Vav.* 4, 13.
3. *Ibid.,* 4, 14.
4. *Ibid.,* 4, 16.
5. *Ibid.,* 4, 19.
6. *Ibid.,* 5, 11.
7. *Ibid.,* 5, 13.

(7) If she is fit, and the rest of the nuns refuse to obey her, then they have to undergo 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[8]

(8) If, while wandering from village to village, the leader of a group of monks dies, then the monks should select and appoint another in his place, or else should go to their co-religionists who are wandering elsewhere. If they remain without a head then 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[9]

(9) Same as above in the rainy season.[10]

MORAL DISCIPLINE :

(1) If a monk becomes slack in discipline and lives either with a person of bad character or with one loose in control, then he may be allowed back into the gaṇa when he confesses and atones for the offence and undergoes 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[11]

PENANCE AND ASCETIC PRACTICES :

(1) If a monk, going out of the gaṇa for the sake of practising the 'egallavihārapaḍimā', returns without completing it, then he has to undergo 'chaya' or 'parihāra'.[12]

(2) Same as above regarding the gaṇāvaccedaka.[13]

(3) Same as above regarding the ācāryopādhyāya.[14]

RESIDENCE :

(1) In cases of insufficient accommodation, if a monk goes to another place either for study or sleep without the permission of the superior,[15] then 'cheya' or 'parihāra.'

(2) If a place where the monk stays has many doors, then he may stay in a separate room. In this case, however, a well-versed monk must inquire about him on every third day. In the case of any such person not available for inquiry, a monk should not stay in a separate room. If he does, then 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.[16]

8. *Ibid.*, 5, 14.
9. *Ibid.*, 4, 11.
10. *Ibid.*, 4, 12.
11. *Ibid.*, 1, 29-32.
12. *Ibid.*, 1, 25.
13. *Ibid.*, 1, 26.
14. *Ibid.*, 1, 27.
15. *Ibid.*, 1, 21.
16. *Ibid.*, 6, 5.

(3) If a monk goes to sleep, or to study or to stay elsewhere without the permission of the gītārtha,[17] then 'cheya' or 'parihāra'.

(C) *SANTARĀ CHEYA or PARIHĀRA*:

CHURCH AFFAIRS:

(1) If an ācāryopādhyāya remembers that a certain novice is to be finally consecrated (upasthāpanā), then he should wait for four or five days, —even though the studies of the novice are completed—so that another one older in age, completes his studies. Then he should confirm the latter first and then the younger one. If, however, he confirms the younger one first deliberately, then he has to undergo 'Santarā cheya' or 'parihāra'.[18]

(2) When a monk joins any gaṇa without the permission of the thera.[19]

BEGGING:

(1) If a monk goes to his relatives for alms without the permission of the thera.[20]

RESIDENCE:

(1) Living in a house where there is kept spirituous liquor or sour-barley gruel or a vessel with cold or warm water, or where a light or a torch burns throughout the night.[21]

(2) If the monks remain in separate rooms of a place having only one exit (?).[22]

(D) *PARIHĀRA*:

(1) *MĀSIYAṀ PARIHĀRAṬṬHĀṆAṀ UGGHĀIYAṀ*:

CHURCH AFFAIRS:

(1) Saying that there are no duties pertaining to a Sambhoga.[23]

(2) Making friends with, or worshipping or making use—(for one's own purpose)—of the king, or the body-guard of the king, or protector of the city or of the 'nigama', or of the country, or of the protector of all, or of the protector of the village or of boundaries or of the forest.[24]

17. *Ibid.*, 1, 21.
18. *Ibid.*, 4, 15.
19. *Ibid.*, 3, 2.
20. *Ibid.*, 6, 1.
21. *Bṛh. Kalp.*, p. 2, 4-7.
22. *Vav.* 6, 4.
23. *Nis.*, 5, 63.
24. *Ibid.*, 4, 1-18, 40, 48.

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

(1) Washing the hands, feet, legs, eyes, teeth, nails or face with hot or cold water.[25]

(2) Eating all sorts of medicines.[26]

(3) Taking out small beings from one's body.[27]

(4) Arranging or cutting long nails or hair from the armpit or moustache or hair from legs and eyes.[28]

(5) Brushing or cleaning the teeth.[29]

(6) Wiping, cleaning or massaging the lips, cutting or fashioning the moustache.[30]

(7) Wiping or cleaning the eyes, or fashioning the eyebrows or side hair.[31]

(8) Taking out dirt from the eyes, ears, teeth, nails or from the body.[32]

(9) Wiping, massaging or applying oil, ghee, etc. to, or spraying powder over, washing with water or fumigating one's feet or the rest of the parts of the body.[33]

(10) The same as above pertaining to mutual action in a group of monks.[34]

(11) Not scanning the ground for easing nature, depositing the excreta on a small 'thaṇḍila,' depositing it in an improper manner; not wiping the anus, or wiping it with a stick or finger; not cleaning it, or cleaning it there or after going to a distance; or cleaning it more than thrice (?).[35]

(12) Wiping, massaging, applying oil, etc. to one's wounds; cutting the boil, etc. with a weapon; taking out the pus or blood and then cleaning it with water and applying oil or ointment to the wound.[36]

(13) Same as above pertaining to a group of monks.[37]

25. *Ibid.*, 2, 21.
26. *Ibid.*, 4, 19.
27. *Ibid.*, 3, 40.
28. *Ibid.*, 3, 41-46.
29. *Ibid.*, 3, 47-49.
30. *Ibid.*, 3, 50-57.
31. *Ibid.*, 3, 64-65.
32. *Ibid.*, 3, 66-67.
33. *Ibid.*, 3, 16-27.
34. *Ibid.*, 4, 49.
35. *Ibid.*, 4, 102-111.
36. *Ibid.*, 3, 28-29.
37. *Ibid.*, 4, 49.

(14) Depositing excreta in a house, or at the front of the house or at the door or at the open verandah, or in a house where there is a dead body (?), or on the ash of a burnt body or on a pillar for the dead, etc., or in a temple or on mud; or in a new earth-mine (maṭṭiyākhāṇī), or in a grove of umbara or banyan or aśvattha trees; or in a sugar-cane field or rice-field or cotton-field; or where vegetables are sown (?); or in an aśoka, sattivaṇṇa, campaka, or mango grove or such other places where flowers, fruits, leaves and seeds abound.[38]

(15) Making a seat or a bed, performing 'ālocanā', eating food, easing nature, studying, or giving instructions or reading to others—at the root of a tree containing living beings (sacittarukkhamūlaṁsi).[39]

(16) Entering the nunnery in an improper way, or keeping a stick, a staff, a broom, a mouthpiece or any other article in the path of the nuns.[40]

(17) Creating new quarrels or re-raising old pacified quarrels.[41]

(18) Laughing with a wide open (vipphāliya) mouth.[42]

(19) Smelling a fagrance kept on lifeless things.[43]

(20) Speaking harsh or false, or asking for a stolen article.[44]

(21) Making or sounding (musical tunes) through the mouth, teeth, lips, nose, armpits, hands, nails, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds or grass.[45]

(22) Giving company to or accepting the company of a person of loose morals and bad behaviour.[46]

BEGGING AND FOOD :

(1) Entering the 'ṭhavaṇa-kulas' for alms without knowing anything about them (beforehand) or without asking (them).[47]

(2) Accepting alms given with a hand, ladle or pot which is besmeared with dust, earth, dew, salt, maṇosila, vaṇṇiya, geruya, white earth, hiṅgula, collyrium, powder, kakkusa, floor, kantava, roots and bulbs, siṅgabera or flowers.[48]

38. *Ibid.*, 3, 70-78.
39. *Ibid.*, 5, 1-11.
40. *Ibid.*, 4, 24.
41. *Ibid.*, 4, 25-26.
42. *Ibid.*, 4, 27.
43. *Ibid.*, 2, 9.
44. *Ibid.*, 2, 18-20.
45. *Ibid.*, 5, 36-59.
46. *Ibid.*, 4, 28-37.
47. *Ibid.*, 4, 22.
48. *Ibid.*, 4, 38-39.

(3) Requesting for food to a heretical monk, a nun, a gentleman or a lady.[49]

(4) Entering the same house for alms twice.[50]

(5) Accepting food from a feast (saṅkhaḍi).[51]

(6) Accepting food brought from a distance beyond three houses.[52]

(7) Accepting food or drink in new settlements, villages, iron-mines, copper-mines, lead-mines, gold-mines or jewel-mines.[53]

(8) Acquiring food by 'pure-santhava' and 'pacchā-santhava' (i.e., praising the donor before or after he gives food).[54]

(9) Eating that which is not given (to or by) the ācārya (āyariya-adinna).[55]

(10) Eating the 'vikṛtis' (forbidden things) not given by the ācārya or upādhyāya.[56]

(11) Eating the 'agrapiṇḍa' or a part thereof.[57]

(12) Eating only the good food and depositing the bad one (elsewhere).[58]

(13) Same as above regarding drinks.[59]

(14) Accepting and eating the 'sāgāriya-piṇḍa'.[60]

(15) Frequently asking for food and drink to the 'sāgāriya' (the owner of the lodge).[61]

(16) Eating the 'piümanda-palāsaya', 'paḍola-palāsaya' or 'billa-palāsaya' by again and again washing it with pure, cold or hot water.[62]

(17) Seeking common alms together and then dividing it in the company of one who is undergoing a 'parihāra-tapas' (expiatory penance for an offence).[63]

49. *Ibid.*, 3, 1-12.
50. *Ibid.*, 3, 13.
51. *Ibid.*, 3, 15-16.
52. *Ibid.*, 3, 14.
53. *Ibid.*, 5, 34-35.
54. *Ibid.*, 2, 38.
55. *Ibid.*, 4, 20.
56. *Ibid.*, 4, 21.
57. *Ibid.*, 2, 32-36.
58. *Ibid.*, 2, 43-49.
59. *Ibid.*, 2, 43-49.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, 5, 14.
63. *Ibid.*, 4, 112.

REQUISITES :

(1) Using complete and intact pieces of skins or clothes.[64]

(2) While touring from village to village covering the head (with a garment) (Sīsaduvāriyaṁ kareï?).[65]

(3) Taking out long threads from the saṇa-cotton, uṇṇa-cotton (wool), poṇḍa-cotton or amila-cotton.[66]

(4) Getting one's saṅghāḍī stitched by a heretic or by the owner of the residence.[67]

(5) Having long ends or threads for one's saṅghāḍī.[68]

(6) Obtaining the returnable (pāḍihāriya) 'pāyapuñchaṇa' on the condition of returning it the same night, but returning it the next day; or returning it the same night when promised to return it the next day.[69]

(7) Same as above regarding staff, stick, 'avalehaṇiyā' and bamboo-needle.[70]

(8) Same as above regarding the articles belonging to a householder.[71]

(9) Breaking or collecting (?) the gourd-bowl, wooden bowl, earthen bowl, staff, stick, duster or bamboo-needle.[72]

(10) Taking out the returnable bedding or that owned by the householder without his consent; or not searching the lost bedding, or not scanning the requisites.[73]

(11) Using an alms-vessel found by others (?)[74]

(12) Making, using or enjoying raw, coloured or variously coloured wood sticks, bamboo sticks or cane-sticks.[75]

(13) Entering a specially made bed or specially fashioned (? saparikamma) bed.[76]

64. *Ibid.*, 2, 22-24.
65. *Ibid.*, 3, 68.
66. *Ibid.*, 5, 24.
67. *Ibid.*, 5, 12.
68. *Ibid.*, 5, 13.
69. *Ibid.*, 5, 15-16.
70. *Ibid.*, 5, 19-20.
71. *Ibid.*, 5, 21-22.
72. *Ibid.*, 2, 25-26; 5,
73. *Ibid.*, 2, 50-59.
74. *Ibid.*, 2, 27-31.
75. *Ibid.*, 5, 25-33.
76. *Ibid.*, 5, 60-62.

(14) Re-accepting the bedding, etc. once returned, without the consent of the owner.[77]

(15) Making, holding or using a broom (pāyapuñchaṇa) with a wooden handle for more than one and a half months.[78]

(16) Using a broom which is bigger in measurements; or, having fine thread-ends for it; giving one tie (bandha) to the broom; giving more than three ties to the broom; binding it in a 'kaṇḍūsaga' way (?), holding it loosely; keeping it as a pillow; breaking it.[79]

(2) *MĀSIYAṀ PARIHĀRAṬṬHĀṆAṀ AṆUGGHĀIYAṀ*:

Moral Discipline and Self-control:

(1) For masturbation or moving the penis by means of a piece of wood, etc.; pressing it; massaging it with oil, ghee, etc.; cleaning it with pure, hot or cold water and spraying it with powder; cutting it; managing to ejaculate semen.[80]

(2) Smelling the fragrance of a thing placed on a living substratum.[81]

(3) Making a heretic or a householder dispel the smoke in the house (?).[82]

Food:

(1) Eating impure food (pūtikamma) or liking to do so.[83]

Requisites:

(1) Obtaining returnable needle for stitching clothes, but stitching the pot with it; the same regarding razor, nail-cutter, ear-cleaner : i.e. obtaining these for some purpose and putting them to some other use.[84]

(2) Obtaining the above articles for improper activity (aṇaṭṭhāë); or demanding these in an improper manner; or asking these for one's own use or giving them to others;[85] or returning these in an improper manner.[86]

77. *Ibid.*, 5, 23.
78. *Ibid.* 2, 1-8.
79. *Ibid.*, 5, 67-77.
80. *Ibid.*, 1, 1-9.
81. *Ibid.*, 1, 10.
82. *Ibid.*, 1, 57.
83. *Ibid.*, 1, 58.
84. *Ibid.*, 1, 31-34.
85. *Ibid.*, 1, 19-30.
86. *Ibid.*, 1, 35-38.

(3) Making a heretic or the owner of the house prepare a path (payamagga), or a bridge or a pingo or a curtain for him (?).[87]

(4) Giving one 'paḍiyāṇiyaṁ' to the clothing, or giving more than three; stitching the cloth improperly; binding the pieces in one knot (?); binding it in more than three knots (?); binding it improperly; using excessive clothing for more than one and a half months.[88]

(5) Acquiring a staff or a stick or an 'avalehaṇiyā' or a bamboo-needle cut or made by a heretic or the owner of the house.[89]

(6) Cutting or making stable (?) or keeping (?) a wooden or an earthen or a gourd-pot through a heretic or a householder; or thinking that it is of no use and handing it over to others.[90]

(7) Expanding the mouth of the pot (?); having more than three 'tuṇḍiyas' to it, or binding it improperly, or binding it with one tie or with more than three ties, or using a pot with many ties for more than one and a half months.[91]

(3) *CĀŪMMĀSIYAṀ PARIHĀRAṬṬHĀṆAṀ UGGHĀĪYAṀ*:

CHURCH DISCIPLINE :

(1) Accepting from or giving food, drink, clothing, almsbowl, blanket, broom, residence or instructions to those who have separated themselves owing to quarrel.[92]

(2) Calling a 'vusarāïya' as 'avusarāïya' and vice versa[93] (vusarāïya = one who is self-controlled).

(3) Going from the 'vusarāïya gaṇa' to an 'avusarāïya gaṇa'.[94]

(4) Getting one's feet wiped or cleaned by a heretic or by the owner of the residence.[95]

RELATIONS WITH HERETICS AND HOUSEHOLDERS :

(1) Eating food in the vessels of a householder.

(2) Putting on the clothes of a householder.

87. *Ibid.*, 1, 11-18.
88. *Ibid.*, 1, 47-56.
89. *Ibid.*, 1, 40.
90. *Ibid.*, 1, 39.
91. *Ibid.*, 1, 41-45.
92. *Ibid.*, 16, 16-24.
93. *Ibid.*, 16, 13-14.
94. *Ibid.*, 16, 15.
95. *Ibid.*, 15, 13-65.

(3) Carrying the seat of a householder.

(4) Making his diagnosis (in illness).[96]

(5) Teaching heretics or householders the spells, magic, science of omens, astrology, etc.,[97] architecture or strophes; or speaking harsh words to them.[98]

(6) Giving food, drink, eatables or chewables to a heretic or to the owner of the residence; or accepting these from them; or exchanging clothes, alms-bowl, blanket or broom with them.[99]

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL :

(1) Binding a creature or setting it free.[100]

(2) Sitting over or sleeping upon a place full of living beings such as a pillar, a wall, a clod of earth, a plank, a couch or a terrace—all of which are not stable or well-tied.[101]

(3) Climbing a living tree or a tree with living beings upon it.[102]

(4) Taking out or asking somebody to take out or accept the begging-bowl from which earth-bodies, water-bodies, fire-bodies or roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, herbs or seeds are taken out.[103]

(5) Keeping the bowl on a place full of living beings, or on a shaky place.[104]

(6) Depositing the excreta on places containing living beings or on unstable places.[105]

(7) Depositing the excreta in gardens, pleasure-houses, empty houses, deserted houses, grass-houses, car-garrages, etc.[106]

(8) Putting on garlands of various things, or girdles of various materials, or ornamental garlands or decorative clothes or furs and skins, out of curiosity.[107]

96. *Ibid.*, 12, 10-13.
97. *Ibid.*, 13, 17-29.
98. *Ibid.*, 13, 12-16.
99. *Ibid.*, 15, 75-78.
100. *Ibid.*, 12, 1-2; the same if done out of curiosity, 17, 1-2.
101. *Ibid.*, 13, 1-11.
102. *Ibid.*, 12, 9.
103. *Ibid.*, 14, 35-40.
104. *Ibid.*, 14, 24-34.
105. *Ibid.*, 16, 40-50.
106. *Ibid.*, 15, 66-74.
107. *Ibid.*, 17, 3-14.

(9) Applying ointment (ālepana) to the body.[108]

(10) Wiping the feet, etc. for enhancing personal beauty.[109]

(11) Looking at one's reflection in a mirror, in a bead, in oil or in fat, etc.[110]

(12) Taking medicine for vomiting or for purge or for both.[111]

(13) Telling (of one's own accord) one's qualifications for the post of an ācārya.[112]

(14) Dancing, singing or playing upon a musical instrument; crying aloud; getting attached to different kinds of sounds of different instruments.[113]

(15) Getting attached to pools, lakes, tanks, etc.[114]

(16) Getting attached to worldly or divine forms.[115]

(17) Seeing, pondering over or getting attracted towards woodwork, sculpture, books, ivory-work, jewel-work; beautiful wells, tanks, streamlets or lakes; villages, cities, towns, settlements, harbours, etc.; village festivals, horse-plays, elephant-plays; horse-battles, buffalo-fights, etc.; any scenes for merrymaking, scenes of quarrel or places where persons of all ages sing or dance putting on ornaments or fineries.[116]

(18) Bowing down to or praising the conduct of persons of loose morals.[117]

(19) Speaking harsh to other monks.[118]

(20) Breaking the vow of 'pratyākhyāna' frequently.[119]

Monks and Nuns: Mutual Relations :

(1) Causing a heretic or the owner of the lodge to stitch the saṅghāḍī of the nun.[120]

108. *Ibid.*, 12, 36-39.
109. *Ibid.*, 15, 100-152.
110. *Ibid.*, 13, 30-41.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid.*, 17, 133.
113. *Ibid.*, 17, 134-8.
114. *Ibid.*, 17, 139-151.
115. *Ibid.*, 12, 29.
116. *Ibid.*, 12, 16-28.
117. *Ibid.*, 13, 42-59.
118. *Ibid.*, 15, 1-4.
119. *Ibid.*, 12, 3.
120. *Ibid.*, 12, 7.

(2) To a nun getting the following actions done for a monk by a heretic or a householder:[121]

Getting the feet cleaned, massaged, or rubbed with oil, ghee, butter or fat; sprayed with powder; washed with pure hot or cold water; get them fumigated;

The same as above regarding the body;

Getting the wound cut, wiped, cleaned, dressed or besmeared with ointment;

Getting the germs on the body removed;

Getting the nails, moustache, the hair in the armpit or on the eyes cut and fashioned;

Getting the teeth brushed and cleaned; getting the lips and eyes wiped and cleaned;

Cutting the hair on the brows or sides;

Cleaning the nails, teeth, eyes, ears or the body.

(3) The same activities as above if got done by a monk for a nun through a heretic or a householder.

Food and Begging:

(1) Receiving food in the first quarter of the day and keeping it upto the last i.e. the fourth quarter (porisī) and eating it oneself or giving it to another monks.[122]

(2) Carrying food beyond the limit of half a yojana, and when the food becomes stale, eating it or giving it to others.[123]

(3) Accepting more than three dattis of the 'vikṛti' for the ill; touring from village to village carrying these with oneself; straining them or asking somebody to do so, or accepting strained 'vikṛtis'.[124]

(4) Buying or making one buy or accepting bought vikṛtis, exchanging them, bringing them on credit, asking somebody to do so, or accepting those brought on credit.[125]

(5) Accepting food brought from the terrace or granary or by breaking the seal; or that placed on living beings; or that, being hot, is fanned

121. *Ibid.*, 17, 15-120.
122. *Bṛh. Kalp.* 4, 11.
123. *Ibid.*, 4, 12.
124. *Nis.* 19, 1-7.
125. *Ibid.*, 19, 1-4.

by hand, fan, cloth-end or by mouth; or accepting hot food; or accepting a wash of rice, sesamum, etc.[126]

(6) Eating a raw mango, or a part or a preparation thereof; or a raw mango placed on living beings.[127]

(7) Exchanging food with a morally loose person.[128]

(8) Same as (6) regarding sugarcane.[129]

(9) Accepting food from those who start on a forest-travel.[130]

(10) Accepting food, drink, eatables or chewables from condemned families (duguñchiya kula).[131]

(11) Throwing food on the ground, on the bed or up in the sky.[132]

(12) Eating food with heretical nuns or heretical housewives.[133]

(13) Obtaining food by acting as a nurse (dhāī-pinda), as a messenger (dūī-piṇḍa), or as an astrologer maintaining oneself on begging (ājīviya); obtaining food as a beggar, or by posing as a doctor; getting food out of anger, pride, deceit or greed; acquiring food through magic, spells or incantations, etc.[134]

(14) Accepting food or drink offered by the house-holder by first doing a sinful activity (purekaḍa), or offered with a hand, a pot or a ladle wet with cold water.[135]

(15) Obtaining food in the first porisī (quarter) of the day and keeping it upto the last porisī.[136]

(16) Seeking alms beyond the limit of half a yojana.[137]

(17) Giving or liking to give food, drink, etc. to a heretic or a householder or a person with loose morals.[138]

(18) Eating food containing living beings (palittakāya).[139]

(19) Accepting food, etc. in a boat.[140]

126. *Ibid.*, 17, 123-132.
127. *Ibid.*, 15, 5-12.
128. *Ibid.*, 15, 79-98.
129. *Ibid.*, 16, 4-12.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*, 16, 27.
132. *Ibid.*, 16, 33-35.
133. *Ibid.*, 16, 36-37.
134. *Ibid.*, 13, 60-74.
135. *Ibid.*, 12, 14-15.
136. *Ibid.*, 12, 30; same as in *Bṛh. Kalp.* 4, 11.
137. *Nis.* 12, 31.
138. *Ibid.*, 12, 41; 15, 75, 79-98.
139. *Ibid.*, 12, 4.
140. *Ibid.*, 18, 17-20.

Requisites :

General :

(1) Making a heretic or the owner of the lodge to carry the monk's requisites.[141]

(2) Holding or using an excessive number of requisites.[142]

(3) Accepting clothing, alms-bowl, blanket or broom from condemned families.[143]

(4) Cleaning the requisites for personal beauty.[144]

(5) Exchanging requisites with persons of loose morals,[145] heretics or householders.[146]

Begging-Bowl : [147]

(1) Buying or making somebody to buy a bowl or accepting a bought one; taking on credit, or making somebody to do so, or accepting that brought on credit; exchanging, making others to exchange or accepting an exchanged pot.

(2) Exchanging it without the consent of the gaṇin; giving it to an able novice—male or female, or to old monks or nuns who are able (to procure it themselves); not giving it to novices, etc.. who are unable (to procure it).

(3) Using an unfit or an unstable bowl.

(4) Discolouring a coloured pot and vice versa.

(5) Polishing it with oil, ghee, butter or fat; or besmearing it with powders or paints; washing it either with hot or cold water so as to give it a new appearance; or doing the above things with the thought of removing its bad smell.

(6) Drying the pot on a place full of living beings.

(7) Frequently asking for the bowl in a congregation by getting up.

(8) Eating food in the vessels of the householder.[148]

141. *Ibid.*, 12, 40.
142. *Ibid.*, 16, 39.
143. *Ibid.*, 16, 28.
144. *Ibid.*, 15, 153-54.
145. *Ibid.*, 15, 79-98.
146. *Ibid.*, 15, 77-78.
147. *Ibid.* 14, 1-45.
148. *Ibid.*, 12, 10.

CLOTHING :

(1) Putting on the clothes of a householder.[149]

(2) Accepting or liking to accept the 'jāyaṇā vattha' or the 'nimantaṇā vattha'.[150]

(3) Exchanging clothes without the consent of the gaṇin.

(4) Colouring an uncoloured cloth or vice versa.

The rest of the transgressions are the same as in the case of the alms-bowl given above.[151]

(5) Getting the saṅghāḍī of a nun stitched by a heretic or by the owner of the lodge.[152]

BEDDING :

(1) Entering the bed of the owner of the lodge.[153]

(2) Sleeping over a place full of living beings, or on the door-frame (?) (giheluya) or near the fire place (?) (jhāmavala), walls, a slab of stone, pieces of a brick or of a stone (lelu) or on a plank or a couch,—all these unstable, shaky and not well tied.[154]

SEAT :

(1) Carrying the seat of the householder.[155]

(2) Sitting over a seat of grass or of wood which is covered by the clothes of others.[156]

SKINS :

(1) Using skins with hair.[157]

TOURING :

(1) Deciding to undertake a journey to the country of Lāḍha (knowing full well) that there are anārya, dasagu (dasyu ?) and milakkhu (mleñcha ?) people there.[158]

149. *Ibid.*, 12, 11.
150. *Ibid.*, 15, 99.
151. *Ibid.*, 18, 21-64.
152. *Ibid.*, 12, 7.
153. *Ibid.*, 16, 1-3.
154. *Ibid.*, 13, 1-11.
155. *Ibid.*, 12, 10-13.
156. *Ibid.*, 12, 6.
157. *Ibid.*, 12, 5.
158. *Ibid.*, 16, 26.

(2) Getting into the boat for bad purposes; buying, selling, bringing on credit or exchanging the boat, or making others do so; pushing the boat into the water from the ground or vice versa; helping in taking out a grounded boat; working as a helmsman; getting into a boat which is going up or down the stream; pulling or stopping the boat by a rope; taking out water from the boat by either a pot or an alms-vessel or an earthern vessel (matta); covering the hole in the boat, through which water gets in, by means of hand, foot, leaves or bamboo; or accepting food in the boat.[159]

(3) Crossing or swimming the following five great rivers twice or thrice within a month: Gaṅgā, Jaüṇā, Saraü, Erāvaī and Mahī.[160]

RESIDENCE :

(1) Not giving accommodation to a co-religionist even when there is ample space at one's disposal.[161]

(2) Same as above pertaining to nuns.[162]

(3) Accepting lodging in condemned families.[163]

STUDY :

(1) Reading with, or accepting a reading from, a heretic, the owner of the lodge, or persons of loose morals and bad behaviour.[164]

(2) Not studying at four times (? caükāla); studying at an improper time; reading only the lower portions (heṭṭhillāiṁ samosaraṇāiṁ); reading in an indistinct tone; not reading the text in the due order (? apattaṁ vāëï); or reading only one out of two identical passages.[165]

(3) Studying, or liking to do so, at early evening (? puvvāë sañjhāë), late evening (pacchimāë sañjhāe), mid-day or midnight; or at the festivals in honour of Indra (Indamaha), Skanda, Yakṣa or Bhūta; or on the first days (pratipadā) of Caitra, Āṣāḍha, Bhādrapada or Kārttika.[166]

(4) Asking more than three questions regarding the Kālikaśruta, and more than seven questions regarding the *Diṭṭhivāya*.[167]

159. *Ibid.*, 18, 1-20.
160. *Ibid.*, 12, 42.
161. *Ibid.*, 17, 121.
162. *Ibid.*, 17, 122.
163. *Ibid.*, 16, 29.
164. *Ibid.*, 19, 25-36.
165. *Ibid.*, 19, 13-23.
166. *Ibid.*, 19, 8-12.
167. *Ibid.*

(5) Giving lessons to or reading with persons of condemned families.[168]

(4) *CAÜMMĀSIYAM PARIHĀRAṬṬHĀṆAM AṆUGGHĀĪYAM*:

CHURCH AFFAIRS:

(1) Consecrating or confirming a known or an unknown person[169] (secretly?).

(2) Speaking harsh words to the respectable elders (bhadanta).[170]

(3) Calling an 'ugghāïya' fault an aṇugghāïya' one or vice versa, or offering punishment for the 'ugghāïya' when the 'aṇugghāīya' is done or vice versa.[171]

(4) Making a novice go astray, or kidnapping him (? avaharaï).[172]

MORAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-CONTROL:

(1) Pondering over the feet of women when they are going and coming.[173]

(2) Requesting a woman for intercourse; to masturbate (through a woman) or do any activity leading to the ejaculation of semen; quarreling with a woman for intercourse; to write or get written or go for writing a letter to a woman for that purpose; massaging or washing the buttocks, etc.,[174] or letting a woman massage the body or limbs.[175]

(3) Using complete, new, washed, or dyed pieces of garments for the sake of attracting women: or eating (vikṛtis like) curds, butter, molasses, sugar or crystal sugar for the above purpose:[176] making or wearing garlands of grass, feathers, horns, shells, skins, wood, leather, flowers, seed, etc.; or a girdle of iron, copper, gold, jewel or silver (for that purpose); or ornaments like the 'hāra' the 'ardhahāra', etc.; making or wearing excellent blankets, deer-skins, camel-skins, or garments of soft cotton or gold-embroidered clothes (for attracting women).[177]

168. *Ibid.*, 16, 30-32.
169. *Ibid.*, 11, 84-85.
170. *Ibid.*, 10, 1-3.
171. *Ibid.*, 10, 15-18.
172. *Ibid.*, 10, 9-10.
173. *Ibid.*, 9, 8-9.
174. *Ibid.*, 6, 1-18.
175. *Ibid.*, 6, 19-77.
176. *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*, 7, 1-12

(4) Shaking the eyes, chest, belly or breasts (of the lady); massaging the limbs of each other; making a woman lie down on a place full of living beings or on a clod of earth or on eggs, seeds or water, or in gardens pleasure houses, householder's houses or in monasteries; making her eat food or drink; making her lie down or sleep reclining on the lap or on the couch (for sexual purposes).[178]

(5) Doing the following things for the purpose of sexual intimacy:

Making the diagnosis (of the illness) of a lady; shaking a beast or a bird by its leg, wing or tail; thrusting a piece of wood or a finger in its private parts; embracing or kissing it with the thought that it is of a feminine category; giving clothes, almsbowl; blanket or broom to or accepting these from a woman; reading to her or making signs to her.[179]

(6) Praising or bowing down to a fellow of loose morals (ahācchanda).[180]

(7) Making an unknown person serve one.[181]

(8) Condemning religion (dhamma) and praising irreligion (adhamma).[182]

(9) Intimidating or surprising others.[183]

(10) Forecasting something about the present or the future.[184]

(11) If a sick nun is embraced by her mother, sister or daughter: (when a sick monk is embraced by his father, brother or son): and if a monk (nun) affords him (her) assistance, and thereby commits impurity.[185]

(12) If, while a nun at night time or twilight secretes or passes urinary or other excretions, any four-footed animal (pasu) or a flying insect (pakkhijāīe) touches an organ of feeling (or penetrates into an opening of her body) with her connivance.[186]

(13) If monks and nuns indulge in intercourse with a woman or a man respectively, created by gods through magic.[187]

(14) Telling bad stories to, or making study with, or exchanging food, etc. while on tour with a nun either of one's own gaṇa or of another gaṇa,

178. *Ibid.*, 7, 13-78.
179. *Ibid.*, 7, 79-91.
180. *Ibid.*, 11, 82-83.
181. *Ibid.*, 11, 86.
182. *Ibid.*, 11, 9-10.
183. *Ibid.*, 11, 64-67.
184. *Ibid.*, 10, 7-8.
185. *Bṛh. kalp.*, 4, 9-10.
186. *Ibid.*, 5, 13-14.
187. *Ibid.*, 5, 1-4.

with one's mind full of anxious ponderings (ohaya-maṇa-saṅkappe, cintā-soya-sāgara-sampaviṭṭhe).[188]

(15) Telling a lot of stories at odd times in the company of women.[189]

(16) Touring, studying, eating, easing nature or telling un-monkly (assamaṇa-pāögga) stories to women in gardens, houses, monasteries or pleasure-houses, at doors, gates, water places, water banks, empty houses, or grass-stores, etc.[190]

(17) Not trying to find out the ill when one hears about him.[191]

(18) Not trying to secure (essential) articles for the ill.[192]

Begging and Food:

(1) Accepting royal food (rāya-piṇḍa), or food meant for the beasts, horses, elephants; food for the ill or for the guest; food meant to be distributed in famine; food taken out for the royal people or for the actors, wrestlers and such other people; food for caretakers of horses, elephants, peacocks, deer, etc; or for those who bring under control horses, elephants, etc.; food for those who massage (other's) body, or for holders of the umbrella (over the king), for holders of weapons; or food for the chamberlain or the door-keepers or the female servants in the harem.[193]

(2) Eating the 'nivedanā-piṇḍa',[194] or food containing living beings, or 'ādhākarmika' food, or eating deliberately that food which involves major or minor faults;[195] eating 'pippalī', or 'pippalī-powder', 'siṅgabera' or 'siṅgabera-powder', 'bila' or salt.[196]

(3) Keeping the food (without any reason) for a long time and then eating it.[197]

(4) Re-swallowing vomited food at twilight or at night.[198]

(5) Praising night-meal (rāï-bhoyaṇa) or eating food acquired by day at night or vice versa.[199]

188. *Nis.* 8, 11.
189. *Ibid.*, 8, 10.
190. *Ibid.*, 8, 1-9.
191. *Ibid.*, 10, 36.
192. *Ibid.*, 10, 39.
193. *Ibid.*, 9, 1-6; 20-28.
194. *Ibid.*, 11, 81.
195. *Ibid.*, 10, 5-6; 19-27.
196. *Ibid.*, 11, 91.
197. *Ibid.*, 11, 78-79.
198. *Bṛh. Kalp.*, 5-10.
199. *Nis.* 11, 73-77.

(6) Doing any fire-activity.[200]

(7) Accepting food or drink from the kṣatriya kings when they are in the 'uttara-sālā', in the horse-stable or in the elephant-stable or have gone to secret places, counsel-halls or private apartments.[201]

(8) Accepting food that is given up, or 'saṁsṛṣṭa piṇḍa', or food for the orphans or beggars.[202]

(9) Obtaining milk, curds, butter, oil, molasses or sugar from the store-house.[203]

(10) Accepting food from those who eat flesh, fish or skins, or from those who are about to start on or are about to return from a pilgrimage or a tour.[204]

(11) If a monk who takes his food at the rising of the sun, and satisfies his wants to eat before the sun sets, having received, etc., eats it well and without hesitation (or: well, but with hesitation, or: suffering, but without hesitation, or; suffering, but with hesitation), and then notes "the sun is not yet risen". or "is already set" and then throws or wipes away what he has in his mouth, hand or vessel, then he does not sin. (But) if he eats it himself or gives it to another, then he (guilty of eating during night-time) incurs the cāümmāsiyaṁ parihāraṭṭhāṇa aṇugghāïyaṁ.[205]

(12) Mixing the harbourer's alms or liking to do so.[206]

(13) If, one while on the begging tour, not returning to the monastery before the night sets in, happens to reach an army camp.[207]

CLOTHING :

(1) Going against one's usual practice, putting on clothes among those who put it, remaining naked among those who wear clothes, remaining clothed among those who do not put clothes, or remaining naked among the naked.[208]

200. *Ibid.*, 11, 84-86.
201. *Ibid.*, 8, 13-17.
202. *Ibid.*
203. *Ibid.*
204. *Ibid.*, 9, 10-17.
205. *Bṛh. Kalp.* 5, 6-9. (Transl. *I.A.*, 39, pp. 257ff.).
206. *Ibid.*, 2, 18.
207. *Ibid.*, 3, 34.
208. *Nis.*, 11, 87-90.

(2) Making, holding or using iron-pots, copper-pots, lead-vessels, glass-bowls or pots of silver, gold, jewel, ivory, horn, skin or shell.[209]

Residence :

(1) Making a known or an unknown person stay in the upāśraya either for a full night or for half a night.[210]

(2) Staying outside the monastery or the lodge for more than three nights (i.e. days).[211]

Touring and Stay:

(1) Wandering from village to village during the first showers (paḍhama pāüsa), or when regular rains have started.[212]

(2) Frequently entering into or coming out of inimical, anarchical or rebellion-infested regions, or approving of anybody else doing so.[213]

(3) Entering into or going out of the following ten cities twice or thrice in a month : Campā, Mahurā, Vāṇārasī, Sāvatthī, Sāëya, Kampilla, Kosambī, Mihilā, Hatthiṇāüra and Rāyagiha.[214]

(4) Spending the rainy season in the company (?) of a heretic.[215]

Death :

(1) Praising the fool's death (bālamaraṇa), death caused by falling from the mountain, a precipice or a tree, death through drowning, through eating poison, with a weapon, or by letting one's body exposed to the vultures.[216]

(E) *AṆAVAṬṬHAPPĀ* :

(1) Stealing from the members of one's own sect.

(2) Stealing from the members of another sect.

(3) Striking with the fist.[217]

209. *Ibid.*, 11, 1-3.
210. *Ibid.*, 8, 12.
211. *Ibid.*, 10, 13.
212. *Ibid.*, 10, 40-43.
213. *Ibid.*, 11, 71; *Bṛh. kalp.* 1, 38.
214. *Nis.*, 9, 19.
215. *Ibid.*, 10, 46.
216. *Ibid.*, 11, 92.
217. *Bṛh. kalp.* 4, 3.

(F) *PĀRAÑCIYA:*

(1) For a criminal.

(2) For a careless fellow.

(3) For a sodomite.[218]

Besides these, masturbation, sexual intercourse and taking a night meal are called the three 'aṇugghāïyas'.[219]

'*Ahālahusaë nāma vavahāre*': "If a monk who is doing penance goes out of the service of the elders and there perchance commits a fault, and the elder hear of it, either coming themselves or hearing it from others, then one may proceed towards him in the lightest way (ahālahusaë nāma vavahāre)".[220]

218. *Ibid.*, 4, 2.
219. *Ibid.*, 4. 1.
220. *Ibid.*, 5, 53.:

SCHUBRING (*I.A.*, Vol. 39, p. 267, fn. 45) adds the following note to this:

The vavahāra, the procedure towards a transgressor, is five-fold: divided in āgama, suya, āṇā, dhāraṇā, and jīya-vavahāra, according as the canon, tradition, a rule, a charge, or a custom fixes it (see LEUMANN, *Jītakalpa*, p. 2). The second kind occurs in IV: 25. We never meet at least in the *Kalpa* and *Vyavahāra-sūtras* with another procedure as the 'ahā-lahusaga'. I think the commentators are wrong or their statements belong to a later time, when they (Cūrṇi to Bhāshya V, 359 foll. = V. bh. II, 85) give 'vavahāra' as fasts and divide it nine-fold in this way:—

guruō	1 month	taṁ	aṭṭhameṇaṁ	vahaï
gurugatarāō	4 months	"	dasameṇaṁ	"
ahā-guruō	6 months	"	duvālasameṇaṁ	"
lahuō	30 days	te	chhaṭṭheṇaṁ	"
laghugatarāō	25 days	"	chaütthenaṁ	"
ahā-lahuō	20 days	"	āyambileṇaṁ	"
lahusaō	15 days	"	ega-ṭṭāṇeṇaṁ	"
lahusatarāō	10 days	"	purimaḍḍheṇaṁ	"
ahā-lahusaō	5 days	"	nivvīëṇaṁ	"

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Bhā.=Bhāṣya; *Comm.*=Commentary; *C.*=Cūrṇi; *N.*=Niryukti; *Ṭ.*=Ṭīkā; *Vṛ.*= Vṛtti.

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IMPORTANT SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT TERMS

A

Abaddhiya—name of a schism brought about by Guṭṭhāmāhila. (80)
Abhiggaha—a vow.
Abhihaḍa—(food) brought from a distance. (293)
Abhisega—a person well-read in the sūtras and fit for the post of an ācārya; sometimes equated with the upādhyāya. (369, 370)
Abhisegā—a nun fit to occupy the post of a pravartinī. (470)
Acela—nude. (161)
Acchejja—(food) taken by force (from others) for offering it to a monk or nun. (294)
Addhapalitankā—a particular posture involving the placing of one foot on the thigh and standing facing the sun, with arms held up. (188)
Aḍḍhapeṭā—a method of begging alms. (169)
Aḍḍhaphālaka—the monks who are said to have started the practice of wearing a piece of cloth after the famine in Magadha and who, according to the Digambaras, were the forerunners of the Śvetāmbaras. (81)
Aḍḍhoruga—Waist-cloth worn by a nun. (480)
Adiṇṇādāṇa—stealing or theft. (204)
Āgama—the sacred texts, the canon. (16ff)
Agīyattha—a novice, a junior who is as yet not well-versed in the sacred lore or in the practice of monastic rules. (248)
Āhākamma—sinful activity; activity injurious to living beings. (283, 284, 288, 477)
Ahiṃsā—verbal, mental and physical non-violence. (205, 206, 432, 460, 572, 576)
Aïbhūmi—an area limited by the householder where a monk is forbidden to enter for alms. (169)
Aïsesa—privilege (as in the case of the ācārya and others). (220)
Ājīva—a class of ascetics. (44)
Ājīvika—a system founded by Gosāla, a disciple and contemporary of Mahāvīra. (74ff)
Ājīva-piṇḍa—acquiring food on the strength of one's own caste or family or art, etc. (296)
Ajjā—a term of address to a nun.
Ajjava—non-deceit or straightforwardness. (206)
Ajjhatthavisohī—purification of the tainted soul.

Ajjhoyara—supplemented food, the original quantity of which was increased for offering it in charity. (295)

Āloyaṇā—confession of transgressions before the guru. (153, 308, 309, 312, 338, 346, 399, 408, 427,428, 441, 460, 583)

Āmnāya—school (of instruction).

Āmrakubjāsana—remaining in a curved posture like the mango. (194)

Āṇā—a prescribed rule. (235, 600)

Aṇasaṇa—fasting. (187)

Aṇavaṭṭhappā—temporary expulsion from the Order due to transgression. (153, 237, 330, 338, 377, 391, 401; 414; 416; 433; 599)

Anga—a group of texts of the Jaina canon. (17, 23, 35)

Angabāhira—the group of texts which falls outside the Anga category. (35)

Angāra—a fault involved in showing too much attachment for food either for its taste or for its fragrance. (306)

Aṇīsaṭṭha—(food) given without the consent of all its owners. (295)

Aṇṇaütthiya—a heretic, a person belonging to some other faith. (241, 312)

Antarijjaga—an undergarment (of linen in the case of a monk). (162)

Antevāsi—a novice, a student. (143, 217, 514)

Antoṇiyaṁsaṇī—garment covering the body from the waist up to the half of the thighs of a nun. (481)

Aṇugghāïya—see 'ugghāïya.'

Aṇuṇṇā—the ceremony of conferring authority. (149, 318)

Aṇuppehā—reflections (over the nature of worldly life, etc.) (185, 354, 357, 453)

—pondering over the read material from a sacred text. (181)

Aṇuyoga—a classification of the Digambara texts, viz., prathama°, karaṇa°, dravya° and caraṇa°. (36)

Ānvaya—a line (of monks)?

Apariggaha—non-possession, non-attachment. (435)

Apariṇaya—raw, not ripe, not transformed.

—(food) given without the consent of all its owners. (300)

Ap-kāya—water-bodies.

Ardhaphālaka—monks wearing a piece of cloth. (81)

Āri—a needle used in stitching shoes. (407)

Arihanta—the Tīrthaṅkara.

Ārovaṇā—the way of dealing with a transgressor who had again committed a fault while undergoing a punishment for a previous one. (154)

Āsana—bodily posture.

Asiva—a calamity, an emergency. (244, 389)

Assava—influx of Karma matter into the soul. (4, 358)

Atta-jhāṇa—a type of bad meditation. (180)

Atthaporisī—the time when the meaning of a text is explained. (315)

Atthikāya—five of the six substances (jīva, ajīva, dharma, adharma and ākāśa), excepting Kāla.

Aupagrāhika—see 'Uvaggātiya'.

Āvarta—mental attitude. (458)

Āvassaya—essential daily duties of a monk which form the necessary items of his daily routine. (456)

Avijjā—ignorance. (5)

Avvattaga—name of a schism brought about by Āṣāḍha. (79)

Āyaṁbila—pure food like boiled rice unmixed with anything else. (195)

Āyaṁbilavaḍḍhamāṇa-tavokamma—a particular penance lasting for fourteen years, three months and twenty days. (195)

Āyānabhanḍanikkhevaṇasamiti—proper deposition of one's requisites. (204)

Āyāra—pure, disciplined mode of behaviour.

Āyārabhanḍaga—requisites essential for the disciplined mode of behaviour and permitted by the law. (413)

Āyārapakappa—rules or code of monastic conduct. (218 313)

Āyariya—head of a group of monks. (145, 146, 222, 223, 247, 271, 309; 310; 329; 336; 369; 379; 381; 380; 381; 384, 388, 390, 399, 431, 432, 443, 444; 446; 468, 514, 571)

Āyariyaüvajjhāya—an officer who does the duties both of the ācārya as well as those of the upādhyāya as the occasion demands. (144, 145, 219, 221, 249, 579, 580, 581)

B

Bāhiraṇiyaṁsaṇī—a piece of cloth worn by a nun covering her body from the waist up to the ankles. (481)

Bahuraya—name of a schism started by Jamāli. (79)

Bālamaraṇa—fool's death, i.e. death in an improper way. (203)

Bālatava—improperly practised penance. (189)

Bali—a circle or group of monks. (538, 550, 554, 558)

Bāyara—major, great. (204)

Bhadanta—a term of respectful address. (514, 595)

Bhaṇḍaga—requisites. (165)

Bhāsa—a category of commentarial literature on the canonical texts. (32)

Bhattapaccakkhāṇa—a mode of death which involves fast unto death. (200, 321, 461)

Bhattapariṇṇā—renunciation of food. (321)

Bhaṭṭāraka—an honorific title of a Jaina church officer. (137, 448, 514)

Bhattesaṇā—begging of food. (See 'goyarī')

Bhāvapūjā—mental worship. (427, 461)

Bhāvasaṁvara—temperament for the stoppage of the influx of karmic matter (See 'saṁvara').

Bhikkhāyariyā—the begging round. (187)
Bhikkhu—the monk. (369, 371, 385)
Bhikkhuṇī—the nun. (471)
Boḍiya—name of a schism which was supposed to be the fore-runner of the Digambaras, according to the Śvetāmbara version. (81, 382, 385, 398)
Bohi—Enlightenment. (4, 358)

Caitya—a shrine. (383)
Caityavandana—paying homage to a shrine. (396, 427)
Caityavāsin—a school advocating stay in a caitya or temple. (529, 542, 558)
Calaṇī—garment covering the lower half of a nun. (480)
Candagavejjha—a kind of penance. (417)
Caraṇa-karaṇa—pure mode of conduct. (211. 372n)
Cāraṇa-muni—a monk having the power to fly up in the air, or one who is constantly moving. (316)
Caüddasapuvvadhara—one who is well-versed in the fourteen Puvvas. (374)
Cāüjjāma-dhamma—the fourfold religion of Pārśva as referred to by the Buddhist texts. (61)
Caüvviṁsatitthava—salutation to the twenty-four Jinas. (187, 456)
Chaḍḍiya—(food) given in a careless manner so that it fell scattered on the earth. (301)
Chakkāya—six kinds of living beings.
Chatta—an umbrella. (277, 412)
Chaṭṭha—a fast up to the sixth meal. (188)
Chaümattha—a person devoid of omniscience. (203)
Chedapāṭī—pustaka—a kind of book. (424)
Cheövaṭṭhāvaṇā—re-consecration consequent to the losing of the entire paryāya on the part of a transgressor. (See 'cheya')
Cheya—a prāyaścitta which involves "the loss of a part of the monk's ecclesiastical rank among his brethren, which dates from his second reception, the definitive consecration to the vow." (153, 227, 230, 235, 338, 376, 401, 414, 416, 433, 436, 445; 471; 494; 579ff.)
Cheyasutta—a group of six texts of the Svetāmbara canon.
Cilimilī, °kā—a curtain used to cover the entrance of a nunnery. (225, 278, 394, 409, 410, 485)
Colapaṭṭa—a piece of cloth used by the monk to cover his private parts. (245, 259, 260, 279, 311, 312, 368, 403; 406; 427; 431)
Cuṇṇa-piṇḍa—alms obtained by the use of powders endowing supernatural powers to the user. (298)
Cuṇṇi—a class of commentarial literature. (33)

D

Ḍagala—a piece of stone or of brick (used for cleaning the anus?). (406)
Daṇḍa—stick or staff used by a monk (273, 274, 287)
Daṇḍāsana—lying straight like a staff. (188, 194)
Dantaśodhana—teeth-cleaner. (484)
Datti—a single unbroken offering, especially of food or drink. (250)
Dhāī-piṇḍa—food obtained by acting as a nurse. (295)
Dhamma-jhāṇa—an auspicious type of meditation. (181)
Dhammakahā—a religious discourse or story. (185, 354, 452)
Dhammakaraka—a pot with a straining arrangement for water. (407)
Dhammantevāsi—one who has become the disciple of a particular ācārya purely for religious instructions. (143)
Dhāraṇā—charge. (235, 600)
Dhūma—a kind of fault resulting from the condemnation of food for its bad taste or quality. (306)
Diṭṭhi—philosophical or doctrinal viewpoint. (20)
Diṭṭhivāya—name of the twelfth Anga of the Jaina canon containing the fourteen Puvvas. (19ff)
Dokiriyā—name of a schism started by Ganga. (79)
Dugunchiya kula—lowly or condemned or disagreeable family. (264, 308, 312)
Dūïpiṇḍa—alms obtained by acting as a messenger. (296)

E

Egallavihārapaḍimā—an ascetic practice which requires isolation from the rest of the members of a group. (580)
Egāvalī—a penance. (419)
Esaṇā dośa—faulty or improper seeking of alms. (299ff)
Esaṇīya—pure, acceptable. (437)

G

Gaccha—a unit of three or seven monks or nuns. (231, 331, 337, 338, 360, 361, 369, 372, 442)
Gacchavāsin—a monk who lives a corporate life as a member of a Gaccha.
Gaṇa—a group of three monks.
—"the school which is derived from one teacher."
—a group of three Kulas. (150, 228, 229, 230, 331, 337, 371; 372)
Gaṇacintaka—administrator of the Gaṇa. (404)
Gaṇahara—head of a gaṇa
—chief disciple of the Tīrthaṅkara. (148, 224, 336, 353, 374, 443, 444, 499, 503, 571)

Gāṇanganiya—a monk who changes his gaṇa frequently within six months. (150, 229, 422)

Gaṇāvaccheïṇī—a female officer of nuns equivalent to the Gaṇāvacchedaka. (470, 504)

Gaṇāvaccheïya—head of a section of a gaṇa. (221, 222, 223, 236, 249, 330, 580)

Gaṇḍīpustaka—a kind of book. (424)

Gaṇi—head of a gaṇa. (146ff, 225, 444, 514)

Gaṇinī—head of the gaṇa among the nuns. (468, 498, 502)

Gāratthiya—a householder. (312)

Geruya—a class of ascetics. (44)

Ghaḍimattaya—a kind of pot. (411)

Ghaṇatava—a peculiar method of practising fasts. (189)

Ghaṭṭaka—a kind of stone with which begging-bowls were burnished. (268)

Gīyattha—a well-read monk. (390, 396, 408)

Gocchaga—a small broom used for cleaning the cloth covering the begging bowl. (42, 167, 179, 270, 279, 311, 412; 484)

Godohiyā—a particular posture in which one sits as when milching a cow. (188, 451)

Gomuttiyā—a peculiar zigzag way of begging alms. (169)

Gomuttiyābandha—a method of tying a broken pot. (269)

Goyarī—the begging-round. (280, 312)

Gulikā—bark garment.
—pill. (407, 408, 434, 439)

Gumma—a small unit forming a part of a gaccha. (232, 331)

Guṇarayaṇa—a kind of penance involving fasting. (196)

Gutti—mental, verbal and physical self-control. (201, 206, 322, 332, 346, 357; 432; 453; 460; 487; 500)

I

Ingiṇī maraṇa—a mode of death. (201)

Iriyā—movement of limbs or walking. (204)

Ittara aṇasaṇa—short-term fasting. (188)

J

Jainī mudrā—standing in a Kāyotsarga posture with hands let loose and keeping the feet parallel at a distance of four aṅgulas from each other. (459)

Jāï thera—a monk who is sixty years old. (144)

Jāṇāvaṇī—a spell which empowers a person to know the whereabouts of another person. (421)

Janghācāraṇa—a monk who can fly up in the air by means of supernatural powers. (200. 311n)

Javaṇiyā—a curtain. (274)
Jhāṇa—meditation. (180ff, 352)
Jiṇa—the Tīrthaṅkara.
Jiṇakappa—a stricter mode of monk life. (82, 164, 232, 250, 259, 278, 279; 374; 390; 404; 418)
Jiṇindatthava—singing in praise of the Jina. (312)
Jīvapaësiya—name of a schism started by Tiṣyagupta. (79)
Jīya-vavahāra—custom. (600n)
Joga piṇḍa—alms obtained by the use or display of supernatural powers. (299)

K

Kaccha—a kind of book. (424)
Kālikaśruta—texts meant to be read at a prescribed time. (316)
Kallāṇa—purificatory punishment (after washing of clothes). (261)
Kallāṇaga—five auspicious events in the life of a Tīrthaṅkara.
Kamaḍhaya—a pot used by monks. (272)
Kaṁbala—a blanket. (166, 276)
Kancuka—bodice worn by a nun. (481)
Kaṇagāvali—a particular penance lasting for five years, nine months and eighteen days. (196, 198)
Kappa—mode of life.
Kasāya—the fourfold passions, anger, pride, deceit and greed. (206)
Kāüssagga—non-attachment towards the body. (187)
Kāyakilesa—mortification of the body. (187, 188)
Kevala ṇāṇa—omniscience. (66, 69)
Khāmaṇā—apologising for an offence or transgression.
Khandhakaraṇī—a garment worn by a nun. (482)
Khanti—forbearance. (206)
Khola—clothes dripped in milk and dried. (408, 434, 439)
Khuḍḍaga—a novice. (217)
Khuḍḍiyā—an unconfirmed nun. (471)
Kiïkamma—salutation, paying respect. (458)
Kīya—(food) brought or bought on exchange (for offering it to a monk or nun). (292)
Koha piṇḍa—alms obtained out of anger. (297)
Kośa—an apparatus used in taking out that part of the skin where a snake has bitten a monk. (407)
Koṣaka—nail protector made of leather. (407)
Kūḍamuha—a pot to deposit medicines for or the excreta of the ill. (406)
Kula—the school founded by a teacher and consisting of his immediate disciples.
—"the succession of teachers in one line."

—a group of disciples of one ācārya, sometimes equated with 'anvaya' or 'gaccha'. (151, 230, 331, 338, 372)

Kukkuṭāsana—a peculiar bodily posture. (562, 566)

Kulathera—an elderly monk who manages the affairs of the Kula. (Similarly 'gaṇathera' and 'Sanghathera'). (144)

Kundī—a water-pot. (450)

Kuṇḍikā—a small water-pot. (342, 370)

Kūrcaka—name of a sect. (125, 126, 447, 483).

Kuṭṭiyāvaṇa—a shop where requisites for the renunciation ceremony were sold. (142)

L

Laddhi—supernatural power. (400)

Lakuṭāsana—a peculiar posture in which one's hands and feet touch the ground and the rest of the body is lifted up. (194)

Langaḍasātī—lying down without letting the back touch the ground. (188)

Laṭṭhi—a stick. (273, 274)

Lessā—'soul-tinge' which changes according to the nature of the actions of a person. (199)

Leva—a coating applied to the begging bowl. (266)

Linga—an essentiality of monkhood, like nudity, etc.; outward religious marks. (161)

Lobha-piṇḍa—food acquired out of greed. (297)

Loya—the practice of pulling out the hair on the head (in five handfuls). (209, 317, 324ff)

Luttasiraā—one whose head is tonsured. (325)

M

Mahāmaṇḍalācārya—head of a unit of monks. (129, 514)

Mahāsāvajjakiriyā—a major sinful act. (159)

Mahattariyā—a senior nun. (471)

Mahavvaya—a major vow. These are five; ahimsā, satya, asteya, brahmacarya and aparigraha. (204)

Majjhima gīyattha—one who has studied the Chedasūtras. (390)

Makkhiya—(food given with a pot or a hand) besmeared (with impure or unfit articles). (299)

Mallaya—a small pot used by monks for depositing cough and mucus. (271)

Mālohaḍa—(food) brought from a high place. (294)

Maṇapajjava ṇāṇa—thought reading. (200)

Māṇa piṇḍa—food obtained out of pride for personal ability. (297)

Maṇḍala—a small group or unit of monks under a maṇḍalācārya. (136)

Maṇḍalācārya—head of a group of monks. (136, 137)

Maṇḍalī—a group of monks formed for various reasons. (234)
—a group of monks taking food together and bound by a common sāmācārī.

Maṇḍalī-nisijjā—sitting in circle for study. (316, 423)

Maṇḍalī—ūpajīvaka—a monk who was a member of a maṇḍalī and who ate food with the other members of the same. (234)

Manta-piṇḍa—food obtained by the use of spells or magic. (298)

Mattaya—an earthen vessel used for depositing rare articles like those for the ill, etc. (271, 279, 287, 311, 413, 484)

Māyā-piṇḍa—food secured out of deceit. (297)

Mayūrapiccha—peacock-feather broom. (559)

Micchatta—wrong belief. (185)

Mīsa—(food) which was cooked for charity as well as for family requirements. (291)

Mokkha—liberation (from the recurrence of worldly existence in any form) (3ff.)

Mucchā—attachment. (162. 116n)

Mudrikābandha—a method of tying a broken pot. (269)

Muhaṇantaga—mouth-piece. (273)

Muhapattī—a piece of cloth tied over the mouth to prevent small insects entering one's mouth. (167, 179, 260, 273, 279, 312, 368; 412; 427; 429, 431)

Muktāśukti mudrā—similar to the 'vandanā mudrā' and with the fingers of the hands brought close together. (459)

Mūla—a prāyaścitta involving the complete wiping out of the paryāya of a monk and his conseque ıt re-initiation. (153, 237, 330, 338, 376, 377, 391, 401, 403, 414, 416, 433, 434: 436; 445)

Mūla-guṇa—the basic vow. (211. 372n, 357)

Mūla-piṇḍa—alms obtained by the use of vaśīkaraṇa, etc. (299)

Mūlasutta—a group of four texts of the Śvetāmbara canon. (18, 24)

Musāvāya—a lie, false speech. (204)

Muṣṭipustaka—a type of book. (424)

Muttāvalī—a penance lasting for three years and ten months. (196)

Mutti—non-attachment. (206)

N

Nakhaharaṇī—nail cutter. (484)

Nālikā—a stick used to test the depth of water. (245, 412, 515)

Nāmakaraṇa—changing the name of the person who has embraced monkhood. (442)

Nandibhāṇa—a kind of pot. (407)

Nāṭaputta—Mahāvīra. (62)

Navakoḍiparisuddha—pure in nine ways. (176)
Nāya—name of the clan to which Mahāvīra belonged. (65)
Ṇesajjita—sitting in such a way as to let the soles of the feet and the buttocks touch the ground. (188)
Nibbāṇa—'going out'; liberation.
—'subjective awareness of the freed state'.
—'complete annihilation of craving'. (3)
Niggantha—'the bondless', an ascetic, especially the Jaina monk (44, 89, 97, 125, 356, 559)
Ṇijjarā—the dissipation of karmic matter. (185, 358)
Nijjūhaṇa—the omission of a person from a particular gaṇa. (230)
Ṇijjutti—a type of commentarial literature on the canonical texts. (30)
Nikāmabhoyaṇa—eating more than thirty-two morsels of food for several days. (306)
Ṇikkhamaṇa—renouncing the worldly mode of life.
Ṇikkhitta—(food) lying or thrown on (a living substratum). (300)
Nimitta-piṇḍa—food obtained by acting as an interpreter of omens. (296)
Nippicchaka—a sect not using a broom. (549)
Niryāpaka—one who helps a defaulter to re-attain proper conduct. (337)
Niṣadyāsana—sitting with closed legs. (194)
Ṇisejjā—a cloth seat-cover. (260, 272, 427)
Ṇisīhiyā—a place of study. (184, 207)
Niyāṇa—remunerative hankering as a price for one's penance. (180, 321)
Niyativāya—the theory of fatalism advocated by Gośāla, the founder of the Ājīvika sect. (75)
Ṇojīva—name of a schism started by Rohagupta. (80)

O

Oha üvahi—requisites of essential use. (165, 278)
Ohiṇāṇa—clairvoyance. (200)
Okacchiya—a piece of cloth covering the breasts and the back of a nun. (481)
Omarāīṇīya—a monk having less standing in the order; a junior monk. (143)

P

Paccakkhāṇa—self-denial. (245, 349, 457)
Pacchāga—a covering, a piece of cloth. (259, 263)
Pacchākamma—subsequent action. (298)
Paḍala—pieces of cloth used in covering the alms-bowl. (270, 279, 287, 412, 484)
Paḍiggaha—alms-bowl. (142)
Paḍiggahadhārī—a Jinakalpika monk using begging-bowl. (404)
Pāḍihāriya—returnable, that which is to be returned to the owner. (167, 275)

Paḍikkamaṇa—condemnation of one's transgressions either daily (devasiya) or nightly (rāïya) or fortnightly (pakkhiya) or four-monthly (cāüm-māsiya) or yearly (saṁvaccharīya). (153, 180, 187, 257, 311, 312; 338; 346, 348, 457, 460, 520)

Paḍilehaṇa—scanning of or inspecting requisites and the place of occupation. (179, 310, 312, 388, 410, 425, 427)

Paḍimā—'the standards that a layman is expected to observe. They are eleven in number,' and prepare a person to attain to the discipline of monk life. (6. 32n, 190ff, 232, 396)

Padmāsana—a posture in which the feet were kept crossed and touching one's thighs. (458)

Pāhuḍiya—(food) given before the proper time and set aside for a monk. (292)

Païṇṇa—a group of ten texts of the Śvetāṁbara canon. (17, 27)

Pajjāya—standing or seniority expressed in the number of years spent in the Order. (226)

Pajjosaṇa—rain-retreat. (325, 383)

Pakkhiyakhāmaṇā—fortnightly pardon-seeking.

Palitaṅkā—sitting in a padmāsana posture. (188)

Paliüñcaṇā—confession of a fault with deceit. (154)

Pamāṇāhārī—a person eating the normal quantity of food, i.e., 32 morsels, each of the size of a hen's egg. (See 'ūṇoyariyā')

Pāmicca—(food) bought on credit (for the sake of offering it to a monk.) (292)

Pāṇāïvāya—injury to living beings. (204)

Pancajāma-dhamma—the fivefold religion as enunciated by Mahāvīra who added the fifth vow of celibacy to the group of four vows laid down by Pārśvanātha. (62, 72)

Pancamuṭṭhiya loya—see 'loya'. (209)

Pancaṇamokkāra—salutation to the five dignitaries: arhat, siddha, ācārya, upādhyāya and sādhu. (321)

Pancarāïndiya cheya—five days' suspension. (235)

Pāṇipaḍiggāhi—one who eats food in the palm of his hand. (250, 278. 390n).

Pāṇivisohaṇa—the method of scanning the cloth by taking every portion of it on one's palms to see whether it contains any living beings. (179)

Pānipatta—see 'pāṇipaḍiggāhī'.

Pāṇīyabhoyaṇa—meal with profuse ghee or oil. (306, 358)

Pāövagamaṇa—a mode of death in which one stands motionless without any food, like a tree, till death overtakes one. (201, 318, 321, 329)

Pāöyara—(food) exposed to light or exhibited. (292)

Pāpaśruta—heretical or sinful sciences. (185)

Papphoḍaṇa—the act of shaking the garment while doing pratilekhanā. (179)

Paramahaṁsa—a class of naked ascetics in Brāhmanism. (11. 47n)

Pāranciya—expulsion from the Order due to a major transgression. (153, 237, 330, 338, 376, 377, 378, 388, 391; 394; 401; 414; 416; 433, 434; 436; 447)

Parasamaya—heretical creed. (425)

Paribbājaka—a wandering ascetic.

Paribhoga-doṣa—faults pertaining to the method of eating food, its quantity, etc. (170ff)

Pariggaha—possession. (205, 341)

Parihāra—a sort of punishment for transgression which requires the defaulter to undergo it in isolation from the rest of his group. (227, 230, 235, 236, 240, 241, 328. 633n; 330; 338; 376; 379; 446; 471; 473; 579ff.; 581ff.)

Parihāraviśuddhi—the process of undergoing the parihāra punishment by a group of monks. (154)

Parīsaha—the twenty-two troubles which a monk is expected to overcome. (207)

Pariyāsiya—stale. (284, 327)

Pariyaṭṭaṇā—repetition of the reading of a text. (185)

Pariyaṭṭiya—(food) brought on exchange (by the householder for offering it to a monk). (293)

Pariyāya-thera—a monk who has twenty years standing in monkhood. (144)

Pārśvāsana—lying on one side. (194)

Paryaṅkāsana—a bodily posture. (354, 458, 565)

Pāsattha—a person of loose behaviour. (285)

Pāsāvaccijjā therā—monks belonging to the ascetic order of Parśvanātha.. (60ff)

Patangavīhi—a random way of begging alms like the flying of a kite. (169)

Paṭṭa—waist-cloth worn by a nun. (480)

Pattābandha—a piece of string used in tying a pot. (269)

Paṭṭāvalī—list of pontifical succession. (15)

Pāvasuya—see 'pāpaśruta.'

Pavatti—a person looking after the requirements of the members of a gaccha. (145, 224, 371, 399, 443, 444; 456)

Pavattiṇī—a senior nun managing the affairs of a group of nuns. (380, 381, 397, 468ff, 487, 502, 503, 504, 505; 579)

Pavvajjā—renunciation. (142, 216, 317, 466).

Pavvajjādāyaga—the ācārya who initiates a novice. (337)

Pavvāvaṇantevāsi—a junior monk who has been initiated but not confirmed. (143)

Pavvāvaṇāyariya—the ācārya who initiates a person into the Order. (146)

Pāya—alms-bowl. (265, 311)

Pāyacchitta—punishment for transgression. (153ff.)

Pāyakesariyā—a piece of cloth used in cleaning the alms-bowl. (270)

Pāyalehaṇiyā—a small stick of a tree used for cleaning the mud from one's feet in the rainy season. (277, 406)

Pāyaṇijjoga—the alms-bowl and its other accessories. (260, 269)

Pāyapaḍilehaṇiyā—see 'pāyakesariyā'.

Pāyapunchaṇa—broom used by monks. (272)

Pāyaṭṭhāvaṇa—a piece of woollen cloth used to protect the begging-bowl from dust. (270)

Peṭā—a method of begging alms. (169)

Phaḍḍaga—a part of a 'gumma'. (233, 331, 374)

Phalaga—a plank used for sleeping over. (406)

Phāsuya—pure. (437)

Picchiya—(peacock) feather-broom used by Digambara monks. (341, 450)

Pīḍha—a stool. (406)

Pīḍhaga—a seat used occasionally by monks. (276)

Pihiya—(food kept in a receptacle) closed (with a seal). (300)

Piṇḍesaṇā—the begging of alms.

Poggala—matter; flesh; a fruit. (4, 173)

Porisī—quarter of a day. (175, 179)

Pucchaṇā—asking difficulties from a text. (185)

Puï—impure. (290)

Purekamma—previous activity; action preceding some other act. (170)

Puvva—a group of fourteen texts supposed to have formed the twelfth Anga of the Jaina canon. (19ff, 34, 58, 61, 390, 444)

R

Rāga—attachment.

Rāïbhoyaṇa—night-meal. (205, 281, 286, 537)

Rāïṇīya—a senior monk. (143. 15n, 443, 444, 456)

Rasapariccāya—giving up of dainty food. (187)

Rayaharaṇa—a broom used by monks to cleanse a spot. (272ff, 277, 279, 287, 367, 368, 427, 484)

Rayaṇāhiya—a senior monk. (368)

Rayaṇāvalī—a penance lasting for five years, two months and twenty-eight days. (197)

Rāyapiṇḍa—royal food.
—food given by a king. (172)

Rayattāṇa—alms-bowl cleaner. (271, 279, 412, 484)

Rudda-jhāṇa—a type of inauspicious meditation. (181)

Sabala—major faults, twenty-one in number. (207)
Sacitta—full of life, conscious.
Saḍḍhāṇa—a prāyaścitta involving the giving up of sinful activities or passions by the transgressor and his re-affirming the faith in true religion. (338, 339, 447)
Sāgāriya—the host who gives shelter to a monk or nun. (282, 584)
Sāhā—"the lines which branch off from one teacher." (331, 464)
Sāhariya—(food) brought from a distance. (300)
Sajjhāya—study. (183ff, 313, 319, 352, 425)
Sakka—a class of ascetics. (44)
Sallehaṇā—fast unto death. (201)
Samāhi—concentration. (182)
Sāmāïya—tranquility of mind; or mental equipoise. (187, 456)
Sāmāïyacāritta—life of ascetic discipline, life of mental tranquility.
Samaṇa—the wandering ascetic, especially Jaina or Buddhist. (44ff, 325)
Sāmaṇera—a junior disciple under probation. (143)
Sāmāyārī—a controlled mode of behaviour. (211, 249, 308, 413, 423)
Saṁbhoga—a group of monks bound together by identical Sāmācārī, and taking food together.
—'a group of monks begging alms in one district only.'
—a unit or group of monks following one sāmācārī, taking meals together, studying together, and for the purpose of confession and service acting as a compact unit. (151, 233, 331, 374, 515, 516)
Sambuyāvaṭṭa—a method of begging alms. (169)
Saṁghāḍī—a garment worn by a nun. (263, 481, 585, 593)
Samiti—carefulness in different activities. (201, 206, 322, 332, 357, 414, 432, 453, 460, 487, 500)
Saṁkhaḍi—a feast (food from which is disallowed to monks and nuns). (584)
Saṁlīṇayā—self-control. (188)
Sammatta—equanimity; religious belief or conviction. (207)
Samosaraṇa—a religious assembly; a sermon. (481)
Saṁpuṭaphalaka-pustaka—a kind of book. (424)
Saṁsāra—cycle of worldly existence.
Saṁthāra—bedding. (167, 274ff, 342, 406, 427, 492)
Saṁthāragapaṭṭa—bed-sheet or cover. (260, 276)
Samuccheïya—name of a schism brought about by Aśvamitra. (79)
Samukkasaṇa—the expulsion of a person holding office if he lost the confidence of his followers. (238)
Saṁvarū—stoppage of the influx of karmic matter. (4, 358)
Saṁvega—liking for religious life.
Samyagdarśana—right faith.

Saṅgha—ascetic congregation.

Sanjoyaṇādosa—mixing different kinds of food articles for extracting better taste. (305)

Sanjoyaṇā pāyacchitta—punishment prescribed in the case of a person committing several transgressions pertaining to one item of monastic discipline, (i.e. two transgressions regarding food). (154)

Sankiya—(food of) doubtful (purity). (299)

Santarā cheya—the method of relatively diminishing the seniority of a transgressor when he commits further transgressions while undergoing prāyaścitta for a previous fault. (236)

Santhava—praising (the donor either before [pure] or after [pacchā] getting food). (298)

Sāraṇā—reminding one of one's duties. (373)

Śavādiśayanāsana—a posture: lying motionless like a corpse. (451)

Sāvaya—a layfollower.

Savvaöbhadda—a penance. (197)

Seḍhitava—a method of practising fasts. (189)

Seha—a disciple on probation. (143, 217)

Sejjāyara—a person who has given lodging to a monk or a nun. (172, 282, 283, 367, 415, 477, 490).

Siddhānta—the 'āgama' or Jaina canon or Jaina doctrines. (16).

Sīhanikkīliya—a penance lasting for six years, two months and twelve days. (197)

Sikkaga—pingoes. (407)

Sikkhāvaṇa—giving instructions in monastic discipline to a novice. (367)

Stenakabandha—a method of tying a broken pot. (269)

Sthānakavāsin—a sect among the Jainas. (440)

Sthāpanācārya—shells used as a substitute for the pañcaparameṣṭhins. (428)

Sthavirakalpa—See 'Therakappa.'

Suä—the sacred lore; tradition. (235)

Sukka jhāṇa—auspicious meditation. (181)

Sūri—an officer of the church equivalent to the ācārya. (232, 337, 443, 444, 456)

Suttaporisī—the time when the reading of the text was given. (315, 425)

Suyakevali—one who has mastered the fourteen Puvvas. (353, 499)

Śvetapaṭa—the monks who wore a white garment and who are supposed to have been the forerunners of the Śvetāmbaras. (81)

Syādvāda—the theory of manifold predication or conditional statements. (117)

Tadubhaya—second prāyaścitta: confession and condemnation of one's transgression. (153)

Talikā—shoes bound to the feet both at day and at night to save the feet from thorns. (406)
Tasa—mobile. (204)
Tava—penance. (153, 187ff, 338)
Tāvasa—a class of ascetics. (44)
Terāsiya—see 'Nojīva.'
Teüllessā—the supernatural power to burn others, acquired through severe penance. (75, 385)
Ṭhāṇātīta—a bodily posture involving kāyotsarga. (188)
Ṭhavaṇā—(food) placed on impure substratum.
—(food) undergoing change in its nature. (291)
Ṭhavaṇa kula—disagreeable, dispised or antagonistic family. (583)
Thāvara—immobile. (204)
Theṇayabandha—a method of tying a broken pot. (269. 317n)
Thera—a senior monk. (143, 144, 184, 218, 336, 369, 371, 443, 444, 470)
Therakappa—a mode of Jaina ascetic life which is less strict than the Jiṇakappa. (see 'Jiṇakappa').
Therī—an old nun, either in age, paryāya or learning. (498, 502, 505)
Tigicchā piṇḍa—securing alms by diagnosing other's ailments. (296)
Titthankara—one who creates the fourfold Saṁgha; the Jina.
Triratna—the triad leading one to liberation: right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. (4, 161, 453)
Turīyātīta—a class of naked ascetics in Brāhmanism. (11. 47n)

U

Ubbhiṇṇa—(food given after) breaking (the seal or a lid covering it). (294)
Uddesaṇāyariya—an ācārya who explains a text to the junior. (314)
Uddesiya—(food) specially cooked (for the monks). (290)
Uggahāṇantaga—a garment worn by a nun. (403, 480)
Uggama dosa—faults pertaining to the preparation of food. (288ff)
Ugghāïya—"the expressions 'ugghāïya' and 'aṇugghāïya'......denote conditional sentences passed on persons for transgressions. They request the intervention of a period (udghāta), in which the punishment is softened or made mild between different periods of expiation, perhaps also the pronouncement of the sentence and its carrying out." (236)
Ukkiṭṭha gīyattha—one who is well-versed in the fourteen Puvvas. (390)
Ukkuḍāsaṇita—sitting in a squatting position. (188, 194, 451)
Ummīsa—(food) containing living and lifeless articles. (300)
Ūṇoyariyā—eating less than the normal. (187, 188)
Upāṅga—a group of twelve texts of the Jaina canon. (17, 27)
Uppāyaṇa dosa—faults pertaining to the ways adopted in obtaining food. (295ff)
Utsārakalpa—summary-reading of a text under emergencies. (424)

Uttamaṭṭha—fasting. (244)
Uttāṇāsaṇa—a posture involving facing the sun. (194)
Uttaraguṇa—subsidiary twelve guṇas associated with the five mūlaguṇas. (211. 372n)
Uttarijjaga—a woollen upper garment of a monk. (162)
Uvagaraṇa—requisites.
Uvaggāhiya—Supplementary (set of requisites). (165)
Uvajjhāya—the religious instructor. (144, 184, 218, 309, 314, 336; 369; 370; 443, 444, 456, 468, 514).
Uvāsaga—a lay follower.
Uvasaṁpayā—initiation into the Order. (149)
Uvassaya—monastery. (160)
Uvaṭṭhāvaṇā—the final consecration of a novice under probation. (149, 216, 318, 368)
Uvaṭṭhāvaṇantevāsi—a junior who has been confirmed as a member of the Order. (143)
Uvaṭṭhāvaṇāyariya—the ācārya who confirms a novice. (146)

Vandanā—paying respect, salutation. (187, 347ff, 456, 459)
Vandanā mudrā—this was formed when a standing monk folded his hands from his elbows and rested them on his belly. (459)
Vaṇīmaga piṇḍa—alms obtained as a beggar. (296)
Vāraṇā—preventing one committing a transgression. (373)
Vasaha—an officer waiting upon the ill. (226)
Vassāvāsa—rain-retreat. (264ff)
Vavahāra—"the procedure towards a transgressor, based on the canon or tradition or law or charge or according to the custom handed down." (600. 220n)
Vāyaga—an officer equal in rank and status to an upādhyāya. (224, 514)
Vāyaṇā—recital of a sacred text. (181, 185, 313, 354, 452)
Vāyaṇantevāsi—one who receives the reading from the ācārya. (217)
Vāyaṇāyariya—an ācārya who gives reading of a text to the juniors. (315)
Vegacchī—a piece of cloth worn by a nun on the upper half of her body. (481)
Veyāvacca—service to the elders, the needy and the ill. (188)
Vicelayā—nudity.
Vidaṇḍa—a stick. (273)
Vigaï—improper or unfit food. (185)
Vijahaṇa—leaving the jurisdiction of a particular superior. (149)
Vijjācāraṇa—a monk who can fly up in the air due to supernatural powers. (200. 311n)
Vijjā piṇḍa—alms obtained on the strength of magic. (298)

Vilaṭṭhi—a stick. (273)
Viṇaya—self-control. (148)
Vīrāsaṇa—hero's posture: sitting as if one is occupying a chair. (188, 194, 351, 354, 458, 468)
Vittiparisankhā—putting a limit on the number of houses to be visited for alms. (355)
Viüssagga—non-attachment to the body. (153, 189, 338)
Viüvvaṇā—transformation of the physical body.
Vivāya—debate. (185)
Vivega—giving up of further transgressions. (153, 338)
Vivittasayaṇāsaṇa—the practice of using a residence free from women, eunuchs and beasts. (335)
Vusarāïya—one who is self-controlled.
—one of greater standing in monkhood. (229)

Y

Yāpanīya—a sect. (125, 448)
Yoga piṇḍa—see 'Joga piṇḍa.'
Yaugikī mudrā—sitting in a padmāsana or a vīrāsana posture with the hands placed on the lap. (459)

GENERAL INDEX

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

It will be seen that the variety of printing types required for the work as well as the bulk of the matter have made it necessary to attach this Corrigenda. Attempt has been made to make it as perfect as possible, leaving out very minor corrections.

Words with small capitals which are shown in the body of the text without their full diacritical marks are given with such in a list at the end here.

Certain imperfections have still crept in as regards transliteration in the following cases:

(i) Words from quotations which use their own system of transliteration.
(ii) Names of places, regions, dynasties, sects, etc., which generally go without a uniform system of transliteration.

System of reference:

1. Except on the first page of each chapter lines are counted excluding the title line.

2. The number to the left of the dot denotes the page and the one to the right of it the line on it.

3. Numbers for the different lines, etc. from the same page and requiring the same type of correction are denoted with hyphens between them.

4. Where points are enumerated in order on a page, the first number following the dot would denote the point and the number(s) after the next dot would denote the line(s) from that point.

5. The number preceding the round bracket denotes the page, and, inside the bracket, the number, or only that to the left of the dot (when it is there), denotes the footnote and that to the right of the dot (in that case) denotes the line in the footnote.

6. The original form of the type of the letter (cf. small or big capital, italicised, or italicised capital) will not be affected in the correction that relates to other aspects or to any of those mentioned inside the bracket here, in the absence of an additional reference on those points.

7. Words either describing the error or the correction (such as: comma, semicolon) or locating it (by way of relation, such as: at, in, of, for, from; or in point of order, such as: 1st, 2nd, last, at beg. [= beginning], at end, af. [= after], bef. [= before]) are put in italics.

8. A classified corrigenda was thought better from many points. The reader will be kind enough not to mind the inconvenience that may be caused thereby.

9. This corrigenda could not cover the matter detailed out under the headings 'Sanskrit and Prakrit Terms' and 'General Index' due to unavoidable circumstances.

Change 'a' to 'ā' in:

Ra **133**(459·7); ugga **178**(242); nigghate **184**·1; va **221**·33, **501**·18; Arā **604**·33.

Change 'ā' to 'a' in:

18·9; khā **135**(473); Nahār **136**·16; yā **203**(328·5); pā **224**·24; Oghā **263**·20; bhā

413·31; kā 441·3; ḷā 453·19; Pūrvās *or* Puvvās *at* 18·20; 21·31; 23·ii·3; 25·31-32; 31·28; 34·35; 36·27; 42·35; 57·15-16; 58·1; 61·8; 70·9; 78·3; Prākrit *at* 32·29; 33·21-31-32; 112·5; aṇavaṭṭhappā *at* 153·21; 338·23; 379·29; 599.

Change 'n' to 'ṅ' in:

Anga *at* 15(16); 17·3-4-5-6-7-16; 19·14-19-24; 21·31; 23·20-21-i·4-ii·1-3; 24·3--6-8-12-13-16-19-31; 25·19; 27·7-9-10-12-13-15-19-26; 28·17; 29·9-10; 30·28-29; 31·12-13; 32·2-6-10; 34·9-10-35-(92); 35·1-3-4-6-9-17-19; 36·26-27-29-30; 37·10; 42·25-28-31-34; 44·16-21-24; 64·8; 78·2; 82·9-27; 83·7; 94.10; 95·3; 491·28; 506·10; Tīrthankara *at* 19(38); 26·8; 39·28-31; 40·1; 48·22; 57·6-11; 59·4-11-13-16-21-24; 60·10-14; 73·22; 74·8-10; 82·18; 93·13-14-16; 97·20; 101·23; 107·28; 109·33; 110·15-26; sānkhya 5·31; sanghārām 10·27; sangraha 15·29; 117·27; mangala 33·7; 69·9; 118·18; Śīlānka 34·5; Anguttara 38·38; 45·3; jungiya 49·3-4; Gāngeya 61·14; tunga 66(60); Nangalā 68·24; śankha 70·6-18; 117·5-8; Vīrangaya 70·17; Mankhali 74·29; Ganga 79·28; śunga 89·30; 115·24; sanghala 103·4; Bankeśa 117·29; Bankeya 118·23; Singayya 120·8; 134·34; Gonki 120·19; Konguṇi 123·21-24-27-30; 124·6; Freyanga 128·20; Śankarā 130·19; uttinga 172·1; sangahaṇa 225·16; sangha 304·(29); Lonkā 440.

Change 'n' to 'ñ' in:

jn *at* 4·24; 35·7; 36·13; 57·28; 63(45); 69·23; 79·6; 102·7; 109·11; 112(313·2); 113·5; Sanjaya 70·18; lānchana 93·16; Śatrunjaya 113·26.

Change 'n' to 'ṇ':

bef. ḍ *at* 46(18); 61·14; 65·7-(53); 77·22; 82·17; 93·5; 94·19; 120·4; 124·11-(400); 129·19; 440·25; 461·32; 603·17; *and in* Udāyana 2·1; Punya 32·19; Ujjeni 90·19-28; Kalyāni 119·8; āmarana 181·11; uvagarana 322·9; iṅginī 461·23; thāni, ṇāni 491·20; Ganeśa 574·11·3.

Change 'ṅ' to 'n' in:

80·5; 87(174·3); 90·23.

Change 'ṁ' to 'm' in:

Śvetāṁbara, Digaṁbara and Saṁbhoga *at* 21·23-33; 22·16; 22·iii·2; 34·22-26-32; 35·4-33; 36·33; 37·3-24; 65·13; 78·30; 80·18-19-22-23; 81·29; 82·11-22; 95·15; 96·2; 101·16; 111·6-13-31; 121·5; 125·8; 133·18; 151·24-25; 152·12; *and in* 77·24; 84·24; 92·32; 130·20; 153·3; 158(93·11) *2nd*; 163·19; 165·9-17; 179·22; 180·12; 257·34; 321·14; 338·1 *1st*; 347·(25); 356(712) *last*; 366·7; 385·23; 389·1-9-10; 396·8; 398·25 *2nd*; 402·11-24; 405·20 *last*; 411·11; 419·32 *1st*; 420·18; 423·21 *2nd*; 424·30; 446·14; 450·6-27; 493 (200·4); 517·20.

Change 'm' to 'ṁ' in:

ahimsā *at* 9·14; 11·10; 63·9; 89·18; 123·19; himsā 62·5; samsāra 1(3·2); samyutta 45·3; vamśa 69(92); simha *at* 107·30; 112·7-9-14-16-(307); 120·23; 123·7-13-21-24; 124·7; 136·3; artham 149(40); kaḍam 163·7; *from* am 595·3.

Change 'sh' to 'ṣ' in:

bef. ṇ *at* 39·25; 59·22·(5-6); 130·30; 105·11; 107·11; 118·7-10; 126·25; 130·32; 132(455); 133·2; 135(465); 605·23; *and in* ṛshi 25(62); shṭhā 71·16-18; varsha 132·32; 133(459); dīkshā 445·16.

Change 'w' to 'v' in:

swāmin *at* 32(88); 37·13; 98·25; 103·26; 448·14; 452·2; 466(11); *and in* Bhagawad 5·24; swātantrya 5·31; Diwākara 36(97·2); 451·29; swāti 37·13; Pāwā 68·13; Maheshwara 107·24; 113·8; vāsi 118·24.

Read:

'Saṅgha' *at* 19·8; 33·12; 97·4-20; 111·1; 117·8; 119·21; 120·13; 121·21-29; 129·14; 134·10-14; 137·2-6; 144·13; 411·28; 'Akalaṅka' *at* 38·7; 119·2; 130·17; 133·16; 'liṅga' *at* 107·17; 111·26; 131·23; 418·2; BÜHLER *at* 16(30); 112(307-308); LÜDERS *at* 99(229); 100(232-233); 101(242); LÜDERS' *at* 99(228-230); 100·12-(234); 101(243); 102(253); SCHUBRING *at* 151(58); 167(155); 177·29; 375·14.

Change 'v.' to '*v.*' at:

25(62); 30(80); 79(137-138); 255(229); 321(575); 471(42).

Change 'vs.' or '*vs.*' to '*vv.*' at:
11(46); 30(78-79-82); 32(88); 79(136-139-140); 80(141-145-146); 87(176); 215(7); 232(102); 235(119); 247(186); 262(268); 310(541); 321(576-577); 322(581); 327(628); 329(637); 369(24); 476(85); 478(89).

Give tréma properly in words at:
2·8; 4·30-(19·1); 5·1; 17·9-10-11-12-13-17-18-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31; 18·5-(35); 23·i·4; 26·4; 27·30; 28·1-4-8; 34(92); 35·7-22; 45(10-12); 57·19; 61·11-21; 62·4; 63·27; 70·4; 72(112); 73·20; 74·12-13; 77·17-18-19-25-26-(130); 78·5-(133); 79·9-18; 80·5; 87(176); 90·19-20-26-27; 95·4; 115·12-28; 116·6; 121·14; 141·26; 142·13; 153·4; 154·13; 163·19; 175·10; 176·10; 183·15; 194·15; 224·12; 229·23; 279·32; 280(395·2); 281·13; 315·18; 325·19; 368·21; 436(276·2); 488(161); 584·(9)·2; 595·3.

Have capitals for:
o 16(33); v 21·5; *s* 86·20; c 98·7; d *of* 'devala' *and* k *of* 'kāṇva' 158(93); *1st* a 280(395·2); *1st* n 288·4; *p.* 329(637); *c.* 402 (149); *1st* t 407·(10); c. 412 (176); k *of* 'kharatara' 530(133); s *of* 'south' 545·6; *p* 607·26.

Have no capitals for:
2nd T 25·15; T 126·3-5; S 383·5; C 419·9; N 427·6; *besides* a few such letters that may be found after semicolons, etc. in the footnotes.

Have italics for:
N 4(18); C 70(95-98); comm. 161(114); 377(65); Nis. 259(255).

Have no italics for:
Savvaöbhaddā 192·16; ācārya 233·8; says 539·21.

Have suitable inverted commas at:
16(31); *af.* Nirvāṇa 25·30; *af.* stake 133·10; *for* vīrāsana 194·21; 217·32; 370·(c)·2; 375·34; 389·9; 398(135); 401·10; 408·34; 413·5; 414·24; 416·32; 421·14; 424·30-31; 436·18; 444·17; 450·20; 451·2; 467(19); 483·10; 523·18; 551(318); 560·(ii).

Add comma:
bef. is 72·1; *at end* 99·23; *af.* monks 123·10; *af.* that 132·22; *at end* 161·31; *at end* 183·6; *bef.* as 221·13; *bef. 2nd* to 256·19; *bef.* rather 366·25; *af.* if 436·9-13; *af.* however 444·29; *bef.* devoid 466·16, *af.* one 581·7; *af.* and 590·22; *bef. 2nd* the 595·26; *at end* 596·3; *bef.* etc. *at* 36·13; 146·27; 147·28; 151·26; 180·9; 185·25; 188·6-13; 189·8-(283); 190·7; 197·4-5; 203·6; 207·24; 208·8; 209·1; 461·24.

Drop comma at:
9·9; 11·16; 25·16; *bef.* he 63·14; *bef.* due 100·16; *bef.* which 100·17; *bef.* it 111·20; *bef.* he 111·21; *bef.* speak 114·28; *bef.* who 128·21; *af.* them 156·2; 157·17; 163·11 *1st and 3rd*; 169·11 *2nd*; 174·18 *1st*; 185·25; 188·6-13 *2nd*; 189·7; 197·5 *af.* etc.; 202·4; 203·6 *af.* etc.; 204·17; 207·24 *af.* etc.; 208·8 *af.* etc.; 209·1 *af.* etc.; 214·17 (*2nd*)-118; 243·17 (*1st*)-18 (*1st*); 256·24 *bef. 2nd* and; 281·10 *1st*; 301·25; 324·37 *1st*; 354·25 *bef.* and; 359·27; 384·23-25; 397·33; 419·25; 428·8 *1st*; 437·13; 452·8 *2nd*; 454·29; 472·22 *bef.* i.e.; 478·7 *bef.* living; 501·19 *af.* i.e.; 519(40).

Add hyphen:
at end of 12·12; *af.* : karma 8·iv·2; 9·16; 12·14; ultra 12·12; Dharma 89·27; *bef.* ākīrṇe 455·2.

Add 'the':
at beg. 73·23; *af.* : in 47·3; of 69(92); 506·23; *1st* to 135·15; *comma* 375·3; and 506·29; *bef.* : Buddhist 45·7; Jaina 47·11; Buddha 75·27; 76·18-19-21; 77·1; middle 193·(c).

Add:
to *af.* or 7·26; " *af.* Bihar 63(47·3); (— from the author of this thesis.) *af.* 83(156); being *af.* as 107·18; even *bef.* forbid 132·22; ? *af.* bhauma 185·23; up *af.* keep 217·15; a *af.* or 228·29; *comma af.* 4 231(90); not *bef.* arisen 281·11; upon *bef.* the 381·19; as *af.* well 384·14; *semi-colon at end* 389·6; might *at end* 395·22; *dots af.* do 399·(6); more *af.* were 433·7; if *af.* but 488·2; *semicolon at end* 493(200·1); may *af.* we 574·11·5.

Drop 'as' at:
26·3-18-24; 27·12 (*2nd*)-29 (*2nd*); 36·5; 45·22; 48·22; 59·11; 61·16; 75·11; 80·4; 81·35; 150·21; 151(58); 153·11; 154·9; 175·7; 179·24; 185·25; 186·16.

Drop:
more 1·12; 242·2; karmāt 5·25; Monasticism *upto* Monasticism 7(35); to be 46·2; as due 56·8; the 105·4; that 115·16; ! *bef.* etc. 131 (453); *2nd* or 183·1-7; The 38·(a); 194·(10); to 205·3; *1st* the 206·4; which 214·27; *one* y 225(60); also 234·8; n *from brackets* 286·14; again 316·18; to be 366·26; *dots from* 399·(3)-(5); that of 426·7; an 442·6; *1st full stop* 451·24; in the morning 452·28; *1st* for 455·3; who 461·19; get 498·2; *2nd* the 498·26; low 549·5; *2nd hyphen* 577·32; *colon or semicolon af.* or 598·14-15; ' *at* 206·7; 225(58·3); 226(63); 273·17 *1st*; 343(684); 359·14; 389·10; ' *at* 250·18; 390·24; " *at* 280(395); 338(661); 436(276); " *af.* 63(47).

Read 'to be' for 'as' at:
48·24; 71·31; 265·11; 294·12; 396·9.

Read 'or' for 'and' at:
144·11; 159·4-7; 168(163); 169·21-22-23; 172·10-12-17; 177·6; 183·1-3; 184·22; 186·2-15-21-25; 188·21; 204·34; 208·1-5; 212·9; 241·16; 243·8; 264·16; 296·6; 299·10; 310·10; 312·26; 342·15; 383·3; 389·17; 411·5; 423·3; 430·7; 449·16; 451·24; 460·16-17-18; 474-21; 476·17; 483·12; 490·1; 501·12; 597·14.

Change as directed:
by→in 18·20; with→of 66·13; after→upon 132·17; about→over 181·22; *1st* of→at 213·6; by→with 217(14); during→in 235·31; for→by 245·1; of→from 305·10; in→from 309·5; like→of 338·16; which→as 343·11; for→with 360·11; that→those 387·26; an→a 403·16; near→in 433·3; and of→or 495·29; *2nd* a→the 468·20; the→an 473·9; the→and 511·16; to→and 546·22; as→an 587·21.
did→had 11·17; it→former 11·17; it→that 66·21; anything→nothing 144·5; other→another 150·6; due to→for 152·19; in a way as→with the view 153·1; their→the 163·3; was→is 166·17; dry like→coarse like the eating of 211·31; he→the latter 221·14; he→the Gaṇadhara 224·29; begins→beings 265·9; were→was 334·36; the→Favourable 387·23; the following→certain 408·25; a→her 465·24; general→common 488 (158·7); was→were 496·27; augmented→corroborated 513·15; another→other 590·21.
comma→raised comma bef. by 23(51·2); *1st comma→dash* 116·28; *comma*→and 168(163·3); *dash→hyphen followed by space* 258·2; SX→IX 76(128); (6)→(6-7) 191; 65→66 564(444).
dn→jñ 5·28, 31·7; m→n 17·33; 1st ṁ→n 93·23; ṇ→n 127·7; ṁ→ṅ 135(473); tt→ṭṭ 153·5, 304·32; ṁj→ñj 436(276).
nun life 2·6; *Daśā* 6(32), 30(82); *Anuyoga* 16(32); "M 21·4; nā" 21·5; differ 28·36; Vajrasvāmin 30·80; *Ogha-N.* 31·31; Nāta 38·37; *Bhāgavata* 39·25-31; Śilāhāra 41; *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 44·25, 82·7, 162(115); Prākṛta 45(9); Jainas 45·13; śramaṇas 49(30); Sāṅkhya 52·11; Ṛg 55·17; Pāñcāla 63(46); Jñātṛ 65·8; JACOBI 66·17; Thūṇāga 68·14; Udāyana 70·20, 71·12-20; Bimbisāra 71·19, 85(162); intelligentzia 78·20; Kauṇḍinya 81·16; santhāraya 87(176); nigganṭha 89·15; Ujjain 91·2, 98·12; Cedi 92·28; confederacy 93·13; echoes 94·33; Puṣya 95·9; Lalāṭendu 97·6; Sātāyaṇa 98·21; STEVENSON 98(121); mahā 103·6; Mahārāja 112(313); Raṭṭa 119·14; varman 124·23; Ballāla 128·28; Vīra 129·12; Cola 129·25, 130·4; Cera 129·28; campaign 130·23; Veṅkaṭādri 131·22; vibhūti 131·27; *Jñātā* 142·1; śīla 143(13); deśo' 148(39); *space af.* tvā 148(39); Church 149·14; either explain it 151·7; persons 152·10; teṇa 153·27; vassā 158(93); yaṁ 163·6; raṁ 163·8; pamajjijja 179·11; jaṁ kiñci micchā 180·12; dhyāna 182·3; satta 191·4; Bhadduttarā 193·1; (9) *bef.* 'The' 193; in either 193·(c); labdhi 200·10; hāsa 204·13; manas 206·19, 322·28; vāc 206·20, 322·28; *semicolon bef.* as 214·27; anyone *af.* if 215·6; therabhūmi 218·4; years' 220·7; hāra 220·12, 225·1; unpopular officer upon 220·23; śīlamasyeti 225(56); *Vṛtti* 225(57); egalla 230·7; *Comm.* 231(93); *cāra* 231(95); gaṇadharas 232(97); ācārya, of 235·29; dividing 236·24; an 'aṇugghāiya' one or vice 238·33; saṅghāḍī 240·30, 263·3; than himself 245·21; paḍi 250·18, 491·19; santhāra 254(227), 492·18; aṅgulā 254(227); with

laymen .... but not with women. 255·26; meditations 258·2; clothes 260·1; *space af. hyphen* 260·15; lice 261·14-16; jñā 262(266); muhapottī 260·24; vaṇṇa 266·9; raya 279·4; road built 290(465); paramparā 291·28; Nogr 293(485); *dosas* (*within brackets*) 295·22; Brā 296·17; *piṇḍa* 297·8; *Saṁstava* 298·3; led 301·7; vacchā 303·25; *space bef. Sutta* 313(559a); reveals 314·31; uvarilla 315·19; no 316·1; deal 330·14; te 338·1; 'skandha' 354·5; *yaśas* 362·26; *complete the bracket* 369·7; gaṇe *within bracket* 371·23; ment 375·7; māsāḥ 376·10; *Ṭhāṇ*. 378(67); *Niśītha* 379·32; pārañciya 388·23; asaṁyama 389·6; eunuchs, beasts or others which 393·22; varjyā 394·15; lodgings 397·11; acelakāḥ 398(135); Bhāṣyas 400·20; 'Caturguru' 401·28; 169 409·17; sūtra 410·11; *full stop at the end of* 412·15-22; Moḍī's 419·[211]; kūvar 420(217), 441(286); *Ṭī* 21·7, 421(228), 466(13), 511(290); nihnavī 423·4; Gujarātī 427·7, 428·13; before sunrise 427·17; after it 427·18; others' 429·17; *Nis.-C.* 433(259); above p. 407. 434(262); vision 435·21; rāya's 442(289); sādhu 443·11, 459·31; muni 443(292); Kūrcaka 447·26; ādyaṁ 450·26; or meeting along 456·30; pādau 458·31; ūrvoru-pari 458·33; Pūrṇimā 464·15; Brāhmī 465·7; *Niryā*. 466(16); Khuḍḍiā 467·19; *semicolon* 470·9; for both 474·18; always is 475·7; *Interchange the contents of footnotes* 78 *and* 81 *on* p. 476; itthī 478(88); vihūya 482(3); savvaōbhadda 486·8; was a nun 487·26; *transpose* pravartinī *and* ācārya 488·5; *semicolon bef. Bṛhat.* 488(161); *Bhag.* 12, 2, etc. 491(187); purifying 492·22; Buddhist 502·19; nun-life, which 509·23; *shift* even *af.* go 511·23; vāraṇa 515·13; Uccanāgarī 516·14, 518·15-(39); Goyamijjiyā 516·21; Śākhās 519·2; really 523(157); pallikīyoddyotanā-cārya 534·9; centuries 534·14, 543·2, 546·22; Upakeśa 541(224); mention 555·19; ṣeṇa 562·14; Kṛṣṇa 562(429); Paṇḍita 568(21); Śrāvakī 570·2; Magadha 570·17; Śāsanadevīs 570·24; ahiṁsā 576·8; Cheya 580·16; ṭṭāṇaṁ 598·19; caüṭṭheṇaṁ *and* egaṭṭhāṇeṇaṁ 600(220); *Nāyādha* 603·1; *Samavāyaṅga* 603·27; parvan 604·19; *Inscriptions* 606·29; *Britannica* 607·13.

Read the words occurring with small capitals as follows:

361 Godāsa, Gaṇa (twice); 362 Gaṇa (thrice), Uḍuvāṭika, Veśavāṭika; 363 Cāraṇa, Gaṇa (twice), Māṇava; 364 Kauṭika Gaṇa; 463 Gaṇas; 464 Śākhās; 515 Śākhās (twice); 516 Śākhās (four times); 517 Śākhās (four times); 518 Śākhās; 520 Ānandasūri, Ānanda-vimalasūri, Añcala; 521 Bāhaḍa, Bāpadīya, Bhānadevācārya, Bhartṛpura, Bhāvaḍaharā, Bhāvaharṣa, Bhinnamāla, Bokaḍiyā; 522 Brahmāṇa, -ṇīya, Bṛhad (twice), Vṛhad, Gujarāti-Loṅkā, Bṛhat; 523 Bṛhad (twice), Bṛhat (twice), Loṅkā, Tapā; 524 Cāṇañcāla, 2nd Cāndra, -ācārya, Chahiterā, Choṭivāla, Citravāla; 525 Deśavāla-Tapā, Devābhidita, Devācārya, Devānanda, Devasūri, Dhaneś-vara, Dharmaghoṣa; 526 Ghoṣapurīya, Hārija, Harṣapurīya, Humbaḍa, Jālyodhara; 527 Jāpaḍāṇa, Jirāpallīya, Jñabakīya, Jñānakāpa, Kacholivāla, Kaḍuāmati; 528 Kamalā, Kamalakalaśā, Kāmyaka, Kāsahṛda, Kavalā; 530 Vegaḍa, Koraṇṭa, Kṛṣṇarṣi, Kṛṣṇarājarṣi; 531 Kūrcapura, Kutuvapurā, Loṅkā, Lumpāka, Maḍāhaḍiya, Maḍḍaharaü, Maḍūhaḍa, Mahāḍakīya, Māhāhaḍīya; 532 Maladhārī, ... Pūrṇimā, Moḍha, Nāga, Nāgapurīya; 533 Nāgendra, Namadāla, Nāṇakīya, Nāṇavāla, Nigamā Vibhāvaka, Nirvṛti; 534 Niṭhaṭi, Osvāla, Palīkīya, Pallī, vāla, Pañcasārīya, Pārsva; 535 Pavīrya, Poravāḍa, Prabhākara, -ācārya; 536 Prāya, Punimā (twice); 537 Rāja (twice), Rāma-senīya, Rākā, -pallīya, Sādhu Pūrṇimā Pakṣa, Sāgara; 538 Saṁvegī, Saṇḍeraka, Saṅkheśvara, Saravāla, Sārdha Paurṇamīya; 539 Siddhānti, Suvipradīpta, Tapā; 541 Tāvaḍāra, Tāvakīya, Tārāpadra, Thārā-padrīya, Thirāpadrīya, Thiyārā, Tribhaviyā, -ācārya, Ukeśa, Upakeśa; 542 Uttarādha, Vālabha, Vanavāsī, Vāyaḍīyā, -pakṣa; 543 Vijayānandasūri, -ṇika, Vṛddha (twice), Tapā, Vṛhad, Vrhal, -sīha; 544 Yaśasūri; 545 Ārya, Saṅgha (thrice), Draviḍa; 546 Iṅgaṇeś-vara, Saṅgha (twice), Kāñcī; 547 Kāṣṭhā Saṅgha; 548 Kolattur, Saṅgha (four times), Lāṭabāgaḍa, Mahī, Māthura; 549 Mūla Saṅgha; 552 Saṅgha; 553 Navilūra Saṅgha; 554 Pamātasama, Saṅgha (five times), Punnāga-Vṛkṣa-Mūla, Śrī, Siṁha; 555 Yāpanīya Saṅgha; 556 Yāpanīya, Saṅgha; 601, 604 Śvetāmbara.


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